Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

5/7/56

GSM —

It seemed to me wise for Florence Irving to attend the Fisk Inst. in July as has been the custom with research assts. but it is a budgetary question. What is your feeling?

H.

OK to go
GM

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

June 12, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Miserably I promised months ago to be at Pennsylvania State University on July 11th, and you have written and asked me to be at Fisk that day.

I am free on July 9th and until the afternoon of July 10th, and again on July 13th.

Alternatively, if you want somebody necessarily for July 11th, I can try to send you Fred Routh, but I do not today know whether he is free that day or not.

I am a devoted staffer at your Institute, and I am honored to be invited to be part of it again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

June 12, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

You are to be at Pennsylvania State University, for their Workshop on Human Relations July 11th.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

11 June 1956

RECEIVED JUN 12 1956

Dear George:

This year we are devoting a considerable part of the Institute time to the southern scene. We have in this respect reorganized the Institute program, devoting the entire day to certain aspects of the southern region. We felt it would be considerably useful to have you and members of your staff, whom you would designate, to take the entire morning session of July 11, and talk about the Southern Regional Council's program -- what it is doing and some of the things which it is discovering in the South. You could feel perfectly free to organize this as you and your staff see fit, placing the emphasis where you decide it should be. The entire morning is yours.

In the evening we would like to have you as usual to make an evening presentation on the South. There again, you could delimit this presentation as you see fit. What I had in mind, you could, if you object to appearing twice, have yourstaff handle the morning session, and you make the evening public presentation.

You will be interested to know that we are having the Commission on Race and Housing under the direction of Dr. McEntire, do a similar session on July 6th on Housing. We are expecting at that time, not only members of his staff but also members of the Commission. It is terribly important that during the second week when we present Commission action and technicalities, that we present the important work of the Council.

July 11th is the date. Could we have some word from you on this at your earliest convenience?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:do

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 25, 1956

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Valien:

Dr. Johnson sent me a ticket that said on account of appearing in the Institute July 9th, I should send you stuff about who I am and what I look like.

Ready way to designate who I am is for you to hunt it up in Who's Who.

Mat herewith.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS OF RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE

For introduction and publicity purposes, we should like to secure from you immediately appropriate biographical data that might be used for that purpose.

Please send these data to:

Mrs. Preston Valien
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

RECEIVED JUN 25 1956

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	COLLECT			6/25/56

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR CHARLES S. JOHNSON
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

WILL APPEAR EVENING JULY 9TH. SUBJECT "PRIDE AND PREJUDICE"

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

June 25, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wired you today as follows: "Will appear evening July 9th. Subject 'Pride and Prejudice'."

Please get somebody at the Institute to write me as to the schedule for the 9th and 10th and I will try to be on hand for appropriate parts. Main thing is I want to pin down my travel to fit the Institute's reasonable needs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

23 June 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432-63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We simply have to have you here - so - we have scheduled you for an evening presentation on July 9th. Would you want to wire us collect the title of the presentation as you would like to have it appear on the program.

As usual, we are looking forward with much pleasure to your presence here.

With best wishes,

RECEIVED JUN 25 1956

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:vlr

June 29, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

For the Institute people's information, I will be getting into Nashville at 1:07 p.m., July 9th, and shall be leaving at 10:00 a.m., July 10th. I will stick around for most of the afternoon of July 9th, and for a little more than breakfast time July 10th, and I will be there with bells on for the evening of July 9th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

28 June 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432-63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 29 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The morning of July 9 will be devoted to a discussion of the Spanish-American problems in this country. Your presentation "Pride and Prejudice" is that evening.

July 10 will be devoted to a discussion of labor with E. Muravchik and Herbert Hill as morning speakers.

In the evening George McKibben of the President's Committee on Government Contracts will speak.

There will, of course, be the usual clinic session.

Hope you can be on hand for as long a period as your busy schedule will permit.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson/ule

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:do

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Thirteenth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

☐ Please also send an application to: _____

Address Inquiries to:
RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Ga.

FISK UNIVERSITY
17TH AVENUE AND MEHARRY BLVD.
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

"Nonprofit Organization"
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
NASHVILLE, TENN.
Permit No. 531

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Without it (the Law) we cannot live; only with it can we insure the future which by right is ours. The best of man's hopes are enmeshed in its success; when it fails, they must fail. . . .

. . . the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, nearly two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten, that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest.

—After JUDGE LEARNED HAND in the *Spirit of Liberty.*

The issue of desegregation is full upon us, and we are confronted with both its great promise for a free and morally strong America and its many practical difficulties. This is the testing-ground of democracy, the measure of faith and commitment to the ideal of human brotherhood under God.

To bring information, evaluate the special and demanding problems in this area, and to devise methods of approach for their constructive solution, the 13th ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE will convene at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. The dates are July 2nd through 14th.

Meeting in time of national crisis, the Institute takes as its keynote:
STATESMANSHIP IN NATIONAL CRISIS—THE MORAL CHALLENGE IN HUMAN RELATIONS.

For the need is for statesmanship which can preserve the integrity of the law, substitute reason for hysteria, maintain communication and free discussion, pursue the steady course of justice founded in religious conviction. There must be many statesmen, leaders in the local community who appeal to conscience and place the national welfare above special interest.

We invite you to share in the discussions of the Institute. Parent and preacher, social worker and educator, labor leader and industrialist—this call is to you. Come and share the experience of responsible leaders from 30 states, both North and South. Sessions are in the new air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall.

During twelve years of existence, the Institute has provided for lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop new understanding of ALL minority groups, covering a wide scope of subjects: The Scientific Assessment of Prejudice; Sociological and Anthropological Backgrounds of Human Relations; Fair Employment and Economic Problems; Housing for Minorities; Responsibilities of the Church; Successful Practices in School Desegregation; Legal, Legislative and Social Action Methods of Approach.

A faculty drawn from the country's top authorities in social science, housing, education, and law will be available as lecturers and resource leaders. An average of 30 different resource leaders are present over the two-week period each year.

The roots of the Institute are planted deep in the soil of religious and moral conviction. It was established by the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Christian Churches' Board of Home Missions and enjoys joint sponsorship by Fisk University, one of America's leading institutions of higher learning.

LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University
KENNETH CLARK, Department of Psychology, City College of New York
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Department of History, Columbia University
JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Aide to the Department of Defense
FRANK GRAHAM, United Nations, and Former Governor of North Carolina
GEORGE GUERNSEY, Educational Director, C. I. O.
PHILLIP HAMMER, President, The Hammer Company, Atlanta, Georgia
CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University
JOHN LAFARGE, S. J., Editor, *America*
MARIE JAHODA, Associate Director, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University
HELEN V. McLEAN, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
WILL MASLOW, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress
THURGOOD MARSHALL, Chief Legal Counsel, N.A.A.C.P.
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director, Southern Regional Council
HON. JAMES P. MITCHELL, Secretary of Labor for the United States
M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University
P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor, the *Pittsburgh Courier*
MARK STARR, International Ladies Garment Workers Union
LILLIAN SMITH, Author and Lecturer
JULIUS A. THOMAS, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League
ROBERT C. WEAVER, State Administrator, New York State
PHILIP WIDENHOUSE, General Secretary, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1956 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee **WHEN:** July 2-July 14, 1956

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

July 16, 1956

Mr. Herman Long
Race Relations Institute
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Herman:

My expenses for the run up to Nashville and back were:

Plane fare	$31.62
Airport	1.00
Meals	1.30
Total	$33.92

In some years Dr. Johnson has very kindly afforded me a $50.00 grace-item. I don't get it, but the Council would be grateful if it should be in order this year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: RHA

July 23, 1956

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

You are most kind; I thought my speech jumpy and less helpful than it should have been.

Your extra aid in the check is an abiding good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED JUL 21 1956

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

20 July 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432-63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This will, I know, sound like a "broken record", but as usual you were magnificent. Your down-to-earth insight so necessary in an Institute such as ours is always appreciated by our membership.

I am sorry that your very busy schedule made it impossible for you to stay longer, but the insights which you afforded remained with us, and provided a frame of reference within which the Institute members could interpret, more intelligently, the Institute materials and experiences that followed.

With our sincere thanks and appreciation, we are enclosing a check which expresses only too modestly our gratitude to you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

CSJ:do

Labor Conference

February 21, 1957

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Director - AFL-CIO Region 8
216 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville, 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

I certainly hope you can attend our Atlanta conference, the announcement of which I sent you yesterday.

Would you contact Dial Murphy, O.C.A.W., in Room 219-220 Flatiron Building to urge him to attend and let him know that you work with SRC. He will have received an announcement of the conference.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Jones on
Labor Conference ✓

February 28, 1957

Rev. Charles Jones
P. O. Box L
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charlie Jones:

It has been a very long time since we met. I'm happy to hear from Ben Segal that you will be with us for our Labor Conference on March 13th and 14th.

Enclosed is a copy of our informal schedule and a card which will help us make reservations for you.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

Labor Conference

March 5, 1957

Mr. E. C. Pippin
AFL-CIO
210 Moore Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Brother Pippin:

We have not heard from you yet regarding our labor conference dealing with race relations as they affect unions. Would you please return the enclosed card as soon as possible.

We already have an interesting group of unionists from national and Southern offices signed up for the conference. It is my hope that you will be able to attend.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosure

Labor Conference

March 5, 1957

Mr. Howard D. Walton
President, Florida State IUC
43 N. E. 2nd Street
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Brother Walton:

We have not heard from you yet regarding our labor conference dealing with race relations as they affect unions. Would you please return the enclosed card as soon as possible.

We already have an interesting group of unionists from national and southern offices signed up for the conference. It is my hope that you will be able to attend.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Labor Conference

March 5, 1957

Mr. James E. Wolfe, Director
Research and Education
United Brewery Workers of America
2347 Vine Street
Cincinnati 19, Ohio

Dear Brother Wolfe:

We would like to have the names of the two Southern regional directors who plan to attend our labor conference on March 13th and 14th. Ben Segal had passed your letter of February 28th on to us.

We could send the two directors copies of the inviting letter and reservation card if you would furnish us with their addresses. This information would facilitate our arrangements. Thanks.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Labor - Gen

March 6, 1957

Mr. Henry Wilson
Legal Assistant
American Federation of
State, County, and Municipal Employees
448 W. Washington Avenue
Madison 1, Wisconsin

Dear Brother Wilson:

Enclosed is a letter announcing our labor conference next week and a tentative agenda. I understand through Ben Segal and President Zando that you plan to be with us. We look forward to having you.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

March 11, 1957

Mr. Paul Ward
Director of Special Services
American Federation of Teachers
28 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Brother Ward:

The Atlanta taxis are rigidly segregated; cabs with white drivers take only white passengers, and Negro drivers take only Negro passengers. Sometimes white drivers do not seem to know where Atlanta University is, but are not unwilling to take you there. One route to Atlanta University is to go out Hunter Street to Chestnut Street.

The address of the Administration Building where we will be meeting is 223 Chestnut Street.

We are happy that you will be with us and look forward to a good conference.

I do not think you will have any difficulty in getting to the University, but don't hesitate to call the Council's office (JAckson 2-8764) if you do.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Attached letter forwarded to:

Earl Henderson
Tom Murray
John Powderly
James E. Wolfe
Julius Fry
E. R. Williamson
Charles Jones
George Berry
Al Hartnett
Ben Segal
Henry Wilson
Paul Ward
Henry T. Wilson
George Weaver
Ken Peterson
Bill Oliver
Jim Turner
Francis Shane
B. F. McLaurin
Julius Frazier

Labor Conference

April 2, 1957

Mr. Paul Christopher
Director, AFL-CIO Region 8
216 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville 17, Tenn.

Dear Paul:

I'm sending you the summary of the conference and a list of those who attended. We were most sorry not to have had you with us. This is the only copy of these materials that I've sent to someone who was not actually in attendance. Though there are no super-secrets revealed, it is just as well to treat the whole matter confidentially.

The staff here joins me in extending sympathies to you on the recent death in your family.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

May 10, 1957

Mr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department,
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

Under separate cover, we are sending you a packet of materials from the files of the Southern Regional Council. We hope that you might be able to use some of this material in the packets for the upcoming Race Relations Institute.

Some of the material, we can supply free of charge. Free materials include, "Attitudes Toward Desegregation," "The Louisville Story" reprint, and "The Law of the Land."

The remaining materials are publications and/or papers prepared by the Southern Regional Council. The price of the individual pamphlet has been written on the front of each copy. One of the mimeographed reports, "Summary of Recent Segregation Laws," would be brought up to date as of June 15th of this year and so would be quite timely for the Institute.

Please let me know if any of this material interests you.

With best wishes for your Institute.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

separate cover:

Staff Training Seminar

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 16, 1957

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All State Affiliates of the Southern Regional Council

FROM: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council

RE: Special union staff training institute to be held in conjunction with Fisk University Race Relations Institute.

The enclosed letter and mimeographed sheet gives the details and purposes of a special program for union leaders on problems related to desegregation, race relations, and civil rights.

One of our chief problems in this area is to give concerned unionists, who are often faced with very practical problems in this field, an opportunity to exchange experiences, receive information, and discover the resources available to them in meeting problems related to race relations.

In many instances the union staff people recruited for such programs will not only work more effectively on the problems faced by their own organization but will be the persons most likely to give union support to the activities of SRC's state affiliates.

What I would like you to do. Send me the names, union affiliation, and addresses of all union persons who belong to your organization. Send the same information about any unionist~~s~~ with whom you have worked successfully or whom you have good reason to believe is searching for better answers to racial problems that affect his union. We are not at this point seeking persons who would need to be completely convinced that a more democratic society is desirable. In the main we are looking for full-time union staff persons; however, competent local union leadership would be most welcome, too.

Thanks for your attention to this matter. Please call on me for any aid that I may be able to give you in relating your work to the labor movement. I trust that in the near future I will get to all of the state offices to discuss with you personally labor's role in the Southern scene. I look forward to seeing you at the State Staff Conference in Atlanta next week.

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 3, 1957

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Director - AFL-CIO Region 8
216 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of May 17th. I'm greatly pleased that you will be able to be on the panel for July 9th at the Fisk Institute.

Thanks for your other suggestions - they have been followed up.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

~~Labor AFL-CIO~~
Labor Conf.

June 3, 1957

Mr. Jack Barbash
Education and Research Director
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Jack:

I am sending you thirty-five copies of the announcement of our staff training seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute, and a like number of leaflets describing the Fisk Institute itself.

You know how necessary it is to get staff and other leadership thinking more constructively about their role relative to race relations problems affecting unions. Your efforts to help publicize the Fisk seminar will be greatly appreciated.

The I.U.D. summer training program looks good from here. I can imagine the work it has taken to get such an endeavor underway. It is by no means an attack on your first-phase program to put in a gentle reminder of the need to get at problems relative to civil rights and race relations. When that time comes, either in regional programs or in the summer program, we would be happy to cooperate with you in any way that would be of service. It may be that members of our staff, our materials, or even our research resources could be of help to you. This is for the future. We are here to be used, no matter how busy we may be.

I plan to be in Washington for the end of the week; I trust our schedules will allow us to see each other.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 5, 1957

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Directors of State Organizations

FROM: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant

The enclosed is a follow-up letter on our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held at Fisk.

Further suggestions of persons to receive such a communication will be appreciated.

EFV:mm

Enclosure (Attached letter to unionists; Green sheet describing Seminar)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Enclosed is an announcement of the Union Staff Training Seminar sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations, from July 6 - 13th.

Few unionists fail to realize that racial issues are affecting their organizations in important ways. Racial problems in the community spill over into the union; organizing campaigns are hampered; and racial problems come up in locals and are at times badly handled.

There is no way to dodge most of these situations. Our task is to develop a better understanding of racial relations and other Southern problems that relate to them. Time and again union leadership has expressed the need for information and techniques that will aid them in meeting these crucial issues in a way consistent with fair play and the preservation of union strength.

Perhaps we should be reminded that the start of the school year will bring new instances of desegregation by communities which are facing their responsibilities. However, these moves may be accompanied in some localities by disturbances caused by the more ardent pro-segregationists. Past experience indicates that these can be troublesome times within the union, too.

The Council's Union Seminar offers these aids: exchange of experiences with other union leaders, background on Southern social and economic conditions, background on Southern labor history, information on pro-segregation and hate groups, the use of racial issues in organizing campaigns, counteracting the use of racial issues, and resources available to unions in meeting civil rights and race relations problems. In addition, you will meet with other persons from over the South and nation who have an interest in better human relations, and you will hear experts that have been selected for the general program of the Fisk Institute.

You are urged to send in your application today and to suggest names of colleagues whom you feel will profit from this experience.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council

Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic

June 10, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Segal:

A note from Emory Via, received today, asked that I send you the names of those who plan to attend the Union Staff Training Seminar at Fisk and those who have replied that they will be unable to attend. We have received the following replies in this office to date:

Cannot attend:

E. C. Pippin, Alabama Labor Council, Montgomery
John Bateman, UAW, Atlanta
Carey E. Haigler, AFL-CIO Region 5, Charlotte

Will attend:

Two Southern staff members from the Fair Practices Department of UAW will attend the institute, according to our copy of William Oliver's letter of June 5, which was directed to you. We have not yet received any communication from these men.

Fifty copies of the follow-up letter, information sheet, and return envelopes were mailed to you on June 5th. Please let me know if you have not yet received this material, and I will send a duplicate mailing to you immediately.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Secretary to Mr. Via

mm/s

~~Fisk U~~ Labor conf

June 11, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hope:

Emory Via, who is out of town at present, asked that I write you regarding a question that has come in connection with accommodations at Fisk for participants in the Union Staff Training Seminar. Are dormitory accommodations for couples available? How is this handled? Emory asks that you direct a reply to:

Mr. Henry Wilson
American Federation of State, County, &
Municipal Employees
815 Mt. Vernon Place
Washington, D. C.

Also, if they're available, please forward us about 25 more of the brochures regarding this year's session of the Institute. Our supply has been exhausted.

I'm still looking forward to attending the Institute, and will send in my application shortly.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Secretary to Mr. Via

June 17, 1957

Mr. Henry Catchings
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Henry:

Enclosed are two copies each of letters and materials relating to Union Staff Training Seminar which we are conducting in conjunction with Fisk Institute on Race Relations.

Good to have seen you week before last; I saw Mayes in Charlotte.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 17, 1957

Mr. Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
1820 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

Registration now looks like this:

CWA - 1 (probably Lee White)
UAW - 4 (Henderson, Frazier, Wagner, and Hardin)
ACWA - 1 (Eula McGill)
URWA - 1 (Jim Turner - possibly one more)
Brewery- 1 (Jim Wolfe - possibly one more)
Va. AFL-CIO - 1 (Julien Carper)
IUE - 1 (Ken Peterson)
TWUA - 2 ("Red" Lisk and Ray Berthiune, plus Boyd Payton and Wayne Durningcourt (?) for 10-13th, and good chance of Dave Terry and Bartchfield coming for whole seminar)
American Fed. of State, Co., etc. - 1 (Probably Hank Wilson).

I do not actually have registrations for all of these in hand, but they have either written, talked with you, or given me oral assurance of attending. I head for Tennessee and Arkansas in a day or two. The Northward and Southward trip was rewarding - real good to see you and family and meet with folks in D.C.

Your end of my expenses amounts to $45.32. This includes plane from Greensboro to Richmond and return, train from Richmond to D.C. and return, a couple of meals en route, and a couple of cab fares.

You can see that my most successful stop was with Boyd in Charlotte -

he talked with about ten staff guys while I was in his office.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 18, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear John:

It would be helpful for Ben Segal to know in what ways you wish to use him at the Institute on Race Relations. You had mentioned the possibility of a civil liberties session of some sort.

I'll try to let you know soon when I can first arrive at the Institute and in what ways you can be most helpful to the Labor Seminar.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 18, 1957

Mr. Edward S. Miller
General President
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union
525 Walnut Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Brother Miller:

Enclosed are announcements and letters relating to a Labor Staff Seminar which we are sponsoring in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I thought that this special Seminar would be of interest to the national office of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and to any staff persons working in the South.

We would like to have members of your union participating in this institute. Please send registrations, or the names of persons I should contact directly, to me as soon as possible.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

June 18, 1957

Mr. Jack Weinberger
Secretary-Treasurer
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union
525 Walnut Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Brother Weinberger:

Enclosed are announcements and letters relating to a Labor Staff Seminar which we are sponsoring in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I thought that this special Seminar would be of interest to the national office of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and to any staff persons working in the South.

We would like to have members of your union participating in this institute. Please send registrations, or the names of persons I should contact directly, to me as soon as possible.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

P.S. I'm sending this same information to President Miller.

June 19, 1957

Mr. Paul Wagner
UAW Region 8
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Brother Wagner:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Staff Training Seminar at Fisk

June 20, 1957

Mr. Earl H. Henderson
Field Representative
UAW
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Earl:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Same letter to Julian Frazier, UAW
Jim Hardin, UAW
Wagner, UAW
Jim Wolfe, Brewery Workers

June 20, 1957

Mr. Lee White
CWA
40 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lee:

Here is the application for our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held at Fisk. Please return as soon as possible and let me know if I should send one to a CWA staffer in Tennessee.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 20, 1957

Mr. Boyd Payton
Regional Director
TWUA
100 West 6th Street
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Boyd:

Enclosed are six application blanks for our Union Staff Training Seminar. We would like to have one for each of the staff men who will be able to attend all or part of the sessions.

My notes indicated that "Red" Lisk and Ray Berthiune would be with us for the whole week, that you and Durringcourt (?) for part of the week, and that Dave Terry and Davy Bardsfield (?) might attend for the whole week or a part of it.

We have twenty or more persons now scheduled to be in the Labor Seminar.

Thanks for your help and I will be writing you later about some program specifics.

Please have the applications returned directly to me.

Fraternally yours,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 24, 1957

Mr. V. H. Williams
Executive Secretary
State Federated Labor Council
415 National Old Line Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Brother Williams:

Enclosed are the information sheets and letters announcing our Union Staff Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations, July 7th - 13th.

We would be most pleased to have you or someone else from the Arkansas AFL-CIO participate in this seminar. It would be possible to supply such a person with a full scholarship covering tuition, registration, room, and board. Unfortunately, we cannot help with travel expenses.

I look forward to receiving a registration from the Arkansas Federated Labor Council.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

June 26, 1957

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
Board of Home Missions, Congregational
Christian Churches
Fisk University Office — Race Relations Inst.
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you for your letter of June 22nd. I am looking forward to taking part in the program of the institute on July 3rd. The title you have selected is perfectly satisfactory. I hope you won't feel I am straying from my assignment if I devote some of my remarks to strategy.

I am looking forward to being with you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

22 June 1957

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is simply to remind you that we are depending on you for the opening presentation at the Institute on the morning of July 3. We have tentatively called your presentation, "The Desegregation Picture in the South." You can, of course, delimit this in any way you see fit.

We have made reservations for you at our University Guest House, 1603 Meharry Boulevard, and are looking forward with much pleasure to your presence here.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

HHL:vlr

Staff Leaving Seminar at Fisk

June 26, 1957

Mr. James E. Turner
Assistant Director
Fair Practices Department, URWA
URW Building
Mill and High Streets
Akron, Ohio

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Staff Training Seminar at Fisk

June 26, 1957

Mr. Henry T. Wilson
American Federation of State, County,
and Municipal Employees
448 W. Washington
Madison 1, Wisconsin

Dear Hank:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Enclosures

Staff Training Seminar at Fisk

June 26, 1957

Mr. Theodore E. Brown
Assistant Director, Civil Rights Department
AFL-CIO
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Brother Brown:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Labor - ACWA
on Union Staff Training
on Fisk Race Relations

June 26, 1957

Miss Eula McGill
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
P. O. Box 161
Cookesville, Tennessee

Dear Miss McGill:

Enclosed is the official application blank for our Union Staff Training Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute.

Please fill this in and return it to me as soon as possible. I look forward to seeing you at the Institute.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 27, 1957

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

Could you supply me with about twenty-five copies of "Assault Upon Freedom of Association" for use at our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held at Fisk in July?

Bill me if required.

Best personal wishes to you.

Fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 27, 1957

Mr. Jerry Zigler, Director
American Foundation for Political Education
19 South LaSalle Street
Chicago 3, Illinois

Dear Jerry:

I could use twenty-five copies of "The Case of the Lively Ghost," with a Union Staff Seminar which we are running in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

If you have a promotional piece giving a broader view of AFPE, I would be happy to include it with the distribution of the "Lively Ghost."

Bill me if necessary.

Things stay very bad here.

Margaret continues to make progress. We look forward to seeing the Pickuses in a few weeks. Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

June 27, 1957

Mr. Charles M. Jones
Community Church
P. O. Box 2
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Charlie:

I am sending under separate cover several items which I think will be helpful to you in your two labor institutes. There will be two copies of New South for June, 1956; April, 1957; and June, 1957; two copies of Next Steps in the South (I call your attention especially to the map in the frontispiece.); a copy of Changing Patterns in the New South, which can be ordered from us for .25¢; two copies of What's Happening in School Integration, published by the Public Affairs Pamphlets, but written by two of our guys; two copies of What the Supreme Court Said and two copies each of the following special reports: The South and the Supreme Court School Decision: A Chronology, Pro-Segregation Groups in the South, and Summary of Recent Segregation Laws Enacted in Southern States (If you display these special reports you will need to remind the participants that they are three separate reports, since by their covers they look a good bit alike.).

I am also enclosing one copy of The Negro Potential by Eli Ginzberg. This book deals directly with the problems surrounding employment and may be of some special interest. You may have this copy for your use and copies could be obtained for other interested persons from us at a greatly reduced price.

Also, for your own information, I am sending a copy of The South of Promise, which in a general way describes the organization and work of the Southern Regional Council.

If sometime you could discover if Jamie and Alice Jo Gardner are in the Chapel Hill vicinity, I would be greatly pleased to have such information.

Best personal wishes to you and for your work in these two summer institutes. Please let me know if there is any other information or service that I can render.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

P.S. I have also enclosed a copy of Integration North and South, by David Loth and Harold Fleming. This is a useful run-down of the various breaks in the segregation front in such fields as education, employment, housing, accommodations, and organizations.

June 28, 1957

Mr. Frank Parker
Retail, Wholesale, Department Store Union
28½ South 20th Street
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Brother Parker:

Enclosed are copies of letters and information sheets announcing our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Race Relations Institute, July 7-13th.

We would be able to offer some one from your staff scholarship aid to cover the full cost of fees and room and board.

We look forward to having someone from RWDSU with us.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 28, 1957

Mr. Ray Nixon
URWA
95 Merritts Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Nixon:

Enclosed are copies of the letters and information sheets announcing our Union Staff Training Seminar to be held July 7th-13th, in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. We are expecting Jim Turner from the International office to be with us.

I trust that you will be able to send someone to this program; ideally, of course, we would like for you to attend personally.

With best wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Staff Training Seminar at Fisk

June 29, 1957

Mr. Al Toffler
Labor's Daily
637 Arlington Blvd.
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Brother Toffler:

Enclosed are the letters and information sheets announcing our Union Training Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations, July 7th through 13th. Also enclosed is a booklet (blue) which will give you some pertinent information on the Fisk Campus and its environs.

I am sorry to report that there is no on-going nursery or child care center at Fisk for your three-year-old. The campus is sizable, however, and there is a good bit of summer activity there; my guess is that there would be a good chance of working out some cooperative arrangement for taking care of the child which would at least free your wife part-time. The people at Fisk indicate that they will be happy to help us work out something in this regard, but were reluctant to make a specific commitment.

I look forward to seeing you in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

June 29, 1957

Mr. Paul Christopher, Director
Region 8, AFL-CIO
216 Flat Iron Building
705 Broadway, N.E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

You already know that you are to participate on a panel discussion on the implications of desegregation and social change for the labor movement at the Fisk Institute for Tuesday morning. We also would like for you to sit in on the labor seminar session that afternoon from 2:00 to 4:00 P.M.

Part of the Tuesday afternoon session will be dealing with pro-segregation groups and their relation to the labor movement; the other half of the session will deal with the use of race in organizing campaigns. Of course, these two subjects overlap at many points. We would like for you to serve as the chief resource person in terms of the use of the race issue in organizing campaigns; Fred Routh will also be on hand to handle the discussion of the pro-segregation groups.

That evening Al Hartnett is scheduled to address the whole institute.

Wednesday morning will deal with employment opportunities and training. We bear no special responsibility for that program. In the afternoon, the labor seminar group will be discussing the race issue as it affects one specific industry, in this case, Textile, with Boyd Payton acting as the chief resource person. The second half of that session will discuss racial issues in the local union and we are asking Stanton Smith to join with Boyd and Ben and me for this session. If possible, we would like for you to be on deck for this time, too. Of course, from our point of view, we would like your participation for all of the sessions, but I realize that you may be able to attend only some of them.

The rest of the week shapes up something like this: Sunday morning - a review of Southern union history; Sunday afternoon - a general background of the South and its problems and an over-view of race relations patterns in Southern unions and employment; Monday afternoon, Paul Sanders of the Vanderbilt Law School will discuss legal aspects of desegregation with especial interest on how they relate to the labor movement; Thursday afternoon we will discuss desegregation in the community and how it affects the labor movement; on Friday, we will be talking about the resources available to unions in meeting race relations problems or in carrying on civil rights work; also, we will allow some time Friday for further discussion of the best ways to counteract the use of the race issue against the labor movement.

I look forward to seeing you in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

Fisk

June 29, 1957

Mr. Al Toffler
Labor's Daily
637 Arlington Blvd.
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Brother Toffler:

Enclosed are the letters and information sheets announcing our Union Training Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations, July 7th through 13th. Also enclosed is a booklet (blue) which will give you some pertinent information on the Fisk Campus and its environs.

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I look forward to seeing you in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosures

Race Relations Institute 1957 Fisk Labor Seminar

June 29, 1957

Mr. Boyd Payton
Textile Workers Union of America
100 West 6th Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Boyd:

I am looking forward to seeing you at our Union Seminar at Fisk. Ben and I would very much like to have you act as chief resource person for the Wednesday, July 10th, session, which begins at 2:00 P.M. We thought that it would be helpful to have a discussion of how the race issue affects one union and industry. If you could handle this part of our program and bring along those materials which you feel are appropriate, it would be a real contribution. We are discussing for the second half of this session how racial issues arise in and affect the local union; we are asking Stanton Smith to be a resource in this session, but would welcome your participation here also.

We have had definite responses from Berthiaume, Dernoncourt, Boartfield, Lisk. I greatly appreciate your cooperation in this Seminar as well as in other matters. As of now, we have a few over twenty persons signed up for a full week's participation and about five persons who will participate part-time.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless a deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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A WA147 PD=FAX WASHINGTON DC 1 1204PME=

EMORY F VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT=

=63 AUBURN AVE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC ROOM

432 NORTHEAST ATLA=

IS FISK JULY 6-13 LABOR ETAF SEMINAR STILL ON? PLANNING TO ATTEND. PLEASE ADVISE RE ACCOMMODATION. ALSO WHETHER PERMISSIBLE I FORWARD FOLLOWING AFL-CIO PUBLICATIONS: "WHY UNIONS". "COOPERATION--KEY TO JOBS FOR HANDICAPPED". "FACTS VS PROPAGANDA RE RTW LAWS". "LABOR LOOKS AT AUTOMATION". "CONSUMER BEWARE". "DISCRIMINATION COSTS TOO MUCH". "LABOR LOOKS AT THE WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS". IF PERMISSIBLE, HOW MANY? =

CHARLES C WEBBER AFL-CIO REPRESENTATIVE FOR

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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RELIGIOUS RELATIONS 815 16TH ST N W WASHINGTON D C=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Fourteenth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

☐ Also please send an application and information to:

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

FISK UNIVERSITY
17TH AVENUE AND MEHARRY BLVD.
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

"Nonprofit Organization"
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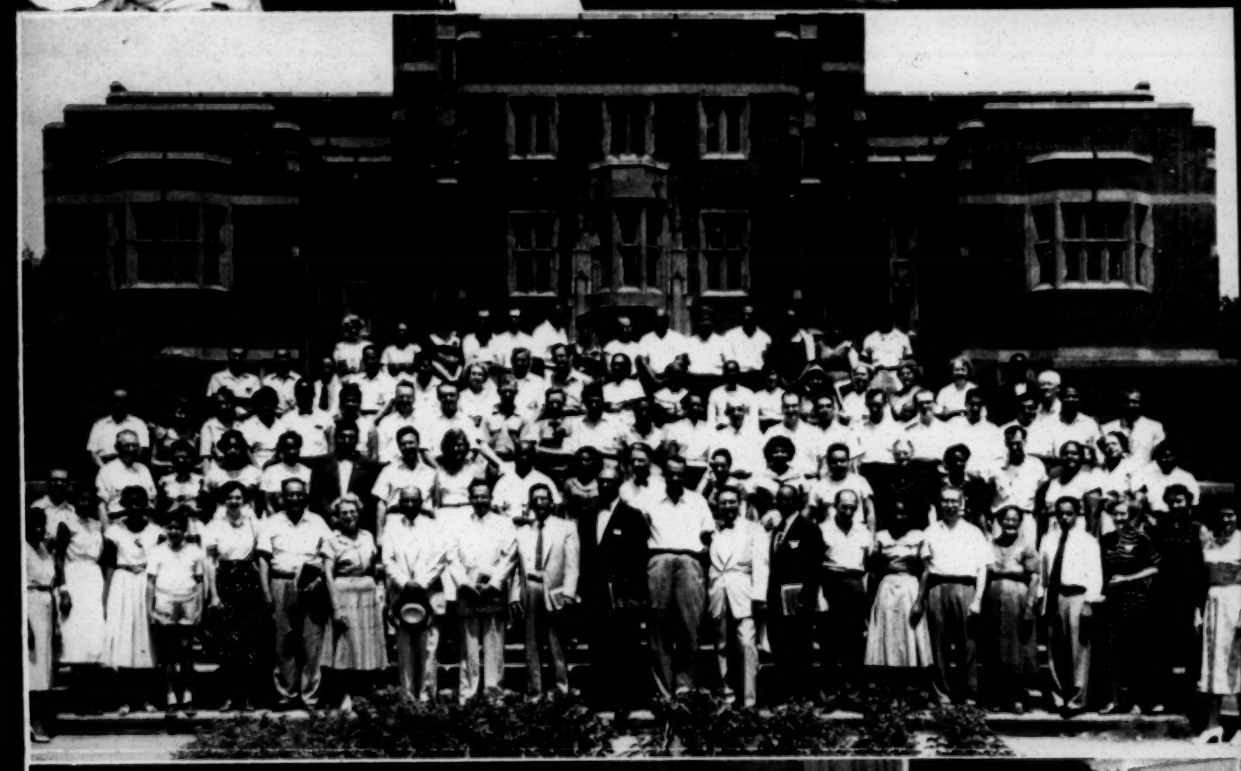
Permit No. 531

RECEIVED MAY 7 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Ga.



"The achievement of full civil rights in law may do as much to end prejudice as the end of prejudice may do to achieve full civil rights. The fewer the opportunities there are to use inequality in the law as a reinforcement of prejudice, the sooner prejudice will vanish."

—From the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights.

"The future that we all as a nation, and as a race, pictured dimly in remote time, is here in full panoply and strength. . . . The era of integration can become for the region and the nation a magnificent opportunity for spiritual and material growth, if we only have the vision to seize the creative possibilities inherent in the transition for a more democratic pattern of human relations."

—Charles S. Johnson.

These are exciting days—and more important—challenging ones. Perhaps never before have the issues of human relations, and especially race relations, risen to clearer and more demanding importance in the national life. The moral issues which are basic to equal opportunity for all citizens in a free and democratic society no longer are escapable. Practical demands and the compulsion of our religious faith and idealism push toward fulfillment of the AMERICAN PROMISE. The measure of the future will be the wise, dedicated and informed leadership of today.

In reflecting the momentum of current change and the new perspective which is emerging beyond the daily events, we take as the keynote of the 14th ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE:

NEW DIMENSIONS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The general purpose of the Institute is to train and orient leaders in local communities in the problems, processes and methods of implementing better intergroup relations. It endeavors to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate techniques and strategies.

A continuing need in this field of concern is for leadership which can help preserve the integrity of law, substitute reason for hysteria, maintain communication between groups, and pursue the steady course of justice founded in religious conviction.

WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU to share the provocative discussions of the Institute. Parent and preacher, social worker and educator, college student and teacher, labor leader and industrialist—this opportunity we extend to you. Responsible leaders from 30 states, both North and South, will be in attendance. Special delegations from Puerto Rican, Spanish-Speaking groups of the Southwest, church denominations, Indian American and other groups will help to enrich this experience.

Sessions are held in the air-conditioned facilities of Robert E. Park Hall, the social science building. Living and eating accommodations are provided in the Fisk University dormitories.

For thirteen years the Institute has provided lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop new understanding of ALL major minority group situations, covering such subjects as: The Scientific Assessment of Prejudice; Sociological and Anthropological Backgrounds of Human Relations; Fair Employment and Equal Economic Opportunity; Housing; Integration on College Campuses; Church and Race; Successful Practices of School Integration; Legal and Legislative Approaches.

A faculty drawn from the country's top authorities in social science, housing, religion and law will be available as lecturers and resource leaders. An average of 25 different resource persons come over the two-week period each year.

The roots of the Institute are planted deep in the soil of religious and moral commitment. It was established by the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Christian Churches' Board of Home Missions and enjoys the joint sponsorship of Fisk University, one of America's leading institutions of higher learning.

"Fisk University's placid campus is an odd candidate for the center of the world on a sultry summer evening. . . . It is a quiet scene, and yet this is the center of the world for a moment. The question of whether the free world deserves to remain free is being measured here. . . . It is an immensely refreshing experience to come here from the outside world of dense problems and dishearteningly slow speed in solving them, to find that the slowest problem of them all has suddenly begun to resolve, almost with breath-taking speed."

Saville Davis in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR.

LECTURERS AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University
KENNETH CLARK, Department of Psychology, City College of New York
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Department of History, Columbia University
JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Aide to the Department of Defense
FRANK GRAHAM, The United Nations
LESTER GRANGER, Executive Director, National Urban League
GEORGE GUERNSEY, Educational Director, C. I. O.
PHILLIP HAMMER, President, The Hammer Company, Atlanta, Georgia
CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University
JOHN LAFARGE, S.J., Editor, *America*
MARIE JAHODA, Associate Director, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University
HELEN V. McLEAN, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
WILL MASLOW, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress
THURGOOD MARSHALL, Chief Legal Counsel, N.A.A.C.P.
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Former Director, Southern Regional Council
HON. JAMES P. MITCHELL, Secretary of Labor for the United States
M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University
P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor, the *Pittsburgh Courier*
IRA DE A. REID, Department of Sociology, Haverford College
MARK STARR, International Ladies Garment Workers Union
LILLIAN SMITH, Author and Lecturer
JULIUS A. THOMAS, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League
ROBERT C. WEAVER, State Administrator, New York State
PHILIP WIDENHOUSE, General Secretary, American Missionary Association Division, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1957 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee **WHEN:** July 1-July 13, 1957

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

SOUTHERN UNION STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR

WHEN: July 6 - July 13, 1957

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

PURPOSES: To provide an opportunity for selected Southern union leadership to meet together with expert resource people and other interested persons to discuss and learn about race relations and civil rights problems. You will participate in an established and effective institute, Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Labor representatives will use the afternoon sessions to concentrate on the problems faced by unions and union members relative to race relations.

PROGRAM: On the evening of July 6 and through July 7 there will be an orientation session for the union training institute. The topics which will be discussed in the special union workshops will include: "A Survey of Southern Labor History," "Background of the Resistance and Hate Groups of the South," "Economic Problems and the South Today," "The Impact of White Citizens Councils on Unions and Union Activities," "Use of the Race Issue Against Unions," "How to Counteract the Use of the Race Issue Against Unions," and "Resources Available to Assist Unions in their Civil Rights Work in the South."

Beside the top-level staff recruited for the Race Relations Institute as a whole, there will be special union resource people for the workshop on labor problems. Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic, and Emory Via, Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, will serve as coordinators for the special union program.

HOW MUCH: The cost for room, board, and tuition fees will be about $50.00 for the eight days. The unions will be expected to pay the expenses of staff people. Some limited funds may be available to assist persons who otherwise couldn't get to the institute.

WRITE: For application forms or further information to: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. You may use the form below and the self-addressed envelope which is enclosed.

- -

_____ I plan to attend the Southern Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in connection with Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Please send me an application form.

_____ I will be unable to attend the Southern Union Staff Training Seminar.

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

City and State: _____

FIRST ANNUAL UNION-STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR
July 6-13, 1957

This Seminar is in conjunction with the Fourteenth Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with Benjamin D. Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

Saturday, July 6

Afternoon: Registration --- Scribner Hall

5:00 P.M. Picnic --- Jubilee Hall Lawn

Evening: Square Dance (Livingston Hall Tennis Court) or free.

Sunday, July 7

7:15 - 8:00 Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

Room 302, PARK HALL 9:30 Orientation and introductions

10:00 Background on Southern Problems and Race Realtions Patterns in Southern Unions..... Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council.

1:00 - 2:00 Dinner -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

2:00 - 4:00 A Glance at the History of Unions in the South.... Benjamin Segal, President, Local #189, American Federation of Teachers.

Supper -- (On your own: Try Brown's Restaurant right off campus on Jefferson Street)

Evening: Bull sessions and refreshments -- Boyd House, Room #23, 1603 Meharry Blvd.

Monday, July 8

6:15 - 7:30 Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - 8:50 The Southern Rural Migrant and the Urban Community... Frayser T. Lane

9:00 - 9:50 The Status of Desegregation in Southern Higher Education ..... Guy B. Johnson

9:50 - 10:30 Factors Influencing Inter-racial Acceptance on American College Campuses..... L. Maynard Catchings

10:50 - 11:30 Panel and Discussion

Monday, July 8 (continued)

11:15 - 12:30	Lunch — Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR -- "LEGAL ASPECTS OF RACIAL PROBLEMS IN THE SOUTH" --- Paul Sanders, Vanderbilt Law School.
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00 -	Nature, Purpose and Strategy of Resistance Groups in the South ..... Oscar Cohen, Program Director, Anti Defamation League.

Tuesday, July 9

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00 - 10:15	SOUTHERN ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE RACIAL CRISIS ... Ben Segal, Emory Via, John Hope, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Paul Christopher, Director, Region #8, AFL-CIO.
10:15 - 10:40	Coffee Break (Park Hall)
10:40 -	The Wage Earner in the Ameri can Economy -- Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary, N.A.A.C.P.
11:15 - 12:30	Lunch -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	LABOR SEMINAR: PRO SEGREGATION GROUPS AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT ..... Fred Routh, Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council.
	THE RACE ISSUE IN ORGANIZING CAMPAIGNS ..... Paul Christopher.
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00	ISSUES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RACIAL CRISIS FOR SOUTHERN ORGANIZED LABOR ** Al Hartnett, Secretary-Treasurer, International Union of Electrical Workers.

Wednesday, July 10

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast -- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00 - 8:50	State Fair Employment Practices ..... John Field
9:00 - 9:50	The President's Committee on Government Contracts ... John Y. Yoshino
10:20 - 11:30	Panel and Discussion..... Philip Hauser, Field and Yoshino

Wednesday, July 10 (continued)

11:30 - 12:30	Lunch --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: THE RACE ISSUE IN ONE INDUSTRY AND UNION ..... Boyd Payton, Southern Director, T.W.U.A.
	RACIAL ISSUES IN THE LOCAL UNION..... Stanton Smith, President, Tennessee Labor Council
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00	Implications of Population Trends for Race Relations, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago.

Thursday, July 11

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
8:00	Policies and Programs of Public and Private Agencies for the Elimination of Housing Discrimination..... Joseph Ray and Robert Weaver.
11:15 - 12:30	Lunch --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: FILM ---- "CLINTON AND THE LAW" ; DESEGREGATION MOVES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE LABOR MOVEMENT, THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS: A REGIONAL PICTURE.
4:00 - 5:00	Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
Evening	Open

Friday, July 12

6:15 - 7:30	Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
9:00 - 11:30	Desegregation in the Washington, D.C. Public Schools..... Charles F. Hansen and Charles Bish.
11:30 - 12:30	Lunch --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)
1:00 - 3:00	UNION SEMINAR: MEETING THE ATTACKS OF PRO SEGREGATION GROUPS AGAINST THE LABOR MOVEMENT --- RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO UNIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS WORK AND MEETING RACIAL ISSUES.

Friday, July 12 (continued)

4:00 - 5:00 Dinner --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - The Status of Legal Developments in the Desegregation Issue ..... Thurgood Marshall, Chief Legal Counsel, N.A.A.C.P.

Saturday, July 13

6:15 - 7:30 Breakfast --- Dining Hall (Jubilee Hall)

8:00 - 11:00 UNION SEMINAR: NEXT STEPS FOR UNIONS IN THE SOUTH, CONFERENCE SUMMARY.

* Topics may be shifted to another day to suit schedules of our resource persons.

* All program sessions will be held in Park Hall

July 29, 1957

Mr. Stanton Smith
Tennessee State Labor Council
939 Church Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Stanton:

Our program for the Fisk Labor Seminar is shaping up as follows: Sunday, July 7th, A.M., Southern Union History; afternoon, Background on Southern Problems and Race Relations Patterns in Southern Unions and Employment; Monday, The Legal Side of the Desegregation Issue and How It Relates to the Labor Movement (Paul Sanders at Vanderbilt will aid in this session); Tuesday, Background, Character, and Effectiveness of the Various Hate Groups (Fred Routh of the SRC will aid here) and The Use of Racial Issues in Organizing Campaigns (Paul Christopher will be with us for this session); Wednesday, The Use of the Race Issue in One Union and Industry (Boyd Payton will be our chief resource here to talk about textile); in the second half of the Wednesday session, we will discuss Racial Issuds in the Local Union: When and How Raised, and Ways to Meet Them. Ben and I would be particularly happy to have you act as a chief resource in this session; I know that your schedule may not permit this, but I hope that this will be one of the times that you will be able to come over to the Labor Seminars. We are asking Boyd Payton to sit in on this session also. Thursday, we will discuss desegregation in the community and how it affects labor; on Friday we will be talking about the resources available to unions in doing race relations and civil rights work - further attention will be given to the problem of meeting the attacks using race against the labor movement.

Of course, all of the above sessions are just the afternoon (2:00 to 4:00 P.M.) Labor Workshop sessions. The morning and evening programs are arranged by Fisk; some of them do have a special bearing on matters of interest to the labor movement. Briefly, the program is this: Monday A.M., Problems of In-migration in Chicago and Desegregation on College Campuses; Monday evening, Hate Groups; Tuesday A.M., Implications of Desegregation and Social Change for the Labor Movement and Employment Opportunities and the Use of Government Contract Provisions; Tuesday

evening Al Hartnett of the IUE will speak; Wednesday A.M., Problems of Employment and Training for Minority Groups; evening, Present Basic Population Trends as Related to Industrialization and Urbanization and the Effect on Minorities and Inter-group Relations; Thursday A.M., Housing; Evening, open; Friday A.M., School Desegregation and a Reappraisal of Washington, D.C. Desegregation; Evening, Review of the Legal Status of Desegregation Moves.

I hope that you will be able to find time to be with us on several of these occasions. It was very good to get a chance to talk with you in Nashville the other week. I did see Robinson in Chattanooga and I hope that your plan to see him will be realized. I hope to get a chance to talk with you further about this situation when I am in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm

TRADE UNION PROGRAM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS

1244 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director

STERLING 3-2194

November 15, 1957

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

John Caldwell, Education Director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, called me to ask for some help on their Jacksonville, Florida situation. They have an all-white local of 1200 members. In addition, there are 800 Negro workers who want to join the union. They are willing to accept the (a) separate charter. The National Executive Board of the union which has been meeting this week in Washington, has voted not to issue a separate charter on the ground that it is contrary to their union policy and AFL-CIO policy. John says if they order the white local to take the Negroes in it is pretty definite that the white local will withdraw from the AFSCME. John therefore is interested in trying some sort of educational program which might prevent either one of the extreme actions - i.e., having a separate Negro local, or, in effect, kicking out the all-white local. I gave him your address and telephone number, and he said he would get in touch with you.

It sounds like a pretty rough situation, but I would guess it would be worth the effort to try to find some solution.

I hope you will start thinking about the Spring conference we talked about in Atlanta. You might think in terms of possible dates, or rather, alternative dates which we could send around to some of the key people to get their preference and clear for major conflicts. It might also be well to think of some program ideas - perhaps a couple of good major figures that we might try to invite as speakers. I would think it would be the sort of thing it might be worthwhile trying to get Martin Luther King for. Perhaps it would be good to get someone like Frank Graham down for this conference. We might think in terms of actually having some workshop sessions where people would be divided according to their work interests. For instance, the various southern State Council people might be in one workshop; perhaps the civil rights staff people might be in another workshop (this workshop can well consider how the national headquarters of the various unions could be most helpful in work with the South through the national civil rights committees and staff). Still another workshop might be for those primarily

Supported by funds from Trade Unions and Foundations

~~engaged in~~ organizing and perhaps servicing of local unions in the South.

I am thinking out loud on this conference idea, but I visualize an off-the-record conference which would attempt to give participants a pretty good summary of what's happening in various important fields such as industrialization, voting, school integration, and the job opportunities areas. The SRC of course would be very important in these report sessions. I would think this sort of conference would take a lot of planning and a lot of advance work. The date would have to be set well in advance. If you aimed for an early March conference, for example, the work of preliminary announcements and recruiting actually ought to start in about a month.

As I said, these are but random thoughts, and I am sure you will want to change, and add on your own thoughts and those of Harold and the others.

It occurs to me that this fellow Phil Hammer might be good at the industrialization end. I was impressed with the way he handled himself at the Washington conference.

The other thing that occurs to me is that you ought to contact John Hope II about the Fisk seminar. I would think that you ought to let him know that we are definitely interested in going ahead on the same basis as last year, and that you and he ought to plan to sit down very early in the game to talk about program and details.

Love to the family. Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin D. Segal

BDS:eej

November 27, 1957

Mr. John Hope II
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John:

Ben and I are still planning to have a program in conjunction with the coming Fisk Race Relations Institute. I would welcome your suggestions as to problems, if any, that should be anticipated and your comments as to the value of this kind of special program from the institute's point of view.

You will perhaps want me to communicate directly with Herman regarding final arrangements, but I hope you will let me have your general and specific comments as soon as possible as well as your suggestions as to how to proceed from this point.

Perhaps I need not repeat that Ben and I considered last year's union seminar of real value to the participants and that we feel it bore fruit for our later activities.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

January 10, 1958

Mr. John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, 8
Tennessee

Dear John:

The season of needles has started and it isn't yet even summer. What is your advice regarding my earlier letter about another labor seminar at the Race Relations Institute? Ben and I are still looking forward to another one. Your counsel in this matter would be appreciated.

I would be ready to sit down with you at an early date to discuss some of the details of program and mechanics.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

January 24, 1958

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

In response to your query about our interest in a Labor Seminar in connection with the Race Relations Institute, we look forward with enthusiasm to a repeat performance. Herman and I have discussed this matter and feel that the Labor Seminar made a very real contribution to all involved in the Race Relations Institute. We are happy that you and Ben are sufficiently pleased with the results to go forward with plans for the summer of 1958. We feel that the general format of the seminar and the effective integration of this group into the total sturcture and spirit of the institute proved to be mutually advantageous and from our point of view see no reason to change it. As to the subject matter of the seminar, you and Ben are in a much better position than I to determine the needs of the members. However, there maybe additional areas for the joint ~~of exchange~~ use of materials and resource consultants between the Labor Seminar and my clinic. You will recall that by pooling our moving picture resources and running them at a hour open to all, the range of usefulness of this medium was extended considerably with little increase in cost.

As to program and mechanics, I agree that we should discuss this in some detail in the near future. I talked with Ben in Washington last Thursday and was advised that the administration of the seminar was pretty well in your hands so that you and I should move forward in the planning without his direct participation. This simplifies procedural channels and I would hope that we might sit down together on my next trip to Atlanta, if that is not too far away. In the meanwhile I would suggest, since you carried the primary responsibility for administration and dealt most directly with our departmental staff, that you review your experience and indicate the major "headaches" and have in mind any suggestions you have for improving the efficiency of all processes where co-ordination is necessary. As to program, it would help me to know in advance what you and Ben conceive to be the major subject matter areas southern labor leaders and staff members need to cover in light of the realities of the present situation and some

rough estimate of the division of time among these. On basis of last year's experience, we might give some attention to techniques of minimizing north-south and International-~~labor~~ Union cleavages and sensitivities with a minimum of dilution of the quality and comprehensiveness of the treatment of specific intergroup problems. This, I know, is a tough problem but insofar as we are fully aware of it in relation to specific issues and can anticipate possible frictions, the learning process will be enriched.

Ben tells me that you are planning a two-day meeting in Atlanta in March. We should get together before this meeting so that we might have a basis for some brief promotion work and because some of our seminar planning might have relevance to that meeting also. I talked briefly with Ben about possible evening speakers. He suggests three names in the order ~~of~~ in which they are listed: Victor Reuther: James Carey: and Amil Mazey.

You may recall that Walter Reuther declined last year after careful consideration but I was advised by advisers close to him that our invitation came too late and that if we wanted him for 1958 we should extend the invitation in January and February. Ben is quite favorable to having him as a speaker but expresses concern because of the very real prospect that even if he accepts it, he might have to send a substitute at the last minute if more pressing matters arose. Thus he feels that it is better to get a speaker who is more certain to be able to meet his commitment. Furthermore he feels that Victor would make an excellent speaker and that his appearance could be assured if he were invited in the very near future. I have not had a chance to talk to Dr. Long about this matter yet.

You may now consider yourself "counter-needled." Seriously speaking, you may be assured that we are ready to cooperate fully in the joint venture in the hope that the 1958 Institute will be the best ever and that the Labor Seminar will be a major reason for this.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

JH:rmd

cc: Dr. Herman H. Long and Mr. Harold Fleming

P.S. Since you're in the family, I'll let you have the "benefit" of all of the typographical errors. Don't tell a soul!!

April 11, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Director
Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is the proposed draft for a letter from the Trade Union Program to the Education Directors. Of course, change it as you see fit.

I thought it a good idea to put the biographical dope on Charlie and me on a separate sheet. You will probably want to fatten these up a bit -- especially Charlie's.

A copy of the other letter -- the preliminary announcement for the Fisk Seminar -- is also enclosed. You will recall that both of us are signing this one. I assume you want us to sign for you here. A complete list of the persons receiving this letter will be sent to you and if you wish copies of the letter for your own use please say so.

Vacationing was very good -- almost no sun. A few unscheduled rush jobs have made things a bit hectic since. However, I had good conversation with Rube Farr in Birmingham and had an opportunity to perform a service for Al Kehrer here in Atlanta. I have also supplied Elijah Jackson in Haigler's office with a good bit of material on Negroes in unions and race relations in unions which he said he could not get from the education or civil rights departments of the AFL-CIO.

I cannot at this time set the date for the Fisk Seminar, but we will certainly try to make it the first week if that is the time you are free.

Continued . . .

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal April 11, 1958

One more thing, if you will pardon the hodge podge: I could use about twenty-five copies of the early period labor history notes (before 1900) until such time as your proposed pamphlet is ready,

Trust things are moving along OK for you. Please give our regards to Lib.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

DRAFT

Dear . . . . :

This year the Rev. Charles Jones and Emory F. Via will be available for schools, institutes, and conferences. Each can serve as instructor, lecturer, discussion leader or resource person. For many years they have worked successfully with union education activities in the South.

The topics which they are prepared to teach cover a wide range related to the problems of civil rights and race relations. We would suggest topics such as Southern Problems, Southern Labor History, The Desegregation Controversy and Unions, The Economy of the South, Civil Rights.

During the past year they have participated in a number of schools sponsored by Internationals in the South and in institutes sponsored by state labor bodies. Please advise us at the earliest possible time when you would like to schedule them for your programs this year.

It will be necessary for their expenses to be met, and in most cases arrangements for an honorarium should be made.

Information on these two men appears on the attached sheet.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Benjamin D. Segal

EFV:fcl
April 11, 1958

DRAFT

Charles Jones -- preacher and long-time worker for human decency and justice. He was trained for the Presbyterian ministry and currently he is the pastor of the Community Church, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. His insight, informality, and humor have made him a favorite with Southern Union audiences.

etc, etc

Emory F. Via -- has been active in workers' education for ten years. He is Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, an old and established human relations organization working for full democracy in the South. Via is a native of Virginia, and received his college training in Georgia. He is a specialist in the field of racial relations and Unions and has been widely used throughout the region for educational programs and consultation.

Ben, fill these in as you see fit

DRAFT

Dear . . . . :

We are now planning for the second annual Union Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. Last year the combination of special labor programs, the formal program of the Institute, and the informal bull sessions proved highly successful and merited the acclaim of the thirty unionists who participated.

This year's program will be somewhat broader in scope and we plan to reach a greater cross section of Southern labor leadership. The regular Fisk program will provide general background on racial problems and how they relate to other affairs in the United States and the world. The Union Seminars in the afternoons will deal specifically with Southern Unions' problems and the race question. Individual sessions will be on topics such as: a) Patterns of Race Relations in Southern Unions; b) Southern Labor History; c) Developments in the Southern Economy; d) Activities of the Pro-Segregation Groups; e) Community and Regional Human Relations Resources; f) Problems of Employment on Merit; and g) The Race Issue in Organizing Campaigns.

This letter is an advance notice so that you can think in terms of who from your organization should attend. The Seminar will be for one week, either the first or second week of July, at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. The approximate cost for accommodations, meals, and tuition is $50,00.

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible regarding those persons to whom you would like information sent. I am, of course, counting on your interest and assistance to make this program a successful and a meaningful contribution to the problems we all face.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl
April 10, 1958

List of persons to whom advance notice of Union Seminar at Fisk was sent:

Jarvis Baughman, Wood Workers, Atlanta

Edmund Dumas, Packinghouse Workers, Atlanta

George Gill, CWA, Atlanta

Charles H. Gillman, AFL-CIO, Atlanta

James P. Harden, UAW, Atlanta

E. T. Kehrer, ILGWU, Atlanta

Loren H. Nelles, USA, Atlanta

Ray Nixon, Rubber Workers, Atlanta

Eric Polisar, Clothing Workers, Atlanta

Carl E. Griffin, Alabama AFL, Birmingham

Leroy Lindsey, Alabama Labor Council, Birmingham

E. C. Pippin, Alabama Labor Council, Montgomery

Nat Griswold, ACHR, Little Rock

Christopher Mercer, Little Rock

Odell Smith, Arkansas Labor Council, Little Rock

V. H. Williams, Arkansas Labor Council, Little Rock

John Brumm, Machinists, Washington

John Caldwell, State, County and Municipal Employees, Washington

Frans Daniels, AFL-CIO, Washington

Ken Peterson, IUE, Washington

Boris Shishkin, AFL-CIO, Washington

Edmund N. Weyler, Carpenters, Washington

Lee White, CWA, Washington

Paul Ward, Teachers, Chicago

Sam Eselle, Kentucky Labor Council, Louisville

Robert H. Rowe, Kentucky Labor Council, Louisveille

E. H. Williams, AFL-CIO, New Orleans

Victor Bussie, Louisiana Labor Council, Shreveport

William H. Oliver, UAW, Detroit

Earl Henderson, UAW, Baltimore

E. T. Michael, UAW, Baltimore

Oliver Singleton, AFL-CIO, Baltimore

Julian Frazer, UAW, Kansas City, Missouri

Carey E. Haigler, AFL-CIO, Charlotte, N.C.

Boyd Payton, TWUA, Charlotte, N.C.

Wilbur Hobby, Durham Labor Journal, N.C.

Floyd Butler, Furniture Workers, High Point, N.C.

W. M. Barbee, N.C. State AFL-CIO, Raleigh

J. W. Holder, N.C. State AFL-CIO, Raleigh

Woodrow G. Pendergrass, AFL-CIO, Tulsa, Oklahoma

James E. Turner, URWA, Akron, Ohio

James E. Wolfe, Brewery Workers, Cincinnati, Ohio

C. E. Perry, Glass Bottle Blowers, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Frank Shane, Stellwrokers, Pittsburgh

E. T. Kirkland, S.C. Labor Countil, Columbia

Paul R. Christopher, AFL-CIO, Knoxville, Tennessee

Dial Murphy, Oil, Chemical and Atomic, Knoxville, Tennessee

Dan Powell, COPE, Memphis, Tennessee

Stanton Smith, Tennessee Labor Council, Nashville

Lester Graham, AFL-CIO, Fort Worth, Texas

Carmen Lucia, United Hatters, Longview, Texas

Harold Boyd, Virginia State AFL-CIO, Richmond, Virginia

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NATIONAL 8-3870

April 18, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E. - room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Brother Via:

Thank you for your letter of April 16, regarding the plans for the Second Annual Union Seminar at the Fisk Institute of Race Relations next July.

I hope to be able to arrange to have Theodore E. Brown, Assistant Director of this Department, attend the Seminar for us. I have also asked John Connors, Director of our Department of Education to have someone available from his shop for this purpose.

In the meantime, I would appreciate your letting me know as soon as possible, the exact date set for this meeting and other essential details, so that concrete plans could be made soon. This would be most helpful in view of the heavy schedule and the competing demands for the time of the people concerned during this period.

Many thanks for your interest and help.

Fraternally yours,

Boris Shishkin

Boris Shishkin
Director
Department of Civil Rights

Communications

DISTRICT 3

20th CWA Anniversary

Workers of America

40 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA 1.40

April 18, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal, Trade Union
Program on Civil Liberties & Rights
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ben:

This will acknowledge with thanks your letter of April 15th concerning the annual union seminar which your organization contemplates holding at Fisk University. I would appreciate your sending your announcement and other information to:

Mr. R. B. Porch, Area Director
District 3, CWA
405 Seventh Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

AL 60673

I am sure that he will either attend the institute himself or have one of his staff people to do so. I certainly appreciate your giving me this advance notice of the institute and will look forward with interest to the report of whichever staff person Brother Porch decides to assign to attend.

Fraternally yours,

G E Gill

G. E. Gill (w)
District Director

GEG/mfw
cc: R. B. Porch (Att.)

April 22, 1958

Mr. Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University Office
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

I am mailing you, under separate cover, a copy of the Negro Voter as requested in your letter of April 18.

There is no charge to you for this single copy and I hope to get a packet of additional material off to you soon, with an eye towards the possible use of the material in your Race Relations Institute this summer.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

April 18, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

I would greatly appreciate your sending me a copy of the study on Negro voting which was done by the Council. If there is a charge for this, please let me know.

With best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

HHL:RTF

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 6, CHARLES H. GILLMAN, DIRECTOR
1026 HURT BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JACKSON 4-5001-2

April 22, 1958.

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Brother Segal:

With reference to your letter of April 15, regarding the second annual Union Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations, I would like to suggest that you invite the following labor leaders:

Mr. W.A.Montague, President
Mr. W. M. Crim, Secretary-Treasurer
Georgia State AFL-CIO
95 Merritts Ave N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Mr. James O. Moore, President
250 Tenth St. N. E. Atlanta, Ga.
Mr. Roy W. Weaver, Secretary
95 Merritts Ave N. E.
Atlanta Labor Council.

Mr. George Gill, District Director, C.W.A.
40 Pryor St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Earle Moye, Regional Director C.W.A.
40 Pryor St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Lorne Nelles, Director District 35,
United Steel Workers
95 Merritts Ave N. E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. Arnold Kennedy, Representative
International Brotherhood Electrical Workers,
250 Tenth St. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Fraternally yours,

C H Gillman

Charles H. Gillman
Regional Director

CHG/pbo

TRADE UNION PROGRAM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS

1244 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director

STERLING 3-2194

April 23, 1958

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I think your letter ought to go to all AFL-CIO Education Directors, such as Sexton, Glazer, Pagano, Emil and Mark Starr, and Ed Kenney; to Al Barton, Deputy Director of COPE; to Parker, District Director of United Retail-Wholesale Employees in Birmingham; to Ellis Baker, Research Director of the American Newspaper Guild; and any Internationals you haven't covered, with a note for northern offices to call it to the attention of their southern constituents. I am attaching addresses of the above for your convenience.

I have been invited to the YW-YMCA College Conference, Southern Region. Looks like I would have a hard time doing this with my schedule, and I'm wondering if you could do it, in case I can't fit it in. The subject is "The Role of Labor in Modern Society". They want to know if I could arrive at Blue Ridge Sunday, June 8, as the seminars are the second half of the conference. That means you would be free to leave by Wednesday afternoon, the 11th. The general theme is "Man Against Culture." I'll let you know as soon as possible in terms of my schedule, whether or not I can make it. It should be a very worthwhile conference, and I'd really like to do it if I can. But you'd enjoy substituting, since all the girls are pretty, and it would make you feel young again!

Did I tell you that Chemical and Rubber Workers, with AFL-CIO Education Department, are having a Summer Institute at Fontana Dam Village May 18-24? I will try to talk to Joe Glazer about using you when I see him. You may want to drop a note to Otto Pragan and Joe, although they have both received my letter about your availability.

Sincerely,

Ben.

Ben Segal
Director

BS:ej
Attach.

Supported by funds from Trade Unions and Foundations

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REGION NO. 5, CAREY E. HAIGLER, DIRECTOR
1106-10 INDEPENDENCE BLDG.
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA
EDISON 3-9627

April 24th, 1958.

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal, Trade Union Program on
Civil Liberties and Rights
Rm. #432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ben:

Many thanks for your letter of April 17th, 1958, relating to your plans for the second annual Union Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. Chances are I will not have an opportunity to attend nor will any of the Region 5 AFL-CIO Staff. However, I do believe that both the North and South Carolina State Bodies and some of the Central Labor Unions will be glad to have someone attend the Institute.

If you so desire, I will forward a copy of your letter to the various State and Local Central Labor organizations in Region 5 or better yet a list of the names of at least one of the principal officers of the State and Local Central Labor Unions is enclosed.

Chances are that J. W. Holder and E. T. Kirkland will be interested and that some of the Local Central Labor Union officers would like to attend.

Please advise as to how I can be most helpful.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Carey

Carey E. Haigler
Director

CEH:ash
OEIU 2 afl-cio
CC: Emory F. Via

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

BARNEY WEEKS, PRESIDENT
LEROY LINDSEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER
E. C. PIPPIN, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
E. J. BARNETT, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

AM 3-6016 • 326 FRANK LEU BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

April 25, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Segal:

I regret the delay in answering your correspondence of April 15 but due to the political races in the state have been out of the office almost constantly since that time.

In order that your second annual Union Seminar might receive more publicity and wider participation, I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Mr. B. H. Weeks, president of the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Please know that I am wishing you every success for your conference and will do anything I can to help make it so.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

Earl

E. C. Pippin, 1st Vice-President

ECP:ekg
oeiu-18

cc: Mr. B. H. Weeks
Mr. Emory F. Via

April 25, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Segal:

I regret the delay in answering your correspondence of April 15 but due to the political races in the state have been out of the office almost constantly since that time.

In order that your second annual Union Seminar might receive more publicity and wider participation, I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Mr. B. H. Weeks, president of the Alabama Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Please know that I am wishing you every success for your conference and will do anything I can to help make it so.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I remain

Very truly yours,

Pip

E. C. Pippin, 1st Vice-President

ECP:ekg
oeiu-18

cc: Mr. B. H. Weeks
Mr. Emory F. Via

Hi Emory,
I have discussed this at length with Barney and feel that he is in a better position than I.
Hope to see you soon.
Pip

Ben Segal

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

Dear Ben! 4/29/58

I will be on a stand by basis for Blue Ridge Conference — June 8th. Please let me know when you can if you definitely want me to take it on, and send such materials, programs, etc. as you think would be helpful.

The civil liberties aspects of civil rights is still much needed. Any further thinking at your end? Oscar Cohen has a project developing — something of a case study approach — which would not duplicate what you had in mind as I see it.

Regarding Fisk, I've had replies suggesting names from: Pippin, Haigler, Shishkin, Singleton, Gillman, Gill.

(2)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

We need to set the dates. Fisk does not have program set, but feels that 2nd week is likely to be stronger program and of greater interest. I would prefer having it when you can be there. It may be that we will reach a more "elementary" group this time and the first week would be preferable. What's your thinking?

I'm without secretarial help until further notice — a real pain. We have had lots of warning but have been unable to fill the job yet.

Sincerely,

Emory

TRADE UNION PROGRAM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS

1244 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

105

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director

STERLING 3-2194

April 29, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Could you bring me up to date on progress in plans for the Fisk Institute?

Hope you and Margaret are well.

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben Segal
Director

BS:ej

Supported by funds from Trade Unions and Foundations

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Affiliated With The AFL-CIO
DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION • EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY
28 EAST JACKSON BLVD • CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS • HARRISON 7-2950

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1214 N. HAWLEY ROAD
MILWAUKEE 8, WIS.

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2445 AVENUE H
COUNCIL BLUFFS, IA.

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108 DENVER LABOR CENTER
DENVER 23, COLO.

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PEEKSKILL, N.Y.

MRS. FLORENCE SWEENEY
29415 E. RIVER RD.,
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1119 EAST FOURTH ST.,
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DIRECTOR, SPECIAL SERVICES

MARIE L. CAYLOR
EDITOR—AMERICAN TEACHERS

MARY HERRICK
RESEARCH DIRECTOR

HARRY E. CAYLOR
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL

April 30, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thank you for your letter of April 16th concerning the proposed seminar on race relations which will be held for one week at Fisk University.

May I suggest that you send full particulars on the proposed seminar to the names listed on the enclosed sheet?

I hope that I will be able to be in attendance for this week also but in the event that I am not, may I extend my wishes for a very successful seminar.

Fraternally yours,

Paul

PAUL D. WARD
Director of Special Services
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

PDW:BF
oeiu28
AFL-CIO

Enclosure

L. S. BUCKMASTER, PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. CHILDS, VICE PRESIDENT DESMOND WALKER, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

AFL - CIO

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BLDG., 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET
Akron 8, Ohio

PHONES
FRANKLIN 6-6181, 6-6182, 6-6183, 6-6184, 6-6185, 6-6186

May 2, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am in receipt of your communication of April 17 concerning the proposed second annual Union Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I hope that this year we will have more success in getting participation from our staff people than we had last year.

I intend to discuss these seminars with General President Buckmaster in an effort to get more participation.

If you plan as you did last year to have some Negro participation, I might suggest if you haven't already nailed down the date, that it be the first week in July rather than the 2nd week when most of the Negroes who would normally participate will be attending the national NAACP convention which is to be held in Cleveland beginning the week of July 6. If it could be the week prior to that we could be certain of more participation on their part. I know I am already committed to attend the NAACP convention.

As soon as you do have a specific date, I would appreciate your letting me know so we can try to plan getting whoever from our staff is available to attend.

Hoping for a successful conference, I remain

Fraternally yours,

James E. Turner

James E. Turner, Director
Fair Practices Department

JET:jrh
oeiu 339

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

AFL CIO

DIAL MURPHY, DIRECTOR
DISTRICT NO. 9

220 FLATIRON BLDG.
705 BROADWAY N.E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE

May 5, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Trade Union Program on
Civil Liberties and Rights

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have delayed answering your letter of April 16, 1958 on the Seminar you propose to conduct for one week, either the first or second week of July, at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee because of a tour of the Local Unions I had scheduled in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida and Alabama.

We have been faced with some rather severe problems in District 9 during the past year by layoffs of members through plant reductions and plant shutdowns. Our losses have exceeded 15% in this area during this period. Because of this, it has been necessary to decrease the International Staff in District 9 by one-third since last August, as the curtailment of production has had a serious, adverse affect not only on Local Unions but the International Union as well.

It is with regret that I feel that I must inform you because of this condition and because of negotiations in the near future which will require a heavy expenditure of funds on the part of the Local Unions that none of the Local Unions in District 9 will be in a position financially to be in attendance at the Seminar.

I sincerely regret that this is so and hope you will understand the problems which we are presently facing.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Dial Murphy

Dial Murphy, Director
District 9

DM:ks
cc: O. A. Knight, President, OCAW, AFL-CIO

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

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EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

May 5, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Brother Via:

This acknowledges receipt of your joint letter of April 16, 1958 sent by you and Brother Ben Segal with respect to the second annual Union Seminar at Fisk University this year.

We are of course, as in the past, pleased to learn of the plans and the program which is underway in conjunction with this year's Fisk Institute on Race Relations. I am certain you are aware of our present economic situation which will have an impact on our participation in such programs as the one you have planned at Fisk this year; however, I am sending a copy of this letter along to Director E. T. Michael for his consideration and action. We will be in touch with you after consultation with Director Michael.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Bill

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:ws
oeiu42

cc- E. T. Michael
Ben D. Segal
Earl Henderson

JOHN E. McKIERNAN, PRESIDENT
SAM EZELLE, SECRETARY-TREASURER

KENTUCKY STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR

A.F.L. C.I.O. JUNIPER 4-8189 312 ARMORY PLACE LOUISVILLE 2, KY.

May 7, 1958

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Trade Union Program on
Civil Liberties and Rights
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 432 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Ben:

I note that the second annual Union Seminar will be held in July at Nashville, Tennessee.

I should very much like to attend and yet Kentucky at the present time is suffering a rather severe set-back as unemployment is at an all time high here with no relief in sight. The budget of the Federation together with the budget of the respective Central Bodies and Local Unions are suffering sharp reductions. As much as I should like to attend, or be represented, it will not be possible for us to do so. As a matter of fact, we are finding it rather difficult to solicit our membership in Kentucky for the Kentucky Labor School this year which is scheduled for June.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Sam Ezelle

Sam Ezelle
Secretary-Treasurer

se/af
oeiu-61

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OWENSBORO

Southeastern Regional Office

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION AFL—CIO

1489 GORDON STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 10, GEORGIA

Telephone PLaza 3-1151

DAVID DUBINSKY, *President*
E. T. KEHRER, *Southeastern Regional Director*

May 12, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Please let me know as soon as possible when the Union Seminar at the Fisk Institute is to be held. If it is the first week in July, I am afraid we will have the same problem as last year, for our Regional Conference is scheduled for that week. If it is held the second week in July, I may be in a position to send one or two people.

Best regards.

Fraternally,

E. T. Kehrer/pt

E. T. Kehrer, Director
Southeastern Region, ILGWU

ETK/pt

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GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
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FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-4764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 15, 1958

Enclosed is an announcement of the Union Staff Training Seminar sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations, from June 29 - July 5, 1958.

Most unionists realize that racial issues are affecting their organizations in important ways. Racial problems in the community spill over into the union; organizing campaigns are hampered; and racial problems arise in local unions.

There is no way to dodge most of these situations. Our task is to develop a better understanding of racial relations and other Southern problems that relate to them. Frequently union leadership has expressed the need for information and techniques that will aid them in meeting these crucial issues in a way consistent with fair play and the preservation of union strength.

The start of the school year will bring new instances of desegregation by communities which are facing their responsibilities. In some localities these moves may be accompanied by disturbances caused by the more ardent pro-segregationists. Past experience indicates that these can be troublesome times within the union, too.

The Council's Union Seminar offers these aids: exchange of experiences with other union leaders, background on Southern social and economic conditions, background on Southern labor history, information on pro-segregation and hate groups, the use of racial issues in organizing campaigns, counteracting the use of racial issues, and resources available to unions in meeting civil rights and race relations problems. In addition, you will meet with other persons from over the South and nation who have an interest in better human relations, and you will hear experts that have been selected for the general program of the Fisk Institute.

You are urged to send in your application today and to suggest names of colleagues whom you feel will profit from this experience.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council

Ben Segal, Director
Trade Union Program on Civil
Liberties and Rights

EFV/mf
Enclosure - Union Staff Training Seminar Announcement

SECOND ANNUAL
SOUTHERN UNION STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR

WHEN: June 29-July 5, 1958

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

PURPOSES: To provide an opportunity for selected Southern union leadership to meet together with expert resource people and other interested persons to discuss and learn about race relations and civil rights problems. You will participate in an established and effective institute, Fisk University's 15th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Labor representatives will use the afternoon sessions to concentrate on the problems faced by unions and union members relative to race relations.

PROGRAM: On the evening of June 29th there will be an orientation session for the union training institute. The topics which will be discussed in the special union workshops will include: "Southern Labor History," "Background of the Resistance and Hate Groups of the South," "Economic Problems and the South Today," "Merit Employment" "How to Counteract the Use of the Race Issue Against Unions," and "Resources Available to Assist Unions in their Civil Rights Work in the South."

Beside the top-level staff recruited for the Race Relations Institute as a whole, there will be special union resource people for the workshop on labor problems. Ben Segal, Director, Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights, and Emory Via, Labor Consultant for the Southern Regional Council, will serve as coordinators for the special union program.

HOW MUCH: The cost for room, board, and tuition fees will be about $50.00 for the seven days. The unions will be expected to pay the expenses of staff people. Some limited funds may be available to assist persons who otherwise couldn't get to the institute.

WRITE: For application forms or further information write to: Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. You may use the form below and the self-addressed envelope which is enclosed.

- -

_____ I plan to attend the Southern Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in connection with Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations. Please send me an application form.

Name: _____

Position: _____

Organization: _____

Address: _____

City and State: _____

Steelworker

May 16, 1958

Mr. Ellison Jeffries
United Steelworkers of America, District 25
806 Keith Building
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Dear Mr. Jeffries:

We are very glad to have your reply blank from our announcement of the 15th Annual Race Relations Institute which will be held here at Fisk University from June 30th through July 12th. I am enclosing an application blank in response to your request.

As you may know, one of the adjuncts to the Institute this year will be a special Labor Workshop. This is a repeat of the very excellent workshop which was held last summer. Mr. Emory Via, labor consultant to the Southern Regional Council will be in charge, and I am sending him a copy of this letter for his information. Mr. Ben Segal, educational director for I.U.E., will be one of the consultants, along with Mr. John Hope II of our staff. This special labor workshop will convene the first week of the Institute.

When your application is returned to this office, we will send you a copy of your "Institute Bluebook" which gives a description of housing and other arrangements here on the campus.

I am sure that you will find these sessions not only provocative and helpful but enjoyable as well. I look forward to the opportunity of greeting you in person.

With very best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

TENNESSEE STATE LABOR COUNCIL
AFL-CIO

939 CHURCH STREET
PHONE ALpine 6-5687
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

May 16, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is the list of names I promised you. I have no idea how many might accept, but even if only a few do it will be all to the good. Some of these have good attitudes, others are unknown.

All of them hold responsible positions or are leaders in their respective organizations. Some of the organizations they represent would probably give them trouble if the question of sending them were brought up in a meeting. I feel sure you will handle the invitations in such a way as not to be interpreted as a communication to the organization, but rather to the individual.

The situation is different with most of these representatives than with International Union representatives. (Several are International Representatives -- most are local union or local council officers).

With best personal good wishes,

Fraternally yours,

STANTON E. SMITH
President

SES:sk

Enclosure

oeiu 182

MEMORANDUM

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DATE: 5/20/50-8

TO:

FROM: H. A. Long

RE:

Emory —

This is for your information. Any influence that you can exert to urge Reuther's acceptance will be appreciated

Horace

UAW

May 20, 1958

Mr. Victor Reuther
United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO
1126 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I am writing to invite your attention to the Second Annual Labor Workshop which is to be held at Fisk University in connection with the 15th Annual Race Relations Institute. The enclosed materials will give you some idea about the Institute. It is one of the oldest and best leadership training efforts in this field, drawing an average of 130 community leaders from 33 states each year. Its strategic location on the campus of one of the South's leading institutions of higher learning and at the veritable frontier of the most challenging social change now confronting the nation adds to its significance.

But let me add a word about the Labor Workshop: Last year was its first session, and it was conceived by Emory Via of the Southern Regional Council and Ben Segal, now of I.U.E., as a means of providing southern labor leaders from several unions the opportunity to share experiences, programs and methods in facing the issues of race which have a direct impact upon the labor movement in the area. Some twenty-seven labor delegates from six unions came — all of them officials in local and state bodies. They met for two hours each afternoon for a full week, and all of these were work and discussion sessions held separate from the regular Institute seminars in the morning. Quite uniformly the delegates have reported that this was a helpful and valuable experience, and for that reason we are encouraging a repetition. Emory Via and Ben Segal are again taking the initiative in planning and promoting the labor delegation, and our office is cooperating on the side of the Institute itself.

The interests of the Institute and the Labor Workshop merge in the general seminar sessions held each morning and occasionally in special evening lectures. This provides an enrichment of interests and concerns of great value to us all mutually.

This year the Institute meets between June 30th and July 12th; the Labor Workshop will have its special sessions between June 30th and July 5th. I should like to extend to you a most cordial but yet urgent invitation to speak in the context of these race relations and labor workshop sessions.

It seemed quite good to us to schedule your presentation as a culminating feature of the week. This would involve an evening presentation on Friday evening, July 4th. This day, in itself, has special appropriateness for labor and its role in the democratic process. The evening hour would give opportunity for labor people in the Nashville area, as well as other leaders, to hear you.

We would hope that you could address yourself to the general area of the issues confronting organized labor in the South which relate to current developments in the field of race relations, if you can come. I hesitate to put this in the conditional form, because our interest in having you is so great and the role you discharge in the labor movement so unique, it would seem a tragedy to us if you could not come.

We would expect to take care of your travel and other expenses here, and although our resources are very limited, we would want to express our appreciation in the form of a modest honorarium.

Your consideration of this matter will be greatly appreciated by all of us.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

United Steelworkers of America

I. W. ABEL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

HOWARD R. HAGUE
VICE-PRESIDENT

Committee on Civil Rights

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING · PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

GRANT 1-5254

THOMAS SHANE
CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH GERMANO
BERT HOUGH
JOHN W. GRAJCIAR
THOMAS MURRAY
GILBERT C. ANAYA
JOSEPH H. NEAL
BOYD L. WILSON
FRANCIS C. SHANE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 21, 1958

4

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I sent to the following USA District Directors:

Albert Atallah, Director
District 8, USA
3600 Eastern Avenue
Baltimore 24, Maryland

Paul Rusen, Director
District 23, USA
Ogden Building
1329 Market Street
Wheeling, West Virginia

Al Whitehouse, Director
District 25, USA
806 Walnut Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

James Robb, Director
District 30, USA
911-922 Lemcke Building
Indianapolis 4, Indiana

Lorne H. Nelles, Director
District 35, USA
95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 8, Georgia

R. E. Farr, Director
District 36, USA
320-326 Stallings Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Martin Burns, Director
District 37, USA
1101 Continental Bank Bldg.
Houston 2, Texas

I suggest that you follow this up immediately with registration forms and material.

Hoping that you will get a satisfactory response and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis C. Shane

Francis C. Shane
Executive Secretary

FCS:ah

FORM 238-COL.

United Steelworkers of America

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING

Pittsburgh 22, Pa.

4

COPY

May 19, 1958

Martin Burns, Director
District 37, USA
1101 Continental Bank Building
Houston 2, Texas

Dear Director Burns:

In July, 1957 the first Union Seminar on Racial Problems was held in conjunction with the Fisk University Institute of Race Relations, which is held each year at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. Eleven representatives of the United Steelworkers staff attended with twenty-three representatives of other trade unions and all were unanimous in their praise of it.

The project combined special labor programs for the labor representatives with the formal program of the Institute.

This year the program will be continued under the direction of Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant of the Southern Regional Council and Mr. Benjamin D. Segal, Director of the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights and will be much broader in scope.

The Union sessions each afternoon will deal specifically with topics such as: 1) Patterns of Race Relations in Southern Unions; 2) Southern Labor History; 3) Developments in the Southern Economy; 4) Activities of Pro-Segregation Groups; 5) Community and Regional Human Relations Resources; 6) Merit Employment; and, 7) The Race in Organizing Campaigns.

The Seminar will last one week, beginning June 29 and the cost for accommodations, meals and tuition will be approximately $50.00.

Both the Southern Regional Council and the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights have received financial support from the United Steelworkers for some years and have provided valuable service to our Committee on Civil Rights.

As organizers of the Seminar they are well qualified to present a good program to develop new techniques for dealing with racial problems in general and specifically with those which exist in the South.

Within the next two weeks you will receive other details pertaining to the Seminar.

We hope that you will find it possible to encourage participation by members of your staff and local union officers from your district.

With every thanks for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis C. Shane
Executive Secretary

FCS:ah

UNITED AUTOMOBILE · AIRCRAFT · AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS of AMERICA (UAW)

INTERNATIONAL UNION

WALTER P. REUTHER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

EMIL MAZEY
INTERNATIONAL SEC. & TREAS.

RICHARD GOSSER
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

NORMAN MATTHEWS
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

LEONARD WOODCOCK
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

PAT GREATHOUSE
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

REGION NO. 5 RUSSELL LETNER REGIONAL DIRECTOR 3618 NATURAL BRIDGE ST. LOUIS, MO.

SUB-REGIONAL OFFICE. 729 RAILWAY EXCHANGE BLDG.
PHONE: VI 2-8672 - 2-8673 KANSAS CITY 6, MISSOURI

May 22, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Received your letter of May 15, 1958 with the invitation to attend the Union staff Labor Seminar at Fisk University on June 29 to July 5. I have referred this to Mr. William H. Oliver, the director of our department, who will make the decision on the participation of the U.A.W. As you may know, our union's financial condition is such that our activities have had to be curtailed greatly. I suggest that, if you have not already done so, you send him the information on the Labor Seminar.

I certainly enjoyed attending last year's seminar and would recommend it to anyone who could attend.

With best wishes for a successful seminar, I am

Sincerely and fraternally,

Julius Frazer

Julius Frazer
Field Representative
UAW Fair Practice Department

JF/s

cc - William H. Oliver

United Steelworkers of America

CIO

District 35

95 MERRITTS AVENUE, N. E.

Atlanta 8, Georgia

LORNE H. NELLES
DIRECTOR

TRINITY 5-5351

May 23, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

This will acknowledge your letter of some time ago advising us of the Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations June 29 to July 5, 1958.

We plan to have a number of our staff attend and if at all possible, will try to attend myself.

Looking forward to seeing you on that date,

Sincerely,

Lorne H. Nelles

Lorne H. Nelles
Director, District 35

LHN:h

TRADE UNION PROGRAM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS

1244 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director

STERLING 3-2194

May 28, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Victor Reuther will be out of the country, so can't be used at Fisk. He tried to pass the buck on to me. I have written Herman Long to the effect that he won't be available.

Ted Brown says he's coming. Says he wants to talk to us.

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben Segal
Director

ej

Supported by funds from Trade Unions and Foundations

L. S. BUCKMASTER, PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. CHILDS, VICE PRESIDENT DESMOND WALKER, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

AFL - CIO

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BLDG., 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET
Akron 8, Ohio

PHONES
FRANKLIN 6-6181, 6-6182, 6-6183, 6-6184, 6-6185, 6-6186

June 2, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for your communication of May 15 which nailed down the date on the union staff training seminar which is to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations from June 29 to July 5.

I plan to be in attendance at this conference. I also am working toward getting whatever members of the southern staff who will be available at this time to also be in attendance.

You asked what you could do toward this effort. I wish you would send a communication to District 8 Director Ray Nixon, 95 Merrits Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia, outlining the program as you have outlined it to me. I think this would be very helpful in his either being in attendance himself or seeing that some of our southern staff are there. Meanwhile I will work on the same problem on this end through our International Office.

Looking forward to a very fruitful conference, I remain

Fraternally yours,

James E. Turner, jrh.

James E. Turner, Director
Fair Practices Department

JET:jrh
oeiu 339

L. S. BUCKMASTER, PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. CHILDS, VICE PRESIDENT DESMOND WALKER, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

AFL - CIO

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BLDG., 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET

Akron 8, Ohio

PHONES
FRANKLIN 6-6181, 6-6182, 6-6183, 6-6184, 6-6185, 6-6186

June 6, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

In regard to the question of a session at the Fisk institute devoted to various fair practices and civil rights departments of the international unions, I feel this is a very worthwhile idea and hope it will be possible for you to get the cooperation of the heads of the various civil rights departments.

I feel that such a session where there is an exchange of ideas and techniques would be helpful to all concerned.

Hoping that you see fit to hold this session, I remain

Fraternally yours,

James E. Turner, jrh

James E. Turner, Director
Fair Practices Department

JET:jrh
oeiu 339

June 6, 1958

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association Division
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University Office
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

Thank you so much for your kind invitation to me of May 20 to participate in the 15th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University on July 4. I very much regret that my schedule will not permit me to accept since I will be in Europe at that time. Things are so hectic in Detroit at the present time that it is impossible for me to suggest someone who would be free to fill the engagement.

Please accept my best wishes for a successful meeting. I hope that the future will offer an opportunity to take part in one of your workshops at some later date.

Sincerely yours,

Victor G. Reuther
Administrative Assistant
to the President

VGR:my
oeiu2aflcio

bcc: Emory F. Via

June 9, 1958

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor
New York, New York

Dear Bill:

The reports on federal employment are coming in slowly. Atlanta is nearly complete; Greensboro is complete; Birmingham and Knoxville are committed to be done. Nothing else at this point.

I will be out of town for about ten days. Would you like to have piece-meal reports as they come in, or let me send you everything we have compiled as of a given date?

I hope the other phases of your project are going well. We consider employment practices and federal agencies of a great deal of importance and I am distressed that information is coming in so slowly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:ls

Gleaner Bond Skin
MADE IN USA

L. S. BUCKMASTER, PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. CHILDS, VICE PRESIDENT DESMOND WALKER, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

AFL - CIO

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BLDG., 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET

Akron 8, Ohio

PHONES
FRANKLIN 6-6181 6-6182 6-6183 6-6184 6-6185 6-6186

June 10, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I discussed with General President L. S. Buckmaster the possibility of District Director Ray Nixon and whatever staff he has available attending the Fisk Seminar. President Buckmaster, in turn, will relay the material on the school to District Director Nixon with my request.

It might be well if you could drop him a line with the material about the school and also make an additional request for him and whatever members of the staff are available to be present during our seminar. His address is 95 Merritts Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

Looking forward to seeing you in Nashville, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

James E. Turner

James E. Turner, Director
Fair Practices Department

JET:jrh
oeiu 339

June 10, 1958

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Director, Region 8, AFL-CIO
705 Broadway, N. E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

The labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations runs from June 30 through July 5. Registration will take place on the afternoon and evening of June 29.

There are two specific jobs that you could perform at the Institute which would be most helpful. First, we want you to sit in on as many of the labor seminar sessions as is possible. And we would like to have you be a resource person for one of the seminar sessions on the problems of race relations, hate propaganda, and organizing campaigns. On the morning of July 3, at 8:00 A. M. to 9:30, there will be a panel under a general title such as "Labor's Role in the South". Ben Segal will make about a twenty minute presentation, which will be followed by comments and discussion by the panel participants. Herman Long at Fisk has requested that I ask you to be one of these panel participants. If you can make this date, and I hope that you will be able to, perhaps you would like to have the seminar session on organizing problems either the afternoon of July 3, or the afternoon of July 4. I will plan tentatively to have your seminar session take place on the afternoon of July 3.

Paul, I am appreciative of how late this notice is getting to you, but both the general Fisk program and the seminar program have been juggled a bit. I trust you will make every effort to be with us. I am most appreciative of your continuing cooperation and support.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Stanton Smith, President
Tennessee State Labor Council
939 Church Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Stanton:

I would like to request your aid in two different jobs during the time of the labor seminar which will be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. First, I would like for you to serve as chief resource for one of the seminar sessions. I would suggest as a tentative date Wednesday afternoon, July 2. The theme of this session will be "Problems of Race Relations as Confronted by Local Unions and by City and State Central Bodies, problems of Negro participation and representation, community racial issues which arise in the union, and labor's avenues for positive action."

The second request is one in which I am joined by Ben Segal and Dr. Herman Long. It is for you to participate as a member of a panel early morning July 3. The panel will run from 8:00 A. M. until 9:30 under a title such as "Labor's Role in the South." Ben Segal will make about a twenty minute presentation which will be followed by shorter presentations, comments, and discussions by the various panel members. There is a further job in connection with this panel which you could do for us. If there is another able unionist in the Nashville area who takes a more "conservative" view of labor's role, but who would welcome a chance to participate in such a panel at Fisk, he would be welcomed. You are urged to go ahead and make arrangements for such a person's participation, if it suits you to do so.

I hope you will be with us for as much of the week as it is possible. I appreciate the cooperation and support which you have already given this endeavor both this year and last.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

Eugene Wyatt will do
as per phone 6/20/58

June 10, 1958

Mr. Paul H. Sanders
School of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sanders:

I am writing to request a service from you similar to one performed last year. Again this year the Council in cooperation with Ben Segal is running a labor seminar in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

We would like to have our session on Tuesday afternoon, July 1, to be on the legal developments in the whole desegregation-anti-discrimination process. We would be interested in such specifics as what the Supreme Court actually said in its 1954 decision and the later implementation decision, the pattern and kinds of cases that have developed, a general statement on the number and status of the various cases. The preceding of course refers to school desegregation; however, we would be interested in an interpretative run-down on those cases which have racial content and which are particularly relevant to unions.

This session will run two hours: It will be informal with an opportunity for the participants to ask questions and make comments.

I trust that you will be able to perform this service for us. If for any reason it is impossible for you to take this one on, we would be most happy to have your suggestions for a possible substitution.

I do hope that you will be with us. Your presentation last year filled the ticket exactly.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana State Labor Council
427 Ricou-Brewster Building
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Vic:

I understand that you recently issued a statement on the occasion of the Louisiana State Council's being attacked for having as a Vice-President a person who was also a member of the NAACP. I would appreciate very much receiving a copy of this statement and any other materials such as newsclips pertinent to it.

I am enclosing with this letter information on our labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. I sincerely hope that someone from Louisiana will be able to attend. I would appreciate whatever push you can give to this undertaking.

I hope it will not be too long before I will be your way again. I have a good feeling about our past cooperative efforts.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV: ls
Enclosure
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mrs. Emily E. Johnson
Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights
1244 19th St., N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Emily:

Thanks for you letter of June 5, regarding future salary payments. You are right, it is a busy time.

Would you please send five hundred copies of "Industrialization: Accent on the South" to us. Ben indicated by phone the other day that this would be O. K. He also alluded to the fact that there was an abundant supply - with abundance enough, send us one thousand.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Miss Anna Holden
2010 Meharry Boulevard
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Anna:

Thanks for your letter of May 31. It is with real regret that I report I know of no job openings at this time. You have my every good wish in getting satisfactorily located.

Thanks so much for the long loan of the thesis. I trust that it has already reached you by this time.

Best regards from Margaret and me.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Herb:

It is my understanding that you are in touch with Bill Peters regarding articles he intends to write relative to the Federal Government's lone posture in matters of equality of opportunity.

Your summary of the meeting with Lawrence Walsh, et. al., and the report of cases pending in your letter to William Carp seemed to me to be good documentation for Peters if it is available for such use.

Perhaps you have already supplied him with the information. One extra job which I am attempting to do here which will be of interest to you is to uncover the employment patterns in federal establishments in about seven or eight southern cities. I am interested in Richmond, Greensboro, Atlanta, Miami, Knoxville, Nashville, Houston, Birmingham, and New Orleans. Suggestions from you or leads to possible competent informants would be welcomed.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Herman:

This is just a note regarding some details. I take it that Ben Segal already has an invitation sufficient to get him to the Institute. One other person whom it would be helpful to have in attendance is Harry Fleischman, Director of the National Labor Service. The NLS is the labor arm of the American Jewish Committee. Harry indicated that an invitation asking him to introduce and lead a discussion for the steel workers' new film, "Burden of Truth," for the general institute group and for the labor group would be sufficient to get him there. If this causes you no difficulty, I would greatly welcome Harry's presence. Although we do not have time for a special program for him in the labor seminars, I think that he would make a valuable contribution in the discussions and in informal contacts with the labor participants.

The films which I would like to see available at the Institute include: "Commencement" produced by the President's Committee on Government Contracts; "Face of the South," for which I will make arrangements, and "Burden of Truth", the new film produced by the steel workers.

We will again need a room suitable for informal sessions for about thirty people, equipped with blackboard, chalk, eraser, and suitable for film showings. If the housing arrangements for Ben and me of last year could be repeated, it would be fine. This included separate rooms, Ben's not being shared so that it was always free for informal sessions, and refrigerator and parlor privileges.

Registrations are coming in very slowly, and I fear that the economic slump will make a real dent in our participation. Even so, I anticipate twenty-thirty participants.

Some indication of the anticipated program for the general institute sessions would be most helpful, when it is possible.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Carl Megel, President
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
28 East Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Brother Megel:

It was indeed good to get a chance to be with you on my recent visit to Chicago. The press of business here has been very great and I have not given the attention to the materials which you gave me that I would like. However, I hope it will not be too long before I am able to give you a reply.

You indicated that it might be possible for Paul Ward or someone else to attend our labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. The seminars would provide an excellent opportunity for someone from the staff to be in touch with labor leadership interested in racial problems and to get some sense of what other unions in the south are able to do. Of course we would greatly look forward to the contributions which an AFT staffer could make to our program.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Carl Megel, President
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
28 East Jackson Boulevand
Chicago, Illinois

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Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Dr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

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Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Paul R. Christopher
Director, Region 8, AFL-CIO
705 Broadway, N. E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Dear Paul:

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Paul, I am appreciative of how late this notice is getting to you, but both the general Fisk program and the seminar program have been juggled a bit. I trust you will make every effort to be with us. I am most appreciative of your continuing cooperation and support.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely, and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Stanton Smith, President
Tennessee State Labor Council
939 Church Street
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Stanton:

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I hope you will be with us for as much of the week as it is possible. I appreciate the cooperation and support which you have already given this endeavor both this year and last.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Paul H. Sanders
School of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sanders:

I am writing to request a service from you similar to one performed last year. Again this year the Council in cooperation with Ben Segal is running a labor seminar in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

We would like to have our session on Tuesday afternoon, July 1, to be on the legal developments in the whole desegregation-anti-discrimination process. We would be interested in such specifics as what the Supreme Court actually said in its 1954 decision and the later implementation decision, the pattern and kinds of cases that have developed, a general statement on the number and status of the various cases. The preceding of course refers to school desegregation; however, we would be interested in an interpretative run-down on those cases which have racial content and which are particularly relevant to unions.

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Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 10, 1958

Mr. Victor Bussie, President
Louisiana State Labor Council
437 Ricou-Brewster Building
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Vic:

I understand that you recently issued a statement on the occasion of the Louisiana State Council's being attacked for having as a Vice-President a person who was also a member of the NAACP. I would appreciate very much receiving a copy of this statement and any other materials such as newsclips pertinent to it.

I am enclosing with this letter information on our labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. I sincerely hope that someone from Louisiana will be able to attend. I would appreciate whatever push you can give to this undertaking.

I hope it will not be too long before I will be your way again. I have a good feeling about our past cooperative efforts.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV: ls
Enclosure
Dictated by Mr. Via, signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. W. A. Rowe
AFSCME Regional Director
1228 - 15th Avenue
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rowe:

Mr. Thomas E. Morgan has asked that we send you information concerning the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. Via is away on an extended trip, but in his absence we are happy to send you this information from his office.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls

June 11, 1958

Mr. Donald McCullar, Organizer
Gulf Coast District Council #35
5601 H.M.C. Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. McCullar:

Mr Thomas E. Morgan has requested that we send you information concerning the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. Via is away on an extended trip, but in his absence we are happy to send you this information from his office.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls
Enclosure

June 11, 1958

Mr. Cloyd Alexander, Organizer
Duval County Employees Local 220
5726 Pearl Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Mr. Thomas E. Morgan has requested that we send you information concerning the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. Via is away on an extended trip, but we are happy to send you this information from his office, in his absence.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls
Enclosure

June 11, 1958

Mr. Russell Letner, Director
Region 5, UAW, AFL-CIO
501 Railway Exchange Building
Kansas City 6, Missouri

Dear Brother Letner:

Enclosed is an announcement of the labor seminars to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. This is the second year for the seminars to be held. Last year Julius Frazer and Earl Henderson participated in the seminar sessions from the UAW. This year we are attempting to envolve some line staff people from the UAW.

I hope that you will look over the enclosed materials, and if you like, consult with Bro. Frazer, and let me know the persons from your staff whom you would like to have take part in these sessions. I appreciate that this is not the easiest time for the UAW, but the problems with which the Institute and labor seminar sessions will deal are of first rank importance and need our attention now.

Please let me know if there is any further information that I can supply you.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence
Enclosure

June 11, 1958

Mr. Franz Daniels
Assistant Director, Department of Organization
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Franz:

I plan to be in Washington on June 13 and perhaps on June 16. I am sorry that my last visit a few weeks ago was so rushed that I was unable to do more than to put in a call to you.

I hope that we will have an opportunity to discuss generally some of the problems here in the south related to the labor movement, and specifically, I would like to discuss our labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I would greatly appreciate such support as you can give to this endeavor, and the session on race in organizing campaigns would profit emensely by your leadership and participation. But I will open this possibility with you when I am in Washington.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Roy Reuther, Director
Political Education Department
UAW, AFL-CIO
8000 East Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Roy Reuther:

I understand from Dr. Herman Long at the Fisk University that you have been invited to make a platform address at the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I think you know that we are holding a labor seminar during the first week of the Race Relations Institute. Your presence and participation would be most welcomed by us and by the Institute in general.

The Institute itself is an established undertaking which brings together top-notch people as speakers and resources on human relations problems. This is an excellent form for reaching a cross-section of folk dedicated to fuller understanding and action in the struggle to achieve a democratic way of life. The public institute programs also reach a much broader audience by way of vast media coverage.

I hope that you will be able to make this engagement. I know that you can contribute importantly to this occasion, and I would urge you to find time in your busy schedule to meet this request.

I look forward to being able to see you in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Edmund Dumas, Director, District No. 9
United Packing House Workers of America
353½ Luckie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Dumas:

Enclosed is another copy of the announcement of our labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. My travel schedule has prohibited me from having more direct contact with you, but I hope to be in personal touch with you in about ten days.

We would greatly welcome the participation in the labor seminars of anyone from your staff. I hope that two or three persons will be able to take part. It occurs to me that the nature of the institute and seminars are such that Bro. John Hall could make a very special contribution.

I look forward to having someone from UPWA at the Fisk Labor Seminars. Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Dan Powell
Cope, AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan:

The plans for a labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations have developed all too slowly this year. However, we are getting a good level of official cooperation from several internationals and I believe the final turn-out will be good.

I would like to have you act as a chief resource for one of the labor seminar sessions. In general, this portion of the program would relate political issues to problems faced by the labor movement and to the general problems of race relations. I can talk with you later about some of the things that I believe such a session could successfully deal with. Dan, I wonder if it might not be a good idea this year to have someone like Matt Lynch and perhaps even a professorial type participate directly in the session which you head up. But we can discuss this later, too.

You will love the date I have picked for your performance: July 4! It occurs to me, as you might gather, that this will not be to your liking. The whole schedule is still a bit tentative; the most likely alternate date seems to be Wednesday afternoon, July 2.

I will be out of the office for nearly ten days, but the contents of a note from you would be transmitted to me. Let me know what the possibilities are because we would very much like to have your participation this year.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. E. T. Michael, Director
Region 8, UAW, AFL-CIO
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Dear Brother Michael:

It is my hope to be in Washington on Monday, June 16. At this point I do not know if a further trip on in to Baltimore will be possible. Should it not, I will hope to have some contact with you.

I would especially welcome an opportunity to talk with you about the labor seminars to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations. The announcements of this program were sent to you earlier. Last year Earl Henderson and Julius Frazer participated in the seminar sessions. This year we are making a more concentrated effort towards getting line staff participation in this program. I know your own endaev ness of the importance of racial problems to organized labor in the South, and even though these are tight times for the UAW, I trust that you will find it possible to send some staffers to the first week of the Fisk Institute (June 30-July 5).

In any case, I look forward to an opportunity to talk with you about these and other matters in the near future.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Edmund Dumas, Director, District No. 9
United Packing House Workers of America
353½ Luckie Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Dumas:

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I look forward to having someone from UPWA at the Fisk Labor Seminars. Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Enclosure
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Roy Reuther, Director
Political Education Department
UAW, AFL-CIO
8000 East Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Roy Reuther:

I understand from Dr. Herman Long at the Fisk University that you have been invited to make a platform address at the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I think you know that we are holding a labor seminar during the first week of the Race Relations Institute. Your presence and participation would be most welcomed by us and by the Institute in general.

forum

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mass

I hope that you will be able to make this engagement. I know that you can contribute importantly to this occasion, and I would urge you to find time in your busy schedule to meet this request.

I look forward to being able to see you in Nashville.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

Original letters sent to: W. A. Rowe, Donald McCullar

June 11, 1958

Mr. Cloyd Alexander, Organizer
Duval County Employees Local 220
5726 Pearl Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mr. Alexander:

Mr. Thomas E. Morgan has requested that we send you information concerning the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

Mr. Via is away on an extended trip, but we are happy to send you this information from his office, in his absence.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls
Enclosure

American Federation of
STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL Employees

815 Mt. Vernon Place N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

ARNOLD S. ZANDER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
GORDON W. CHAPMAN
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

Tel. EXecutive 3-8430

June 10, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

President Arnold S. Zander, Director of Education John P. Caldwell and I have discussed the possibility of sending one of our regional directors and two of our representatives from the South to the Union Staff Training Seminar to be held in connection with Fisk University's 14th Annual Institute of Race Relations from June 29 to July 5.

We have written letters to the three men giving them the details concerning the institute in the event their schedules will permit their attendance. We suggest that you send application forms to the following:

W. A. "Shorty" Rowe
AFSCME Regional Director
1228 - 15th Avenue
Augusta, Georgia

Cloyd Alexander, Organizer
Duval County Employees Local 220
5726 Pearl Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Donald McCullar, Organizer
Gulf Coast District Council #35
5601 H.M.C. Street
Houston, Texas

Sincerely and fraternally,

Thomas E. Morgan

Thomas E. Morgan
Director of Organization

cc: W. A. Rowe

June 11, 1958

Mr. Dan Powell
Cope, AFL-CIO
5298 Revere Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Dan:

The plans for a labor seminar to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations have developed all too slowly this year. However, we are getting a good level of official cooperation from several internationals and I believe the final turn-out will be good.

I would like to have you act as a chief resourse for one of the labor seminar sessions. In general, this portion of the program would relate political issues to problems faced by the labor movement and to the general problems of race relations. I can talk with you later about some of the things that I believe such a session could successfully deal with. Dan, I wonder if it might not be a good idea this year to have someone like Matt Lynch and perhaps even a professorial type participate directly in the session which you head up. But we can discuss this later, too.

You will love the date I have picked for your performance: July 4! It occurs to me, as you might gather, that this will not be to your liking. The whole schedule is still a bit tentative; the most likely alternate date seems to be Wednesday afternoon, July 2.

I will be out of the office for nearly ten days, but the contents of a note from you would be transmitted to me. Let me know what the possibilities are because we would very much like to have your participation this year.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Franz Daniels
Assistant Director, Department of Organization
AFL-CIO
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Franz:

I plan to be in Washington on June 13 and perhaps on June 16. I am sorry that my last visit a few weeks ago was so rushed that I was unable to do more than to put in a call to you.

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Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. E. T. Michael, Director
Region 8, UAW, AFL-CIO
526 St. Paul Place
Baltimore 2, Maryland

Dear Brother Michael:

It is my hope to be in Washington on Monday, June 16. At this point I do not know if a further trip on in to Baltimore will be possible. Should it not, I will hope to have some contact with you.

Phone

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In any case, I look forward to an opportunity to talk with you about these and other matters in the near future.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

June 11, 1958

Mr. Russell Letner, Director
Region 5, UAW, AFL-CIO
501 Railway Exchange Building
Kansas City 6, Missouri

Dear Brother Letner:

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I hope that you will look over the enclosed materials, and if you like, consult with Bro. Frazer, and let me know the persons from your staff whom you would like to have take part in these sessions. I appreciate that this is not the easiest time for the UAW, but the problems with which the Institute and labor seminar sessions will deal are of first rank importance and need our attention now.

No

Please let me know if there is any further information that I can supply you.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

Enclosures

June 12, 1958

Mr. E. T. Kehrer
Regional Director, ILGWU, AFL-CIO
1489 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Al:

At the recent Southern Interagency meeting I talked with Nick about the possibility of supplying some pamphlet materials to be put on display at your confab in New Orleans the first week of July. Harry Fleishhman of the National Labor Service indicated that he could also supply some materials for such a display. Under separate cover we are sending you one each of more things than you can ever use. From the NLS will be the following:

COERCION AND RACE PREJUDICE
FACT SHEET ON EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY
THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD
YOUR RIGHTS UNDER STATE AND LOCAL FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS
*FEAR AND PREJUDICE
THE NEGRO: PROGRESS AND CHALLENGE
NEW CROSS AFIRE IN DIXIE
*SECURITY, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND UNIONS
*THE LOUISVILLE STORY
*CAN MORALITY BE LEGISLATED?
IN YOUR HANDS
DEMOCRACY AND DESEGREGATION
THE CIVIL RIGHTS STORY 1957
A TURNOVER TALK FOR FAIR PRACTICES
*DISCRIMINATION COSTS YOU MONEY
*DISCRIMINATION COSTS TOO MUCH
DISCRIMINATION HURTS YOU
FEPC AND THE COST OF DISCRIMINATION
*LABOR LOOKS AT CIVIL LIBERTIES
NEO-FASCIST AND HATE GROUPS
SEGREGATION - TWO-EDGED SWORD
*WHO'S ON FIRST?

From SRC:

ANSWERS TO CURRENT QUESTIONS
INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH
SEGREGATION COSTS (Wall Street Journal)
RACE HATE
PUBLIC ETHICS AND THE INERGRATION QUESTION
NYT REPRINT, "THE SOUTHERN NEGRO: CHANGE AND PARADOX"
NEW SOUTH (two issues)

I have indicated by an asterisk those pieces from the NLS group which have been successfully distributed in the South in my own efforts. But you look over both batches of materials and let me know which of them you feel would be suitable for distribution in New Orleans.

I am sorry to bother you with the selecting of the materials, but I guess there is no ther satisfactory way to have it done.

other

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls
Dictated by Mr. Via; signed in his absence

Race Relations Law Reporter
VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

June 14, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 10, 1958, regarding the labor seminar in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations.

I have agreed to do some part-time consulting with the new Federal Civil Rights Commission in Washington and the date you refer to (July 1) is already promised for that purpose. The seminar discussion last year was an enjoyable one and I would be happy to participate if my schedule permitted.

Mr. Eugene Wyatt, who has been an associate director of the Reporter since we established it, is thoroughly familiar with the topic that you wish to have discussed and I would suggest that you might wish to write him to carry out the program in the manner that you have suggested. You can write to Mr. Wyatt here at the Reporter.

Sincerely yours,

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders, Director

PHS/ai

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

150-28
6-Hayes

June 16, 1958

Mr. Herman H. Long, Director
Race Relations Department
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University Office
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Long:

This will acknowledge your letter of June 11, 1958, inviting President Hayes to participate in your Second Annual Workshop.

Certainly this is an extremely important activity, and I know that President Hayes would be deeply interested in it. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Hayes is away on vacation and will not return to the office until July 7.

With best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

J. William O'Connell
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

cc Ben Segal

COPY

COPE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman
WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer
JAMES L. McDEVITT national director

AREA NO. 5
ALABAMA
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
MISSISSIPPI
TENNESSEE

FROM THE OFFICE OF
DANIEL A. POWELL
AREA DIRECTOR
COPE AREA NO. 5
5298 REVERE ROAD
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE
PHONE: MUTUAL 3-2522

June 16, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I deeply regret that it is going to be impossible for me to take part in, or attend the Labor Seminar held in conjunction with Fisk Institute on race relations during the first week in July, because July 1 thru July 5, I will be in New Orleans, Louisiana at the International Ladies Garment Workers South Eastern Regional Conference.

Again, I regret this conflict in dates because I had looked forward to the Fisk Institute and being with you and the others again this year.

I have talked with Earl Davis, who is on our staff to work among the minority groups, and it may be that Earl will be able to arrange his schedule to be in Nashville during the first week in July for this Seminar. I will have him contact you as soon as possible.

Remember me to Harold Fleming.

Sincerely and fraternally yours,

Dan

Daniel A. Powell
Director COPE Area # 5

DAP/sos

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

June 17, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I have your letter of May 15, 1958 with it's announcement of the Union Staff Training Seminar sponsored by the Southern Regional Council to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations commencing June 29 - July 5, 1958. As you know, the UAW had several representatives at the Institute last year and they reported that they enjoyed immensely the program which was conducted. However, as I stated earlier, our organization is undergoing an austerity program which has been necessitated by the pending negotiations. It is in light of these developments that I regret very much to advise that we will not be represented by our Fair Practices Staff at the forthcoming Institute. If, however, I receive word from our Director in the Southern Region that they can afford to have representatives present, I will advise you. I am certain you realize that our Director is involved with the same kind of problem which confronts us, and it appears at this time very unlikely that he will be able to have attendance at this school. Let me take this opportunity to wish you and the participants every success in your deliberations.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:ws
oeiu42

UNITED AUTOMOBILE · AIRCRAFT · AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS of AMERICA (UAW)

INTERNATIONAL UNION

INTERNATIONAL HEADQUARTERS -- 8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVENUE -- DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN

WALTER P. REUTHER
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

NORMAN MATTHEWS
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

EMIL MAZEY
INTERNATIONAL SEC. & TREAS.

LEONARD WOODCOCK
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

RICHARD GOSSER
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

PAT GREATHOUSE
INTERNATIONAL VICE-PRESIDENT

REGION No. 5

RUSSELL LETNER
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

3618 Natural Bridge
St. Louis 7, Mo.

PHONE: FRANKLIN 1-3676

Check address

June 17th, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Brother Via:

In answer to your letter of June 4, 1958 please be advised that it will be impossible this year to have any of our staff to attend.

We regret this situation but with the conditions as they are, we have no other choice.

Sincerely and Fraternally,

Russell Letner

Russell Letner, Director.
UAW Region 5.

RL:ge
cc

United Steelworkers of America

A.F.L.-C.I.O.

136½ SOUTH SECOND STREET

PHONE JA 5-0575

Memphis, Tennessee

LORNE H. NELLES
DIRECTOR DISTRICT NO. 35

EARL A. CROWDER
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

HUGH M. BROWN, JR.
WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD
DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES

June 17, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Attached is my check for $50.00 which is to cover cost for room, board, tuition fee to attend Second Annual Southern Union Staff Training Seminar at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 29-July 5, 1958.

I will be uable to attend the June 29th meeting due to other committments but look forward to attending the rest of the sessions.

Sincerely yours,

Earl A. Crowder

Earl A. Crowder
Assistant Director

EAC/vc

Enclosure

CC - Lorne H. Nelles

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

June 18, 1958

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue — Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I have your recent letter which gets before me certain details of planning for the Labor Clinic which will be held in connection with the Institute. I will write special letters and invitations both to Ben Segal and to Harry Fleischman. John Hope and I had the occasion yesterday to talk over the possible best use of Mr. Fleischman in connection with the Institute and Clinic program. We are planning a special session for the showing if the new film, "Burden of Truth," and this would give opportunity to Mr. Fleischman to introduce and comment on the film. It would be available both for our general Institute and the Labor Seminar participants. At the present time, we are thinking of Thursday of the first week as the possible best day for this showing.

We are fairly close to completing most of the details of the program for the Institute. I believe that I will be able to send you a copy during next week. Unfortunately, I must attend a meeting of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches during next week, but any matter which requires my attention can be clear with Mrs. Perry or John Hope.

I have in mind adequate room accommodations for the Labor Clinic as well as housing arrangements for both you and Ben. We will try to have available for you the same accommodations which obtained last year.

Heartiest and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER. DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY. N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17. TENNESSEE
4-7481-2

June 18, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

July 2, 3 and 4 are open dates on my calendar, and I will be glad to come to Nashville to participate in the July 3rd panel discussion and seminar.

If I interpret your letter of July 10th correctly, I should be there by 8:00 AM on July 3rd for the panel discussion during the morning session, and the afternoon will be devoted to the seminar on organizing problems.

I shall arrive on the night of July 2nd. Will you have a place for me and, if so, where, or shall I make my own reservations? At this point I am inclined to think I should like to leave on July 3rd following the afternoon seminar. On the other hand, the traffic that night will be so heavy it would probably be better to wait until the morning of July 4th to leave to return to Knoxville. Therefore, it might be safest if you would plan to book overnight accommodations for me for the nights of July 2, 3 and 4.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
oeiu 144 afl-cio

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GEORGE MEANY, PRESIDENT
WM. F. SCHNITZLER, SECRETARY-TREASURER

WALTER P. REUTHER
WM. C. BIRTHRIGHT
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EMIL RIEVE
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815 SIXTEENTH STREET, N.W.
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June 19, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Mr. Theodore E. Brown wants to thank you for your kind invitation, and is looking forward with great anticipation, to attend the Fisk Seminar at Nashville, Tennessee, the first week of July.

As he is out of town at the present time, working on a very tight schedule, he has asked that I write to you requesting that he receive any programs or pamphlets which you are sending out in connection with the Seminar.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Very truly yours,

Estelle B. Wasser

Estelle B. Wasser, Secretary
to Theodore E. Brown

COPE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR & CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
AFL CIO

Committee on Political Education

GEORGE MEANY chairman WM. F. SCHNITZLER secretary-treasurer JAMES L. McDEVITT national director
815 16TH STREET, N.W. ★ WASHINGTON 6, D.C. ★ EXECUTIVE 3-0220

Citizens Non-Partisan Registration Campaign
236 South Wellington Street
Memphis, Tennessee
Tel. Jackson 5-3068
June 19, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

My co-worker, Dan Powell, discussed with me the possibility of my being a substitute for him at the Fisk Institute, July 2, 1958. He suggested that I get in touch with you as soon as possible.

This is to advise that I have arranged my schedule to attend. While I realize that substituting for Dan Powell is a herculean task, nevertheless, I shall be happy to contribute all that I can to assist in this worthwhile project.

Fraternally yours,

Earl W. Davis

Earl W. Davis,
Field Representative,
C O P E-A F L-C I O

EWD/els

cc: Dan Powell
Phil Weightman

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LOrain 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

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PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

June 20, 1958

Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I regret very much that I must let you know that I have had to turn down the very kind invitation of Dr. Herman Long to participate in the Fisk Institute of Race Relations. I have some rather pressing conflicts at that time.

You will want to know, however, that William Oliver of our Fair Practices and Anti-discrimination Department will be there to represent our organization and will be following through on any assignments you may have in mind for our participation.

I hope it will be possible for me to take part in some future activity of your organization. I know I would find it a very fruitful program.

Sincerely yours,

Roy L. Reuther

Roy L. Reuther, Director
Citizenship Department

rlr;sbw
oeiu-42

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

June 24, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Under separate cover I am sending you copies of the following items for the Fisk conference:

200 copies - WHO'S ON FIRST
200 copies - FEAR AND PREJUDICE
200 copies - CAN MORALITY BE LEGISLATED
200 copies - DISCRIMINATION COSTS YOU MONEY
50 copies - IN YOUR HANDS
50 copies - THE LOUISVILLE STORY
50 copies - THE CIVIL RIGHTS STORY...1957
50 copies - LABOR LOOKS AT CIVIL LIBERTIES
30 copies - SECURITY, CIVIL LIBERTIES AND UNIONS

I won't be able to spend a full week at Fisk since I have an important meeting in New York on June 30th but I will be there from Tuesday to Friday, July 1st to the 4th. I will be taking Braniff Flight #337 which is scheduled to arrive in Nashville at 1:57 p.m. on Tuesday, July 1st and will leave Nashville on Friday, July 4th at 4:02 p.m. on Braniff Flight #336.

I have received a copy of Frank Shane's draft of the discussion guide for BURDEN OF TRUTH and the film has been sent there in my name.

Herman Long wrote to me saying that the film showing is set for Thursday, July 3rd . He added that he will provide housing accommodations and hospitality for me on the campus and will let me know later where I will be staying.

I am also bringing with me 100 copies of an article I have just written, RACE HATE AND UNION REPRESENTATION ELECTIONS.

Lookingforward to seeing you Tuesday,

HF/hw

Fraternally yours

Harry

Alabama LABOR COUNCIL, AFL-CIO

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AM 3-6016 • 326 FRANK LEU BUILDING
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

June 25, 1958

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I deeply appreciate your invitation to attend the 15th Annual Institute on Race Relations at Fisk University beginning June 29 but find it impossible to be away from the office for that length of time. Please know that I am wishing for you and the Regional Council a most successful conference.

Let me take this opportunity to thank you for recommending me to the conference sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. It was a most enlightening conference and will be long remembered.

Tell Harold Fleming and John Hope hello and extend to them my best wishes.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Very truly yours,

Pip

E. C. Pippin, 1st Vice-President

ECP:ekg

oeiu-18

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1745 "K" St., N.W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

June 25, 1958

Dear Emory:

This is to inform you, with regrets, that the Virginia State AFL-CIO will not be able to send a representative to the Race Relations Institute at Nashville. Developments in organized labor circles have made it necessary for all of us to restrict our activities outside of the State for the time being.

I do not mean that there is any difficulty for us in the political sense; merely that we are concentrating on more affiliations and the strengthening of the present organization.

Hal and Julian send their best wishes, along with my own, for a pleasant and constructive session of the Institute. While we will not be there, we will be with all of you in the will to promote better understanding between the races.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Brewster Snow

Brewster Snow
Secretary-Treasurer

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OEIU 334, AFL-CIO

VIRGINIA STATE AFL-CIO

BE A GOOD CITIZEN—PAY YOUR TAXES—QUALIFY—REGISTER—VOTE

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NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

June 25, 1958

Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Emory:

I have your letter regarding the upcoming institute at Fisk University.

I am sure that if you have been in touch with Regional Director Michael in the south, that you have been in touch with the right person to get participation in this institute. I don't know of anything that I could do from this end, though I wish that I could be helpful.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Brendan Sexton

Brendan Sexton
Director of Education

BS:hm
oeiu42afl, cio

DICTATED BUT NOT READ

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

June 27, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. — Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

We have reserved a room for you at Boyd House — Corner 16th Avenue, North, and Meharry Boulevard.

If you can, please let us know the time of your arrival in Nashville. It will be convenient for you to take a taxi to the Fisk campus and give the name of the building where you are to be housed. The enclosed "Institute Blue Book" carries information as to building addresses and telephone numbers. Our office telephone is CHapel 2-3396.

With best wishes and appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

JOHN HOPE, II
DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

June 18, 1958

Dr. Fred D. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 -- 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was very good of you to go ahead with planning and implementing the suggested seminar sessions for the morning of July 8th. I am glad that you have planned the panel and written to the persons who will share in it. All of this meets my hearty approval and deep appreciation. The only additional consideration I would suggest is that the group have in mind that the amount of time involved will be an hour and a half. I would hope that we can reserve about thirty minutes of this time for discussion purposes.

Incidentally the day of July 8th is shaping up quite well. In addition to Don Shoemaker as the first speaker that morning, covering the range of desegregation developments, Dr. Omer Carmichael has agreed to be the evening speaker at the end of that day. He plans to come down early and sit through the morning discussions, because he is interested in hearing from the panel and Don Shoemaker.

I look forward to seeing you here in Nashville in the near future.

Best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

File Copy

ANNUAL UNION-STAFF TRAINING SEMINAR
June 29-July 5, 1958

This Seminar is in conjunction with the fifteenth Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University and sponsored by the Southern Regional Council in cooperation with Benjamin Segal, Director, Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights.

Monday, June 30

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:30-11:00 Registration

10:30-12:00 Introductions and Background on Unions, Race and the South
Emory F. Via, Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
. . .PARK HALL

12:00-1:00 Lunch . . . . . JUBILEE HALL

Afternoon

1:00-2:30 Formal Opening of the Institute Sessions. . .Dr. Herman Long

Evening

8:00 Get acquainted Meeting . . . . . SCRIBNER HALL

Tuesday, July 1

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:00 Institute Keynote Address:
Human Relations and Moral Challenge. .Dr. Herman Long

9:30-10:00 Coffee Break

10:00-11:30 Christianity's Contribution to Personal and
Group Acceptance . . .G. McLeod Bryan
Wake Forest College

Afternoon

1:00-3:00 Labor Seminar: Legal Background on the Moves for Equal
Opportunity - Specific effects on Unions
Eugene Wyatt, Assistant Editor,
Race Relations Law Reporter

Evening

6:00 Film Showing . . . . . PARK HALL

Wednesday, July 2

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:00 Controversy and Consensus in Intergroup Relations
Dr. Robert Johnson
National Conference of Christians and Jews

9:30-10:00 Coffee Break

10:00-11:30 Danger of Successful Nullification. .Attorney Joseph Robison
American Jewish Congress

Afternoon

1:00-3:00 Labor Seminar: Union, Race Relations, and Politics
Earl Davis, COPE
Matt Lynch, Tennessee State Labor Council

6:00 Film Showing

Evening

8:00 Legal Developments in the Struggle for Full Equality of
American Minorities. . .Attorney Thurgood Marshall
FISK CHAPEL

Thursday, July 3

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:00 Organized Labor and the Struggle for Equal Opportunity:
Some Implications of the Present Crisis

Speaker: Ben Segal, I. U. E., AFL-CIO

Panelists: Stanton Smith, Tennessee State Labor Council
William Oliver, U. A. W., AFL-CIO
Paul Christopher, Director, Region #8, AFL-CIO
Kentucky-Tennessee

9:30 Coffee Break

10:00 Further Implications of the Legal Issues in Civil Rights
Developments . . .Attorney Thurgood Marshall

11:30 Lunch

Afternoon

1:00-3:00 Labor Seminar: Race Issues in Organizing Campaigns
Paul Christopher, Director, Region #8, AFL-CIO
Herbie Williams, Textile Workers Union of America

Evening

6:00 Special Film Showing: "Burden of Truth"
Introduction and Comment by Harry Fleischman, National Labor Service

Friday, July 4

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:00 Employment, Occupation and Minority Status
Dr. Irwin Sobel
Washington University

9:30-10:00 Coffee Break

10:00-11:30 Civil Rights Issues and Developments Affecting Spanish-speaking Groups in the United States. .Dr. John Burma
Grinnell College

Afternoon

1:00-3:00 Labor Seminar: (A) State and Local Central Bodies and Racial Problems . . .Stanton Smith, President
Tennessee Labor Council
(B) The Work of a Fair Practices Department - How to use it
Jim Turner, URWA
Bill Oliver, UAW
Ted Brown, AFL-CIO

Evening

6:00 Film Showing

Saturday, July 5

Morning

7:15-8:00 Breakfast

8:00 Meeting of Clinic Report Committees

8:30-10:30 Labor Seminar: Next Steps For Unions in Race Relations - Summary and Evaluation. . .Ben Segal
Emory Via
Harry Fleischman

12:00 Official Close of Labor Seminar -participants who wish may stay for afternoon program.

Afternoon

5:00 Institute Picnic . . . . . .JUBILEE LAWN

Evening

7:30 Square Dance . . . . . .LIVINGSTONE HALL

EVERYONE INVITED, FRIENDS, RELATIVES, ACQUAINTANCES

July 8, 1958

Mr. Earl W. Davis
COPE, AFL-CIO
419 West Clay Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Earl:

This is just a note to express my appreciation for the outstanding job you did in leading the Labor Seminar on Wednesday afternoon. You filled the bill just right, and all of us were glad that you were able to be with us.

Enclosed is the official receipt of the Race Relations Department for the $6.50 which you paid me for fees and meals.

I look forward to working with you in the future. Best personal wishes, and again my thanks for a good job.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

P. S.

You will soon be receiving a summary of the entire Labor Seminar.

Enclosure: receipt
EFV:ls

File - Fisk Institute

DATE: ~~[illegible]~~ 7/9/58

PLACE: Fisk University

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN,

I HEREBY AUTHORIZE PURDUE UNIVERSITY TO UTILIZE ANY PART OF THE STATEMENTS/INTERVIEW/REMARKS WHICH WERE TAPE-RECORDED BY ME ON THIS DATE IN THE PREPARATION OF THE PROGRAM SERIES ON THE AMERICAN NEGRO WHICH THE UNIVERSITY IS CURRENTLY PREPARING.

IT IS FURTHER UNDERSTOOD BY ME THAT THIS SERIES IS BEING PREPARED UNDER A GRANT-IN-AID FROM THE RADIO AND TELEVISION CENTER IN ANN ARBOR MICHIGAN, AND WILL BE UTILIZED BY THE MEMBER STATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS RADIO NETWORK, AND BY OTHER BROADCASTING STATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

SIGNATURE: Harold O. Fleming

WITNESSED BY: Anna Belden

FOR PURDUE UNIVERSITY: E. W. Lidke

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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DL = Day Letter

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LT = International Letter Telegram

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Cornelius Holley
Durham Labor Journal —

INSTITUTE BLUE BOOK

A Guide to the Campus and Environs

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
June 30-July 12, 1958

Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Fisk Institute

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

August 15, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. — Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Through some inadvertency the business office was delayed in issuing this check to cover your travel refund and honorarium. You would be hearing directly from Dr. Long, but he is now vacationing on the West Coast.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

H. M. Perry

(Mrs.) H. M. Perry
Administrative Secretary

Below is a list of the materials distributed at the 1958 Fisk Institute on Human Relations.

SEVEN QUESTIONS, President's Committee on Government Contracts
POLICY OF NON-DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
NEWSLETTER
DEVELOPMENT OF TRAINING INCENTIVES FOR THE YOUTH OF MINORITY GROUPS
SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK
EQUALITY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY: A PROCESS ANALYSIS OF UNION INITIATIVE, John Hope II
EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY
THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH
SOULS DON'T HAVE COLOR (UAW)
FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT ON EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITY
HANDBOOK FOR LOCAL UNION FAIR PRACTICES COMMITTEES
THE NEGRO POTENTIAL
FIVE-CITY SURVEY OF NEGRO-AMERICAN EMPLOYEES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
SRC ANNUAL REPORT OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES 1957
HOUSE AND HOME, (February 1957)
COLOR (UAW)
SOUTHERN LABOR HISTORY (typescript)
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD REPRINT (Senator Douglas)
NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH
INDUSTRIALIZATION: ACCENT ON THE SOUTH

EFV:ls

List of persons attending the 1958 Labor Seminar held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute of Race Relations:

AFL-CIO

Ted Brown, Civil Rights Committee

Paul Christopher, Director, Region #8

Earl Davis, COPE

STATE LABOR BODIES

Stanton Smith
Tennessee State Labor Council

J. W. Holder, Secretary-Treasurer
North Carolina State AFL-CIO

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

TWUA

Herbie Williams

Dave Terry

H. D. Lisk

AFSCME

Cloyd Alexander, Organizer
Duvall County Employees Local #220
Jacksonville, Florida

Donald McCullar, Organizer
Gulf Coast District Council #35
Houston, Texas

AFT

Harry Fleischman

UAW

William Oliver

UPWA

John Henry Hall

USA

Earl Crowder

George Weakman

IUE

Ben Segal

Jack Garvey

URWA

Ray Junkins

Jim Turner

July 10, 1958
EFV:ls

7.BR

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE
June 30 - July 12, 1958

CHRISTIANITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO PERSON AND GROUP ACCEPTANCE

G. McLeod Bryan, Professor of Christian Ethics

Wake Forest College

15th Annual Race Relations Institute
Fisk University

UAW

May 29, 1959

Mr. Roy Reuther
Director, Political Education Department
UAW-CIO
8000 E. Jefferson Street
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Mr. Reuther:

I am writing at the suggestion of Mr. Ben Segal to invite your attention to the Second Annual Labor workshop which is to be held at Fisk University in connection with the 15th Annual Race Relations Institute. The enclosed materials will give you some idea about the Institute. It is one of the oldest and best leadership training efforts in this field, drawing an average of 130 community leaders from 33 states each year. Its strategic location on the campus of one of the South's leading institutions of higher learning and at the veritable frontier of the most challenging social changes now confronting the nation adds to its significance.

But let me add a word about the Labor Workshop: Last year was its first session, and it was conceived by Emory Via of the Southern Regional Council and Ben Segal, now of IUE, as a means of providing southern labor leaders from several unions the opportunity to share experiences, programs and methods in facint the issues of race which have a direct impact upon the labor movement in the area. Some twenty-seven labor delegates from six unions came — all of them officials in local and state bodies. They met for two hours each afternoon for a full week, and all of these were work and discussion sessions held separate from the regular Institute seminars in the morning. Quite uniformly the delegates have reported that this was a helpful and valuable experience, and for that reason we are encouraging a repetition. Emory Via and Ben Segal are again taking the initiative in planning and promoting the labor delegation, and our office is cooperating on the side of the Institute itself.

The Institute and the Labor Workshop groups merge in the general seminar sessions held each morning and occasionally in special evening lectures. This provides an enrichment of interests and concerns of great value to us all mutually.

This year the Institute meets between June 30th and July 12th; the Labor Workshop will have its special sessions between June 30th and July 5th.

I should like to extend to you a most cordial but yet urgent invitation to speak in the context of these race relations and labor workshop sessions.

It seemed quite good to us to schedule your presentation as a culminating feature of the week. This would involve an evening presentation on Friday evening, July 4th. This day, in itself, has apecial appropriateness for labor and its role in the democratic process. The evening hour would give opportunity for labor people in the Nashville area, as well as other leaders, to hear you.

We would hope that you could address yourself to the general area of the issues confronting organized labor in the South which relate to current developments in the field of race relations, if you can come. I hesitate to put this in the conditional form, because our interest in having you is so great and the role you discharge in the labor movement so unique, it would seem a tragedy to us if you could not come.

We would expect to take care of your travel and other expenses here, and although our resources are very limited, we would want to express our appreciation in the form of a modest honorarium.

Your consideration of this matter will be greatly appreciated by all of us.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

J. W. Holder, Executive Secretary-Treasurer
North Carolina State AFL-CIO
807 First Citizens Bank Building
Raleigh, N. C.

E. T. Kirkland, Secretary-Treasurer
South Carolina Labor Council AFL-CIO
119 S. Parker Street
Columbia, S. C.

John E. Jervis, President
Asheville Central Labor Union
101 Grandview Road
Asheville, N. C.

Sam Hannah, Recording Secretary
Charlotte Labor Council AFL-CIO
2249 Markham Court
Charlotte, N. C.

Wilbur Hobby, President
Durham Central Labor Union
Box #175
Durham, N. C.

W. L. Causey, Recording Secretary
Greensboro Central Labor Union
128 N. Davie Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Loyd T. Powell, President
High Point Central Labor Union
288 New Road
High Point, N. C.

W. J. Hedgepeth, Secretary
Plymouth Central Labor Union
Plymouth, N. C.

J. E. Tyson, President
Raleigh Central Labor Union
21 Burton Avenue
Raleigh, N. C.

O. B. Gupton, Secretary
Reidsville Central Labor Union
Rt. 2 Woodland Drive
Reidsville, N. C.

J. B. Clemence, President
Salisbury-Spencer Central Labor Union
621 Maupin Avenue
Salisbury, N. C.

Mr. George J. Bumby, President
Rt. #2, Box 442
Wilmington, N. C.
(Wilmington Central Labor Union)

Mr. J. R. Dinkins, Pres.
Winston-Salem Central
Labor Union
454 Monmouth Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Paul V. Dennery, Pres.
Aiken Central Labor
Council
814 Greenwood St.
Aiken, S. C.

Ronald O. Fine, President
Greater Charleston Labor
Council AFL-CIO
1000 King Street
Charleston, S. C.

A. J. Fowler, Rec. Sec.
Greater Columbia Central
Labor Union
4801 James Street
Columbia, S. C.

Charles E. Berry, Pres.
Georgetown Central Labor
Union
307 Queen Street
Georgetown, S. C.

Lewis E. Brookshire, Pres
Greenville Central Labor
Union
26 Warner Street
Greenville, S. C.

C. L. Guthrie, Rec. Sec.
Spartanburg Central Labor
Union
Rt. #5
Spartanburg, S. C.

File

Confidential: Not for Publication

Summary of Southern Regional Council's Labor Conference

The conference was called to provide an opportunity for selected Southern labor leadership and representatives of national unions with specific interests in civil rights and race relations to meet and to discuss the problems that unions face in the field of race relations, to receive basic information on the current Southern scene, and to exchange information which would be helpful in meeting the problems discussed. This was not a policy-making or official union conference. The conference was called by the Southern Regional Council in close cooperation with Ben Segal, Trade Union Consultant for the Fund for the Republic.

Harold Fleming, Director of the Council, described the interests, organization, and general approach of the Southern Regional Council in working toward a desegregated and democratic society in the South. The Council is composed of Southerners, is not doctrinaire, and is not a litigating body. It recognizes the validity of the use of the courts in securing the rights of all people. The Council uses the methods of education, research, consultation, and public information.

The advances made in the rights of Negroes since War II were detailed; these included the expansion of the right to vote, ending segregation on interstate transportation, and desegregation of the armed forces. These and other steps were made prior to the Supreme Court's Decision on school desegregation. That decision was a momentous one and the nature of the problem faced by Southerners was changed. However, Fleming does not accept the view that racial relations have been set back. On the contrary, the legal rights of Negroes are more clearly understood and the framework has been set wherein people of good will can work for increased understanding and democratic practice in all areas of life.

The relationship between historical forces, economic conditions, and political facts of life was discussed. Often those who favor maintaining segregation in all its forms are supporting a way of life which benefits a favored few rather than the whole population. One of the results of this way of life is outdated political systems, and it largely explains die-hard opposition to union organization.

Too often our attention has been captured by bad relations and violence; the press, and others, have tended to underplay the solid gains that have been achieved peacefully in many Southern and border-state communities. For instance, numerous counties and school districts have desegregated schools in Texas, Arkansas, Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, and West Virginia. Bus desegregation has taken place in some twenty-four cities in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas. The myth that desegregation will not work is being disproved by the facts, and social change has proved not to be as drastic as the myth-makers would have it.

The discussion explored what unions could do with community groups and the Council toward building fresh attitudes in the current situation. The problem of coordinating the interest and efforts of unions with the efforts of the Council was raised. Such specific problems were raised as those unions and staff persons who say that there is no problem regarding race relations (especially in locals that have few or no Negro members), the fear of speaking out even moderately on the rights of others, the fact that race relations and the possibilities of action differ from community to community, union to union, and industry to industry (but usually no generality about an industry, a union, or a community will hold true), and the difficulty in getting like-minded persons in unions and in the community together.

In the Thursday morning session Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council's staff opened a discussion on the role of pro-segregation groups. These groups are quite active, and have substantial financial resources. It is estimated that they have about 300,000 members. The literature of the hate groups is widespread and far exceeds, in volume, that of the groups working toward desegregation. Much of this literature furnishes us with examples of the basic anti-union position of these groups. Although some of the current dissensions among the hate group leadership was viewed as a hopeful sign, it was pointed out that most of the White Citizen Councils were conducting real membership drives and attempting to get new chapter organizations. Anthony stated that few things pleased the hate groups more than to know that Southern unions remained quiet on matters regarding racial relations, since this was proof of hate group success, and confirmation of the effectiveness of the divide and conquer technique in separating locals from nationals on matters of major policy.

Emory Via reported statements by White Citizen Council leaders indicating the closeness of their position to that of fanatical action, which tends to puncture the myth that these movements are respectable. The efforts of such groups to infiltrate unions were discussed, with specific attention being given to those attempting to organize competing labor unions. The activities and anti-union position of the United Southern Employees Association in North and South Carolina were mentioned. The strongly pro-segregationist political organization, the Durham United Political Education Committee, was cited as a group which had worked actively to divide labor and raise racial questions in political campaigns as well as within unions. The activities in Alabama and Tennessee toward a Southern labor movement were considered ineffective in splitting off membership or local unions from the main stream of organized labor. However, such moves have caused racial issues to be debated heatedly in some areas. Ben Segal introduced

copies of letters and news clips to show that some North and South Carolina employers have used the race issue in the attempt to defeat organizing campaigns. Of particular interest here was the fact that in five or six different campaigns in the textile and hosiery industries, the same wording was used.

Frank discussions revealed that there is no uniformity of approach in handling racial questions, that some staff men attempt to dodge the issue at almost any cost, that there is a lack of firmness in accepting the policies of international unions regarding discrimination, and that there is a major lack of information on the part of many staff men regarding the following points: (a) how to meet racial propaganda when it is raised in the union; (b) the status of desegregation moves in the South today; (c) the historical, political, and economic background of segregation and their relevance to the present situation; (d) the relation of hate groups to anti-union forces in the South; (e) the basic arguments and techniques that are useful in meeting questions and dissensions within locals and from members regarding racial questions.

The importance of the rapid industrialization of the South and the factors that would lead employers to hire increasing numbers of Negroes and in new job classifications was discussed. In the short run, the government contracts provisions and the work of organizations interested in job opportunities for Negroes will lead to the change in many patterns; in the long run, an increasing number of the needed skills will be spread broadly throughout the whole population and the supply of all-white labor will be exhausted so that there will be an even greater economic necessity for making fuller use of the pool of Negro labor. Also, instances were cited where new industry hesitated to move into areas of racial unrest.

It was recognized that the survival and success of the labor movement in the South was intimately tied to a proper handling of racial issues. It is impossible to separate at all times racial issues in the community from those that affect

unions most directly. This may mean that locals and other union bodies will have to decide how to relate themselves to organizations at work on the problems of desegregation, and what position they will take on such community matters. Other interested groups and individuals could be of help when the union is faced with a racial problem.

Repeated emphasis was placed on the importance of the service representative in these matters. It was agreed that more training was needed in human relations, that clearer policy lines should be established, not just in the form of national pronouncements, but especially in terms of operational policy. Understanding how these issues affect the whole effort of labor now, and in the future, is imperative. Staff men need a chance to learn how to operate in this field and to know where they stand in regard to policy, and support from regional and national offices.

In the closing session of the conference, the following points were brought out in summaries by Emory Via and Ben Segal:

1. A first key in handling racial issues is the staff man; he needs a more fundamental orientation to the total Southern picture, facts about desegregation and the law, training in handling members and locals when racial issues arise, information and assistance in developing a "core group" of unionists who understand the issues and know that they must be handled well if the union is to succeed. Certainly, most staff men are already burdened with duties, but racial questions are a fundamental part of unionism in the South and cannot be avoided. Conferences, institutes, and special staff meetings were urged as ways to begin to meet these problems.

2. A "core group" must be developed within locals which has information and skills in meeting the problems raised by membership.

3. There is a continuing need for information and publications. More facts on the operation of hate groups is needed. Information on the successful handling of racial problems in other locals would be useful -- in some instances care must be exercised to protect the group which made the "success story." Facts are needed on industrial development and what it means to employment patterns, etc. More information is needed regarding current patterns of race relations and discrimination in unions and in industry; clearly there is a great variety of patterns in most localities and many of them demonstrate successful integration on the job and in the union.

Needed on this information front: (a) channeling reports of trouble spots, hate group activity, success stories, and general racial patterns through a central agency which can then see that interested unions are informed as to what is happening (Southern Regional Council was mentioned as such a central agency); (b) publicity pieces useful in the South, perhaps being issued jointly by the unions in the area.

4. A series of conferences and institutes should be held on a regional and/or sub-regional basis to give more intensive training to those who can make best use of it. A continuation of the regional conference such as this one.

5. Sessions on human relations, general Southern conditions, and the role of hate groups should be included in summer institutes and other educational programs. Charlie Jones, Ben Segal, and Emory Via are available for such sessions. There are resource people who can handle any level of membership, or any approach to the racial problems - such as legal, moral, economic necessity, historical implications, and the straight union arguments for unity and non-discrimination.

6. Unions should increase their contact with community resources interested in desegregation and the handling of human relations problems. This would include professional agencies in the field, church groups, and competent individuals. A list of the Southern Regional Council's state affiliates was made available, and the SRC's labor consultant will aid unions in making contacts with other Southern groups with similar concerns.

7. Approaches to management are possible. In many instances these approaches will not be made by the union itself. Management's cooperation in reducing racial tensions or in making advances in desegregation can be instrumental in making these changes with a minimum of trouble for union and community. Where the provisions of the government contracts act are invoked, management can be required to desegregate the work force. Management may be responsive to arguments based on economic realities, on moral grounds, and to an appeal not to take actions that would increase racial feeling to the long-run detriment of the community.

8. An interest was expressed in the establishment of a channel of communication and coordination for unions in the South in the handling of problems that bear on race relations. Information exchange, strategy, publicity, and the necessity for developing an overall approach all pointed toward some form of coordination among the various regional offices. On an informal level some of these functions could be aided by use of the Labor Consultant of the Council; the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO was viewed as a possible agency for this work once the machinery is developed.

9. Unions must face the fact that racial issues cannot be dodged; even if our first concern is to organize, and to maintain organizations, there is no escape from facing the responsibility of unions in ending discrimination and finding reasonable answers to the racial problems that face them in the South.

Literature available
Name list attached separately

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Enclosed is an announcement of the Union Staff Training Seminar sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, to be held in conjunction with the Fisk Institute on Race Relations, from July 6 - 13th.

Few unionists fail to realize that racial issues are affecting their organizations in important ways. Racial problems in the community spill over into the union; organizing campaigns are hampered; and racial problems come up in locals and are at times badly handled.

There is no way to dodge most of these situations. Our task is to develop a better understanding of racial relations and other Southern problems that relate to them. Time and again union leadership has expressed the need for information and techniques that will aid them in meeting these crucial issues in a way consistent with fair play and the preservation of union strength.

Perhaps we should be reminded that the start of the school year will bring new instances of desegregation by communities which are facing their responsibilities. However, these moves may be accompanied in some localities by disturbances caused by the more ardent pro-segregationists. Past experience indicates that these can be troublesome times within the union, too.

The Council's Union Seminar offers these aids: exchange of experiences with other union leaders, background on Southern social and economic conditions, background on Southern labor history, information on pro-segregation and hate groups, the use of racial issues in organizing campaigns, counteracting the use of racial issues, and resources available to unions in meeting civil rights and race relations problems. In addition, you will meet with other persons from over the South and nation who have an interest in better human relations, and you will hear experts that have been selected for the general program of the Fisk Institute.

You are urged to send in your application today and to suggest names of colleagues whom you feel will profit from this experience.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council

Ben Segal
Trade Union Consultant
Fund for the Republic

July 15, 1969

Mr. Lee Sloan
Director
The Intedisciplinary Program
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Mr. Sloan:

Please forgive me this delay in responding to your letter of July 3. I am delighted to know of this program and we would like to be of any possible assistance to it.

Certainly, at an appropriate time we would like to discuss with you the possibility of having an intern here in connection with our Urban Planning Project and our Economic Development Center.

Also, I would be more than happy to share with you any ideas or possible sources for fund-raising. Needless to say, given current events in Washington, fund-raising with foundations, for the moment, is extremely difficult and in some instances impossible. Partially because of this I would prefer that we talk about this rather than to offer any suggestions in writing. I do hope when you and Dr. Grigg get to Atlanta

we will have an opportunity to get together. Do let me know as much in advance as possible any time you plan to be here.

Again, we are more than anxious to cooperate in any way we can.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 7/7/69

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

July 3, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This fall marks the beginning of a new program here at Florida State University--The Interdisciplinary Graduate Student Training Program in Race Relations, Poverty, and Urban Problems. We will begin with eight fellows, each supported by a nine month, $3,000 stipend. A total of $33,000 has been provided by the university for the program's first year with the stipulation that outside funding be obtained for continuation and expansion of the program.

At the present time, twelve faculty in the four departments of Economics, Government, Sociology, and Urban and Regional Planning are participating in the program. Fellows will work toward Ph.D. degrees in a selected discipline, but will obtain exposure to the other disciplines in the program.

We would like to continue the program by recruiting a new cohort of eight to ten fellows each year. We also have other plans, some of which will take us beyond what one would normally expect of a graduate student training program. Brief descriptions of some of our plans follow:

1. Recognizing the importance of research training in our program, we will lay plans for both basic and applied research. We have discussed the development of a research practicum which would involve the selection of a nearby city as the site for a comprehensive study in which faculty and students in each discipline would participate. Our concern with research will probably lead us either to join formally the Urban Research Center here at the university or to establish and independent Institute for the Study of Urban Problems.

2. We would like to place our trainees in summer internships with agencies of the federal, state, or local government, or with organizations vitally involved in minority problems. These internships would be designed to provide practical research experience.

3. We've also discussed sponsorship of a symposium to which we would invite renowned scholars to present papers of publishable quality on a particular topic. This could perhaps be worked into a three or four day program involving public lectures, closed seminars with personnel in the Interdisciplinary Program and

the respective departments, and private "think" sessions.

4. We are contemplating the establishment of summer institutes which would be designed to prepare black college students for entry into graduate school. Our plan is to conduct intensive tutorial programs in economics, political science, or sociology for black students having completed their junior years of college.

Others I am writing in the interest of seeking funds for our program. If you should know of someone who might be interested in funding such ventures, I'd be delighted to know about it. But I write you merely to inform you of our program. Perhaps at a later time when our summer internships have been funded, I will get in touch with you again to see if you would like to place an intern for a summer. Dr. Charles Grigg and I will probably be making a trip to Atlanta some day soon to see others there, and perhaps we could stop by to talk with your personnel to give them more information on our plans.

Sincerely Yours,

Lee Sloan

Lee Sloan, Director
The Interdisciplinary Program
(Ph: 599-4217)

LS/sas

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Lee

August 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

At long last I have found some free time in which I can catch up on my correspondence. I wanted to thank you for having taken time to discuss with Dr. Grigg and myself our plans for development here at Florida State. As we all expected, foundation people in New York were very cool to our plans, but there were sympathetic ears in Washington. I will push ahead in our attempts to obtain funding from the federal people.

Please keep us in mind in case you will need a summer intern for next summer. We'll have three graduate students in economics this year and five others in either sociology or government.

I really enjoyed the first issue of South Today, and I have written a separate letter asking that my name be added to the mailing list.

Please say hello to Emory and John for me. Both Charlie and I enjoyed having lunch with them.

Again, my thanks, Let me know if we can ever be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Lee

Lee Sloan
Director
The Interdisciplinary Program

LS:bt

January 26, 1970

Mr. Lee Sloan
Director
The Interdisciplinary Program in
Urban Minority Problems
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

Dear Lee:

Our financial problems are by no means yet resolved, and last week Internal Revenue Service indicated that it might be several months before it will rule on certain questions vital to us.

I doubt if Mr. Barreto can wait that long for a decision, but if he would like to go on faith I would be more than happy to have them come to Atlanta to meet with me and Emory Via of our Resources Development Center.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 1/22/70 mj

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

January 20, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Last November we exchanged letters in which we explored the possibility that the Southern Regional Council would be able to place one of our Economics graduate students in a summer internship. In your letter of November 14, you requested that I bring up the issue again sometime after the first of the year by which time you may have heard from Congress concerning funding for your programs. I realize that you may still have not received the final word on that, but I want to remind you of Mr. Barreto's availability before my note to write you is thrown out with the trash.

In case you haven't heard yet, by all means wait until your budget matters are clarified. Then when you have a minute, I'd appreciate hearing from you again. If things work out for you and you would entertain the possibility of placing Mr. Barreto for the summer, we will arrange to send Jose and one of his Economics professors to Atlanta one day to talk things over with you and your staff.

Again, I want to thank you for your interest in this matter. I do hope things go well for you and SRC this year. Incidentally, I really find The South Today valuable reading.

Sincerely yours,

Lee Sloan

Lee Sloan
Director
The Interdisciplinary Program
in Urban Minority Problems

LS/mlw
cc: Jose Barreto

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EK
PA
file

February 6, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Dr. Jim Gwartney of our Department of Economics and Jose Barreto will be in Atlanta on Wednesday, February 11, to discuss the possibility of a summer internship for Jose. They will arrive in Atlanta at 8:59 a.m. On arrival, Jim will telephone Emory Via to arrange a meeting time. They are scheduled to fly out of Atlanta at 3:05 p.m.

We had Mack Jones visit us just last week. He made a very favorable impression on our students. I'm anxious for him to complete his study of black elected officials.

We certainly appreciate your efforts on this matter. I hope that things will work out for both parties.

Sincerely,

Lee

Lee Sloan
Director
The Interdisciplinary Program
in Urban Minority Problems

LS/mlw
cc: Jose Barreto
James Gwartney

October 16, 1953

Mr John Miklos, Assistant Professor
Public Service Training Center
General Extension Division of Florida
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr Miklos:

I am sorry, but there is almost nothing in our files that would be helpful in your research.

I expect the Dade County Commission on Human Rights, to be reached through Prof Mike Ross, of the University of Miami, at Coral Gables, would have some files; and Gilbert Balkin, of the Anti-Defammation League, B'nai B'rith, 330 Seybold Building, Miami, has probably got an excellent clippings file. Seymour Samet, Southern representative of the American Jewish Committee, 213 N E Second Avenue, Miami, might be helpful. If you could catch up with Mrs Ines White, 753 Highland, Eau Gaillie, Florida, she might have something. She is a Methodist Church worker, much traveled over the state, and shares our interest in matters interracial. Would not have her material organized; but you could organize a lot of material from the things she knows.

Your Professor Al Lewis, in the Educational Department, knows a good deal about these matters also. In a pinch, too, you might get some information from the Secretary of the Urban League at Jacksonville and at Tampa. What about the Department of Human Relations or whatever it is at [illegible]

Mrs H C Rivkind, St Pete
St Petersburg, Florida. [illegible]
long experience in the matter of civil rights violations is Richard P Daniel, 1100 Florida National Bank Building, Jacksonville 2, Florida.

The New York address of the N A A C P is 20 West 40th Street.

You ought to join our Council. There is a blank on the back of the grey leaflet. I send also our latest two pamphlets in the spreading of which, for discussion group use, I bespeak your help.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
encl

GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION OF FLORIDA
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

B. C. RILEY, DEAN

REPRESENTING
ALL STATE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
LEARNING

OCTOBER 5, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 6
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GENTLEMEN:

I AM DOING SOME RESEARCH ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN FLORIDA AND ON THE USE OF THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES IN THE UNITED STATES.

DO YOU HAVE ANY MATERIALS ON THESE TWO SUBJECTS THAT COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO ME? IF NOT, CAN YOU DIRECT ME TO SOMEONE WHO DOES.

CORDIALLY YOURS,

John E. Miklos

JOHN E. MIKLOS
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
PUBLIC SERVICE TRAINING CENTER
GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION OF FLORIDA

JEM/BJ

P.S. WILL YOU PLEASE SEND ME THE MAILING ADDRESS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION OF FLORIDA
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

B. C. RILEY, DEAN

REPRESENTING
ALL STATE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER
LEARNING

October 19, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 21
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

An inquiry was made of your department on October 5, 1953, concerning materials as mentioned in the enclosed letter.

I am writing again because of our immediate need for these materials. Please advise me at your earliest convenience if they are obtainable from your department or elsewhere and at what cost.

Cordially yours,

John E. Miklos

John E. Miklos
Assistant Professor
Public Service Training Center
General Extension Division of Florida

JEM/bj

Enclosure: Copy of ltr dtd Oct. 5, 1953.

Answered
10/26/53
EGL

October 5, 1953

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am doing some research on CIVIL RIGHTS in Florida and on the use of the WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS in CIVIL RIGHTS cases in the United States.

Do you have any materials on these two subjects that could be made available to me? If not, can you direct me to someone who does.

Cordially yours,

John E. Miklos
Assistant Professor
Public Service Training Center
General Extension Division of Florida

JEM/bj

P. S. Will you please send me the mailing address of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

November 10, 1953

Mr. John E. Miklos
General Extension Division
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Miklos:

In reply to your letter of November 3rd, Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you that the address of Dr. Gordon Lovejoy is:

P.O. Box 528
Guilford College, N. C.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

GENERAL EXTENSION DIVISION OF FLORIDA
UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

B. C. RILEY, DEAN

RECEIVED
NOV 6
Southern Regional Council

REPRESENTING ALL STATE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

3 November 1953.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your letter of October 16, 1953.

I will make an attempt to contact the individuals that were mentioned in your letter for further information on race relations and civil rights in Florida.

In reading the October, 1949 issue of the NEW SOUTH, I read Mr. Gordon W. Lovejoy's report on race relations in Florida with great interest and would like to write to him for information as to the sources for much of the matter reported by him.

Do you have his mailing address? If so, can it be made available to me for the purpose stated above?

Cordially yours,
John E. Miklos
JOHN E. MIKLOS

P.S. Have there been similar reports on Florida published since 1949?

MAR 11 1955

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Human Relations Center

226 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Copley 7-2100 Ext. 520

March 3, 1955

1. GTH
2 FR
3 AH

return to me

To Intergroup Relations Workers

Dear Friend:

During its 1955 Summer Session, Boston University will offer its second annual Workshop in The Improvement of Human Relations. This Workshop is conducted by the Human Relations Center of Boston University, with the sponsorship of the University's School of Education, School of Nursing, School of Public Relations and Communications, School of Theology, College of Business Administration, and the Departments of Psychology and of Anthropology and Sociology.

For four weeks workers and leaders from education, social work, intergroup relations, health, religion, labor, government and industry who are enrolled in the workshop, will work together in a living-in situation at Osgood Hill in exploring problems of group and intergroup relations which are basic and common to various organizational settings. They will be helped in working out and pre-testing solutions to these problems. Opportunity for consultation upon problems peculiar to their specific work settings will be provided.

The enclosed brochure describes the method and content of the workshop.

Those who want university credit may receive six semester hours for the four weeks work. Those who do not want credit may enroll on a non-credit basis.

Perhaps you would be interested in applying, or you may wish to invite someone from your community to apply. If you need additional brochures or wish to inquire further about the workshop, please feel free to write me.

Very sincerely yours,

Kenneth D. Benne

Kenneth D. Benne,
Workshop Director

KDB:bf

Fc —

I thought you might be interested —

see section marked in red pencil —

In haste —

F.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

April 5, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I appreciate very much your thoughtfulness in sending me the materials on integration which have been issued by the Southern Regional Council. These will be very helpful to the Commission which Phi Delta Kappa has organized for the study of this problem.

We are trying to stimulate local initiative on the part of various chapters throughout the country, and I am sure this material will be of interest to many of these chapters. Thank you again for your kindness.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. White
Dean

msn

FBR

Under Separate Cover:
Answers for Action
New South, July 1953 - The Court Takes More Time
New South, September 1954 - Segregation in the Schools
New South, October 1954 - The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South
New South, February 1955
Changing Patterns

GSM
for your info -
Please return
S FBR

Air Mail

March 24, 1955

Mr. J.B. White
Phi Delta Kappa
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Brother Phi Delta Kappan,

Our Director, Dr. George Mitchell, told me that he ran into you in Chicago at a meeting of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. He said that you mentioned that local chapters of Phi Delta Kappa were going to study desegregation in the public schools, which I think is one of the most significant things a professional educational fraternity could undertake at this time. I am proud that it is our fraternity that has decided to do so.

I am a Floridian and was on the faculty at the University of Miami in the Department of Human Relations for some three years. I joined Phi Delta Kappa when I was working on my doctorate at New York University. I have found it to be a help to me professionally and personally, and I believe that in this new series of studies which it is about to undertake it will be of real assistance in presenting factual information which will help the South through its transitional period.

I am sending you under separate cover several of our publications which I think will be of interest to you and to the committee that is designing the study. I am sure that you are acquainted with "The Negro and the Schools" edited by Harry Ashmore, and "Schools in Transition" edited by Williams and Ryan, both published at Chapel Hill.

If there is any way in which we of the Southern Regional Council can be of assistance to the brothers of Phi Delta Kappa in this study, please let us know.

Fraternally yours,

FBR;rnf

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Who Offers the Workshop

The Workshop is conducted by the Human Relations Center of Boston University, with the sponsorship of the University's School of Education, School of Nursing, School of Public Relations and Communications, School of Theology, College of Business Administration, and the Departments of Psychology and of Anthropology and Sociology.

Who Can Attend

Enrollment in the Workshop will be limited to forty-five selected students drawn from various occupational fields, such as: education, social work, religion, business and industry, organized labor, community organizations, mass communications and health. The students will be selected to create a heterogeneous population with respect to race, faith and ethnic background. Teams of students from the same community or organization are encouraged to attend. Students and staff will live and work together at Osgood Hill, Boston University's Conference Center in North Andover.

Who Is on the Staff

a. Full Time Resident Staff

KENNETH D. BENNE, *Training Director*
Theodore W. Berenson Professor of Human Relations and Director, Human Relations Center, Boston University

MAX BIRNBAUM
Educational Consultant, American Jewish Committee

ROBERT CHIN
Associate Professor of Psychology and Fellow, Human Relations Center, Boston University

FRANCIS L. HURWITZ, *Workshop Administrator*
Executive Secretary, Human Relations Center, Boston University

BENSON SNYDER
College Psychiatrist, Wellesley College
Member, Psychiatric Staff, Beth Israel Hospital, Boston

DOROTHY STOCK
Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago

In addition, there will be on the full-time resident staff, a teacher with wide experience in human relations education. The staff as a group combines knowledge and experience in community organization and relations, human relations education and training, group dynamics, action and evaluation research, psychiatric counseling, and elementary and secondary, college and adult education.

b. Visiting Consultants

Experts in special fields and leaders with knowledge and practical experience in each of the work settings represented in the Workshop will be available as visiting consultants and lecturers for short periods.

When

July 18 through August 12, 1955

Where

Osgood Hill, Boston University Conference Center, North Andover, Massachusetts

Costs

Course Fee $145.00
Room and board for the four weeks $127.00

Credit

Each participant may earn 6 semester hours of credit, graduate or undergraduate, for the Workshop experience. Those who wish no credit may register on a non-credit basis.

Scholarships available

Through a grant from the Lt. Hirschel L. Gutman Foundation a limited number of scholarships to defray the cost of room and board are available.

Schedule

The Workshop is in session for five days each week.

Recreation

Osgood Hill and its vicinity offers many opportunities for both informal and organized recreation. There will be ample opportunity for week-end trips to famous New England resort areas nearby.

How to Apply

Apply before May 1, 1955. Use the request blank below:

Date.....

Kenneth D. Benne, *Director*
Boston University Human Relations Center
308 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

I wish to apply for admission to the Workshop in the Improvement of Human Relations. Please send application blank to

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Occupation.....

What Is Taught?

1. Information and conceptual clarification with respect to:
   a. The sub-cultures of significant groups in contemporary American society;
   b. The sociological and psychological bases of intergroup conflict;
   c. The psychology of prejudice;
   d. The social psychology of groups (structure and dynamics);
   e. Processes of experimental problem-solving in group and community settings;
   f. Community analysis, action and organization relative to problems of human relations;
   g. Application of research methods to problems of practice;
   h. Trends in human relations education — for children, adolescents and adults.
2. Skill training with respect to:
   a. Use of diagnostic devices — survey, interview, sociometry, role-playing, problem census;
   b. Use of methods for human relations training and teaching — action-research, role-playing, rumor clinic, group self-evaluation;
   c. Group leadership and membership;
   d. Organizational and community leadership.
3. Sensitivity training for each participant with respect to:
   a. His own attitudes toward other people in group and intergroup situations;
   b. His effects on other people as he functions with them in peer, subordinate or leadership relations;
   c. His actual and potential roles in dealing with human relations problems in his back-home (work and community) setting;
   d. His own motivations and controlling value system with respect to human relations work.

What Are the Methods?

1. The focus of instruction will be upon analyzing and diagnosing the human relations problems students bring with them from their back-home situations and upon planning ways of solving these problems.
2. Group experiences of students in the Workshop will be used as case material to analyze and evaluate in order to deepen understanding of human relations processes and problems.
3. The Workshop will be conducted in a way to provide evaluated practice in the methods studied and analyzed for possible use back home.

A typical day's schedule at the Workshop might look like this:

8:15-8:45 A.M. *Breakfast*

9:00-10:50 A.M. *Home-Base Groups*

Each participant is a member of a face-to-face clinic group which meets daily throughout the Workshop.

11:00-12:00 Noon. *Daily Seminar*

General session in which human relations ideas and information are presented by visiting consultants or resident staff and discussed by the entire Workshop.

12:30-1:30 P.M. *Luncheon*

1:45-3:15 P.M. *Skill and Back-Home Application Groups*

In small groups participants explore problems of improving human relations in their home situations and practice relevant skills and methods with the consultation of visiting experts or members of the resident staff. On some days, this time is used for individual rest, reading or consultation.

3:30-4:00 P.M. *Participant Assembly*

The participants meet when needed to solve problems of workshop community policy and government.

4:00-6:15 P.M. *Free Time*

6:30-7:30 P.M. *Dinner*

8:00-10:00 P.M. *Evening Session*

Evening sessions are held two nights a week to experience and evaluate various large meeting methods for dealing with human relations content. The time is available on other nights for organized recreation, if participants wish it.

Boston University's

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER

THE PROGRAM of the Human Relations Center was activated in the fall of 1953, to strengthen and facilitate the University's programs for dealing with problems of human relations. Initially, its focus is on problems growing out of group and intergroup relationships. The Center aims to stimulate and support, in all parts of the University, programs of instruction, research and community service in human relations.

The Center, which does not grant degrees, supports the training of specialists in human relations by providing fellowships to able graduate students who major in one of the several University departments, schools and colleges with a graduate or professional program in human relations studies. The Center seeks to improve the general education of undergraduate and graduate students in problems of human relations through consultation and collaboration with faculty members and with leaders and members of student organizations.

Research in human relations is encouraged by the Center through support of investigations by its staff and fellows and by grants to other graduate students and to faculty members who are pursuing investigations relevant to the Center's major concerns. The Center also seeks to provide, through its service program in the community, opportunities for field studies by students and faculty members.

The staff and fellows of the Center, with the help of cooperating faculty members, undertake consultation and other services to community agencies and organizations concerned with problems of human relations, where these services facilitate its research and instructional purposes. A further community service provides refresher training for practitioners and leaders in the human relations field by conducting a variety of short-term conferences and workshops.

Dr. Kenneth D. Benne, Theodore W. Berenson Professor of Human Relations, is Director of the Human Relations Center.

For general information on over 450 other courses to be offered by the Boston University Summer Term (Intersession, May 31 to July 9; Summer Session, July 11 to August 20), address:

ROBERT W. SHERBURNE, *Director*
Boston University Summer Term
685 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston 15, Massachusetts

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

SUMMER SESSION

announces its

Second Annual

WORKSHOP IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Scene at Osgood Hill, the University's Conference Center — Workshop Headquarters

CONDUCTED BY

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER

JULY 18 — AUGUST 12, 1955

OSGOOD HILL

North Andover, Massachusetts

May17, 1955

Mr. Francis L. Hurwitz, Ex. Sec.
Human Relations Center
Boston University
308 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Hurwitz:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 11th to Dr. Mitchell which he has referred to me. Your proposed workshop on the Improvement of Human Relations at Boston University sounds excellent. As a former professor of human relations at the University of Miami, I have had considerable experience in staff participation and direction in workshops and believe that the workshop method is probably the most effective form of education in terms of pragmatic learning.

It is not possible for us to send anybody to the workshop this summer. All of our staff people are deeply imbedded in their work and during the summer months when we have use of consultants from various universities our work is actually intensified.

Thank you for the brochures which you enclosed with your letter. We are passing them on to people who might be interested and I have sent a copy to the Department of Human Relations at the University of Miami.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
for
State Organizations

FBR:rnf
cc:Max Birnbaum

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
Human Relations Center

308 BAY STATE ROAD
BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

COPLEY 7-2100 EXT. 520

9TH
SFR

May 11, 1955

MAY 13 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We should like to bring to your attention again, especially as requested by Max Birnbaum, the Workshop in the Improvement of Human Relations which the Boston University Human Relations Center will conduct at Osgood Hill, the University's Conference Center in North Andover, from July 18 to August 12.

We thought you might have a team from your area attend the Workshop, which we feel might be of help in the consideration of the problem of desegregation.

Several of the Workshop brochures are enclosed. Hoping that we may hear from you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis L. Hurwitz
Executive Secretary

FLH:bf
encs.

cc. Max Birnbaum

Boston University

February 12, 1957

Mr. Francis L. Hurwitz
Workshop Administrator
Boston University Human Relations Center
308 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Francis Hurwitz:

Thank you for your letter of February 8 and the twelve copies of the brochure on your workshop.

I have stamped each of them "For Your Information from the Southern Regional Council" and forwarded them to our state offices.

Regards to you and Ken Benne.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Boston University

February 4, 1957

Mr. Francis L. Hurwitz
Boston University
Human Relations Center
308 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Hutwitz:

We have received the brochure on the Fourth Annual Workshop at Boston University directed by Kenneth Benne.

If you will send us twelve additional copies, we will mail them to our affiliated state organizations.

The description of methods and contents of the workshop looks exciting.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

F. R.

RECEIVED DEC 27 1955

Human Relations Seminar
Boston, University
Boston, Massachusetts

December 23, 1955

Dear Sir:

The enclosed human relations survey has been prepared to learn the extent to which organizations are prepared to cope with problems encountered after racial or religious "incidents" have taken place. We would like to learn, too, if the problems met in this situation differ appreciably from those you regularly face in your work.

Realizing that your time is limited, we have attempted to make the answering of the survey items as simple as possible. If time does not permit you to answer all questions, would you please be so kind as to complete items 2, 3, 9, 10, and 11, and return the survey in the stamped, self-addressed envelope provided.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Richard P. Zollo

Richard P. Zollo
Chairman

ans. 4 FBR

April 2, 1959

Dr. Charles S. McCoy
College of Arts and Sciences
Department of Religion
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Charles:

Many thanks for your recent letter. I am sorry I took some time to answer it, but I have a previous engagement on April 24-25. I tried to wiggle out of this so I could come down to Gainesville, but unfortunately, they would not let me off the hook. So I must bow out.

I certainly enjoyed my visit down there last time, and only wish I could come back again this year. If you will give me a little more notice next year, I should be able to make it then.

The next time I am in Florida and in the general vicinity of Gainesville I will drop by to chat with you.

All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

March 24, 1959

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

The Chairman responsible for the program of our annual Institute on Human Relations has aked me to write you about coming down for it this spring. We are planning to hold it on Friday evening and Saturday, April 24-25. The general pattern will be similar to that of last year but with some changes.

We want to focus on uncovering plastic points in the community where real progress in race relations may be possible and on formulating methods of approach. One area we are especially interesting in examining is the economic dimension of the community. Remembering that the SRC had found growing readiness for change at this point, I suggested having you down again to discuss it in more detail than was possible last year. Church, press, and education will be other areas we shall consider.

Besides thinking you could contribute something pretty valuable to the program, I just wanted an excuse to get your sparkling self back down here again. Get together with yourself and come on down. Hope you can.

Faithfully,

Charles

Charles S. McCoy

July 17, 1962

Mr. Lewis F. Haines
Director
University of Florida Press
15 N. W. 15th Street
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mr. Haines:

Thank you for the complimentary copy of Recent Southern Economic Development which was recently sent to us. It is being added to our library of research materials and will, I'm sure, get extensive use.

I notice your letter was addressed to Mr. Harold Fleming who is no longer with the Council. Our present director is Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, who succeeded Mr. Fleming when he left the Council last year to head the Potomac Institute, a newly established human relations organization, in Washington, D. C.

Again, our thanks and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

UFP UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA PRESS
15 N.W. 15th St., Gainesville, Florida

RECEIVED JUL 3 1962

RECEIVED JUL 3 1962

July 2, 1962

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We deeply regret that the attached slip was inadvertently omitted from the copy of Recent Southern Economic Development by Dr. Edgar S. Dunn, Jr., which was sent to you with the compliments of the Inter-University Committee for Economic Research on the South.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis F. Haines

Lewis F. Haines
Director

MJ - do you want to acknowledge this? I did not

Enclosure

LFH:cl

JS

Board - Nominating Ctee, 1963

Feb 7

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
TALLAHASSEE 32306

DIVISION OF UNIVERSITY RELATIONS

March 23, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Thank you for your letter a few days ago. I did feel some regret about rotating off the Executive Committee after some 17 or 18 years, I believe, but indeed it is high time! You may remember that I raised a question some time ago that it was about time for me to step aside and let some other folks come into the committee.

You know how identified I am with the Council and I shall continue to feel the same close tie. I may have done a little for the Council, but the Council has certainly done a lot for me. I am fully sensitive to and appreciative of this fact.

I am also fully appreciative of the high level leadership which you have given and are giving to the work of the SRC.

Thank you for your good letter.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG/gp

March 8, 1965

Mrs. Marjorie Newman
Program Director
WFSU-FM Radio
University Broadcasting Services
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mrs. Newman:

It is likely, though not certain, that I shall be away on March 18. I do hope, however, that you will come by. I would suggest you see Pat Watters, our Information Director. You might also wish to see Paul Anthony, Field Director, and Vernon Jordan, my assistant, if they are here; and, of course, if I am not away I shall be happy to have a chance to talk with you.

A good time might be 10:30 or 11, though we can usually be flexible.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

UNIVERSITY BROADCASTING SERVICES

March 3, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have been working on a proposal for a series of radio programs on the status of the Negro in our society and changes brought about by the 1964 Civil Rights Law. These programs would be produced for and distributed by the National Educational Radio Network to educational radio stations throughout the country.

Thus far, in trying to determine the scope and cost of such a series, I have talked with Carl Hollman of the Civil Rights Commission office in Washington, and also LeRoy Collins and Roger Wilkins of the Community Relations Service.

Mr. Wilkins suggested that your agency might also be of some help in gathering information and ideas. Since I will be in Atlanta on March 18 for several hours, if possible I would like an appointment to see you on that day, sometime after 10:30 in the morning or early in the afternoon.

I am trying to arrange several conferences on the program during that day, and therefore would appreciate knowing as soon as convenient what would be the best time for me to see you if such an interview can be arranged.

Sincerely,

Marjorie Newman

(Mrs.) Marjorie Newman
Program Director
WFSU-FM Radio

MN/cb

See University of Florida file

April 24, 1967

Mr. James S. Pope
Program Advisor
Center for Continuing Education
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Dear Mr. Pope:

Enclosed is our check for $394.00, representing our contribution for the Conference on Teacher Education for Inter-group Relations, jointly sponsored by the Center for Continuing Education, University of South Florida, the Florida Educational Research and Development Council and the Anti-Defamation League.

We are pleased to be a part of this program.

At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

cc: Mr. Bruce Rosen
ADL-Atlanta, Ga.

April 25, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please issue a check for $394.00 to Center for Continuing Education, University of South Florida from # 316 School Integration.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
AREA CODE 813: 988-4131
CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

April 20, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Center for Continuing Education, University of South Florida, in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Florida Educational Research and Development Council, Inc., proposes to conduct a conference for the purpose of evaluating and reporting progress initiated May 18-21, 1966 in a state-wide conference on Strategies to Improve Teacher Education For Inter-Group Relations. The Southeast Education Laboratory funded last year's conference for 64 participants from 20 colleges, universities and agencies.

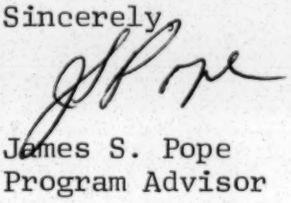
During the conference last year participants studied problems of inter-group relations in Florida schools and made positive recommendations for action in 1966-67. Enclosed is a copy of the program report showing work, action in progress, preparation for action and recommended actions. At this time the group requested an evaluation conference in the spring or summer of 1967 to report on steps taken "since Saturday morning, May 21, 1966."

We propose to invite a small group to include only one person from each of the institutions and agencies represented last year. Each would evaluate progress during the past year, reporting both successes and failures. It is believed that both are necessary to give direction for future work.

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith will contribute $300 to this conference and the Florida Educational Research and Development Council, Inc. will contribute $256. The total budget would be $950. We, therefore, respectfully request $394 from the Southern Regional Council to study the value of actions taken, to communicate problems incurred and to gain insight for future work in inter-group relations.

If you are willing to join with us in our inter-group relations effort, would you please send me a note of intent in order that I may fulfill my responsibilities as coordinator of this project.

Sincerely,



James S. Pope
Program Advisor

Enclosure

JSP:mb

See Edwards' Florida file

May 31, 1967

Mr. James S. Pope, Program Advisor
Center for Continuing Education
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Dear Mr. Pope:

I left on vacation on May 11th and have just returned. This is the reason you have not heard from me earlier.

I do hope you had a good meeting and am pleased we were able to have a small part in it.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
AREA CODE 813: 988-4131
CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

Rec'd 5/11/67. wy

May 10, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your immediate attention to our request for funds for an inter-group relations conference was most gratifying. With your help we were able to go ahead with our project at the last meeting. We will have 16 to 18 participants from universities, colleges and agencies in Florida.

Enclosed are the invitation letter and program for the meeting. We certainly hope that you or your representative can attend.

Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely yours,

J S Pope

James S. Pope
Program Advisor

Enclosures

JSP:mb

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
AREA CODE 813: 988-4131
CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

April 21, 1967

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The Center for Continuing Education of the University of South Florida, in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Florida Education and Research Development Council, Inc., invites you to attend a conference at the University of South Florida Chinsegut Hill Education Center on May 15, 1967. The purpose of this meeting is to evaluate and report progress in inter-group relations that was recommended at the STRATEGIES conference held last May 18-21 in St. Petersburg.

The Chinsegut Hill Center is four miles North of Brooksville, Florida on US 41. Although this is a one-day meeting, you are welcome to stay overnight at this colorful old mansion.

The travel and expenses for one representative of your school or agency will be reimbursed. In the event you cannot attend, would you please help us select another member of your faculty or agency who could give your report for you. Our purpose is to report and discuss all actions in inter-group relations accomplished this year. We are interested in discussing successes and failures in order to learn from our experience.

By the end of next week we should be able to mail you a program. The purpose of contacting you now is to ask you to reserve this date on your calendar. Would you please complete the enclosed Registration Form and return at your earliest possible convenience to allow us time to complete our planning.

Sincerely,

James S. Pope
Program Advisor

Enclosures
JSP;mb

Please register me for the Strategies To Improve Inter-Group Relations - Evaluation Conference.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ Telephone _____

EMPLOYER _____

ADDRESS _____

Send Registration Form to: Center for Continuing Education
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
AREA CODE 813: 988-4131
CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

S
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Our program for the Intergroup Relations Conference at Chinsegut Hill on May 15 will be an unstructured meeting during which we will attempt to report on and discuss three subjects:

1. Reports of both positive and negative achievements within the last 12 months.
2. Projections for the next 12 months in the field of human relations education; and
3. Projections as to developing a continuing conference in human relations education over a wide format of material.

During our meeting, Mr. Bruce Rosen, Southern Director of Education for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, will discuss the "Proceedings of the Oregon Conference on Human Relations Education."

We ask that participants be prepared to report on their school or agency with reference to the above agenda and then some time discussing ways in which persons involved in this meeting and last year's meeting can serve as an organizing nucleus for future activities.

Conference registration will be at 9 a.m. on Monday, May 15. You are welcome to remain overnight Sunday, May 14, or Monday night, May 15. Please complete the information check-list below and return to us immediately.

INFORMATION ON YOUR PLANS

Please check the following items to help us plan for your requirements.

Rooms		Meals	
Sunday, May 14	_____	Breakfast	_____
Monday, May 15	_____	Lunch	_____
		Dinner	_____

Social Security Number: _____

Please return to: Center for Continuing Education
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

File

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
AREA CODE 813: 988-4131

CENTER FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION

File: Winds: Florida, U.S.

June 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the University of South Florida, the Anti-Defamation League and Florida Education Research and Development Commission, we wish to thank you for helping make our Inter-group Relations Conference possible. The meeting was truly a success and plans are being made to form a permanent council with a representative from each college or university in Florida. Much good work has already been accomplished and we feel that our activity can initiate much more in the future.

We are very sorry you could not attend. I do hope you can join us in the future.

When Bruce Rosen completes his report from our taped sessions, we will send you a copy.

Sincerely,

J S Pope

James S. Pope
Program Advisor

JSP:mb

BCC: John Wheeler w/copy of Chalmers ltr 8/21/68

August 28, 1968

Dr. David Chalmers
Professor of American History
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Dear Professor Chalmers:

Enclosed is a Publications List from which we will be happy to send you anything that you think may be of value. We have in manuscript a study by Reese Cleghorn, who is on the editorial staff of the Atlanta Journal, on "Right Wing" groups in the South. This study, jointly sponsored with the American Jewish Committee, will be published in November. Should you wish a copy of that manuscript we will be happy to send it.

As a more general observation for whatever it may be worth, and to speak to the obvious, I believe the current political season, the manner in which the campaigns will be conducted, the extent to which "law and order" is stressed, the voters' response to that, and the amount of the vote which goes to George Wallace will really be the hard facts on which analysis must be made. From whatever source violence comes, it has long been our observation, as I am sure it has been yours, in studying such groups as the Klan, one or a very few people can commit murder, burn

churches or otherwise engage in violence that has far reaching implications. I think at this point the concern of all of us, and certainly of the National Commission, is more of one of how the society at large will act and react rather than a few extremists of whatever persuasion.

Needless to say, we will be more than happy to be of any possible assistance to you in your important work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - Publications List

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

726 JACKSON PL., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

DR. MILTON S. EISENHOWER
CHAIRMAN

CONGRESSMAN HALE BOGGS
ARCHBISHOP TERENCE J. COOKE
AMBASSADOR PATRICIA HARRIS
SENATOR PHILIP A. HART
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JUDGE ERNEST W. McFARLAND
DR. W. WALTER MENNINGER

LLOYD N. CUTLER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THOMAS D. BARR
DEPUTY DIRECTOR

JAMES S. CAMPBELL
GENERAL COUNSEL

WILLIAM G. McDONALD
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

August 21, 1968

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

The President's Commission on Violence has a task force on "Demonstration and Protest," headed by Professor Jerome Skolnick of the University of California. Through my work on the Ku Klux Klan and on American vigilantism, I am doing the study on "White responses to minority group aspirations."

I am, therefore, seeking data on white "backlash" organizations and their potential for violence, plus other responses to black protest, demonstration and riot. I would be extremely appreciative of any reports, materials and advice which you could offer me.

Sincerely,

David Chalmers

David Chalmers
Professor of American History
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

DC/m

September 3, 1968

Dr. David Chalmers
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

Dear Professor Chalmers:

Enclosed is the Cleghorn manuscript. There will be a few minor changes, but nothing of significance other than perhaps a commentary on the November election.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE CAUSES AND PREVENTION OF VIOLENCE

726 JACKSON PL., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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WILLIAM G. McDONALD
ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

August 30, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your quick and helpful response to my letter. I would indeed appreciate being able to preview Reese Cleghorn's study on "Right Wing" groups in the South.

I agree with you that the important question is how the general society will react, rather than the everpresent capacity of the few for violence. Although societies do, in a great number of ways, communicate signals to the Klan and other such organizations, we are at a point of crisis which transcends whatever any group of nightriders or National States Rights Party-men can do.

With appreciation, both for your kindness, and for the existence of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL,

Sincerely,

David Chalmers

David Chalmers
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida 32601

DC/m

February 5, 1954

Mr. Paul E. Pfuetze
Department of Philosophy
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Paul,

If they jump on some guy just, or plainly almost entirely, because he has been thoughtful and fair and non-conforming on matters of race, I think our Executive Committee would want the Council to speak up. But though I think the whole business is an invasion of academic freedom, and bad for Georgia and for the country, I don't think that SRC's protest, just on academic freedom, would be wise expenditure of what little strength we have.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS GEORGIA

Feb. 4, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED
FEB 5
Southern Regional Council

Dear George Mitchell:

This is to ask if you have been following the developments in the Anti-Subversives Bill and the administrative procedures now being set up pursuant to the bill, and whether you feel that there is anything that the Southern Regional Council can or should do in the matter.

Some of us are gravely concerned over the bill itself, and more particularly over the long five-page questionaire which Mr. Sizemore, Assistant Attorney General, has prepared to "get the facts" about possible subversive persons in the state.

I don't believe that any of us are likely to be hurt immediately or directly; although one cannot tell. If badly administered the bill could be vicious. And it is my feeling that the real intent of the bill is not to catch genuine subv rsives, but to harass liberals and honest dissenters, and to hound them out of the state. The questionaire, from scraps of information I have about it, sounds to me like an unconstitutional invasion of privacy--and the whole thing seems to have the purpose of "thought control", enforcing conformity, etc.

What do you think about it, George? Some of us may decide to fight it; if so, can we look to the Council for support?

Faithfully yours,

Paul

Paul E. Pfuetze

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

RECEIVED FEB 8 Southern Regional Council

Feb. 6, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Thanks for your note about the Anti-Subversives Bill and the administrative procedures now being set in motion to implement that act.

I know, of course, that the SRC does not work directly in the field of academic freedom, but it is concerned with nearly all of the broad problems of the South (all of which are infected and corrupted by the problem of race) and surely with the integrity of our public schools.

This forthcoming questionnaire covers all public employees, including public school teachers and University System teachers. This will include the teachers at Fort Valley, Albany and Savannah. And it may cover negro members of certain labor unions, etc. It seems to me to become especially vicious when it deliberately omits the KKK from the list of subversive and unAmerican organizations membership in which might constitute grounds for dismissal from one's job.

It seems to me that this is an occasion when all liberal groups (political, academic, social, labor and religious) might well pool their forces to fight this evil thing--even if it means setting up a new cooperative agency to carry the ball.

I know you will do whatever you can to help. What that is we must leave up to you and the Executive Committee. But this whole affair is really an effort to harass and hound out of the state all liberals, and dissenters on race and any other issue.

Yours, Paul E. Phillips.

June 13, 1955

University of Georgia Press
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would be glad for information about the forthcoming Southeastern Resources Handbook.

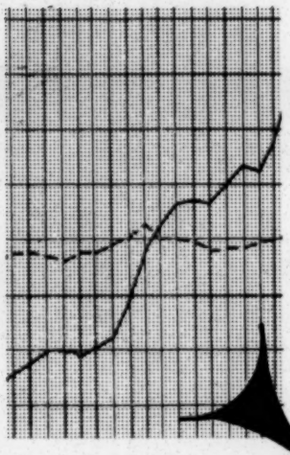
Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mr. Guernsey

Geo: Do you know anything about this? J. Buckner



Geo. Mitchell

The University of Georgia Press

in cooperation with

The Bureau of Business Research
College of Business Administration
University of Georgia

announces the preparation of

Alabama
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
West Virginia

Southeastern Resources Handbook

The Need

BUSINESSMEN, labor leaders, public officials, universities, colleges, and secondary schools need factual data covering regions of the United States. Many of the facts needed have to do with resources of all kinds: population, manpower, and employment; production, inventories. and sales; wages, prices, and profits; natural resources, industrial expansion, and technological progress.

Filling The Need

THE University of Georgia Press in cooperation with the University's Bureau of Business Research is meeting the need for a *Southeastern Resources Handbook*. The Southeast commands a leading place in industrial expansion and resource development. The University of Georgia facilities will provide, through this type of *Handbook*, the needed economic facts which have a bearing upon decisions which must be made by businessmen, labor leaders, and public officials. Educational systems will find such materials highly beneficial for their teaching and economic research programs.

What Will The Handbook Contain

THE *Southeastern Resources Handbook* will be a modern presentation of economic data on the resources of the Southeast. It will consist of maps, charts, and tables designed for easy use by the busy executive, or researcher. Its loose-leaf arrangement permits the addition of current information as developed, and a gradual expansion into additional volumes as the service grows over the years. A general description of the type of content appears on the back of this folder.

Future Developments

THE *Southeastern Resources Handbook* will be "built-up" over a period of time and will not be published as a static book. This will permit continuous up-dating and reorganization to meet the changing needs of its subscribers. Within the first year of publication, subscribers will receive Volume I containing approximately 250 sheets of tables, graphs, and maps, together with an attractive binder, index tabs, explanatory and introductory material. The Bureau of Business Research will prepare approximately 250 pages, including revisions, annually. At appropriate times, attractive binders for additional volumes will be provided.

Among Our Contributors

UNIVERSITY system faculty members will be consulted in the preparation of materials in their specialized fields. The University of Georgia Press will, through the Bureau of Business Research, also use the resources of both government and private research and statistical services. Thus, a wide variety of professional talent will be made available to assist in developing the *Handbook*.

How Will The Handbook Be Used

THE *Southeastern Resources Handbook* will be a basic reference tool for every industrial, commercial, financial, construction, utility, transportation, research, educational, government, or military organization concerned with the economy of the Southeast – its natural resources, its capital or cultural resources, its human resources, and its coordinating services such as marketing, transportation, etc. The *Handbook* will be particularly valuable to those engaged in industrial development, plant location, plant expansion, planning capital expenditures, security analysis, market analysis, product diversification, or distribution research. It will fulfill a definite need of top executives, sales managers, purchasing agents, engineers, bankers, economists, educators, and public officials. The format will be attractive in appearance and very readable.

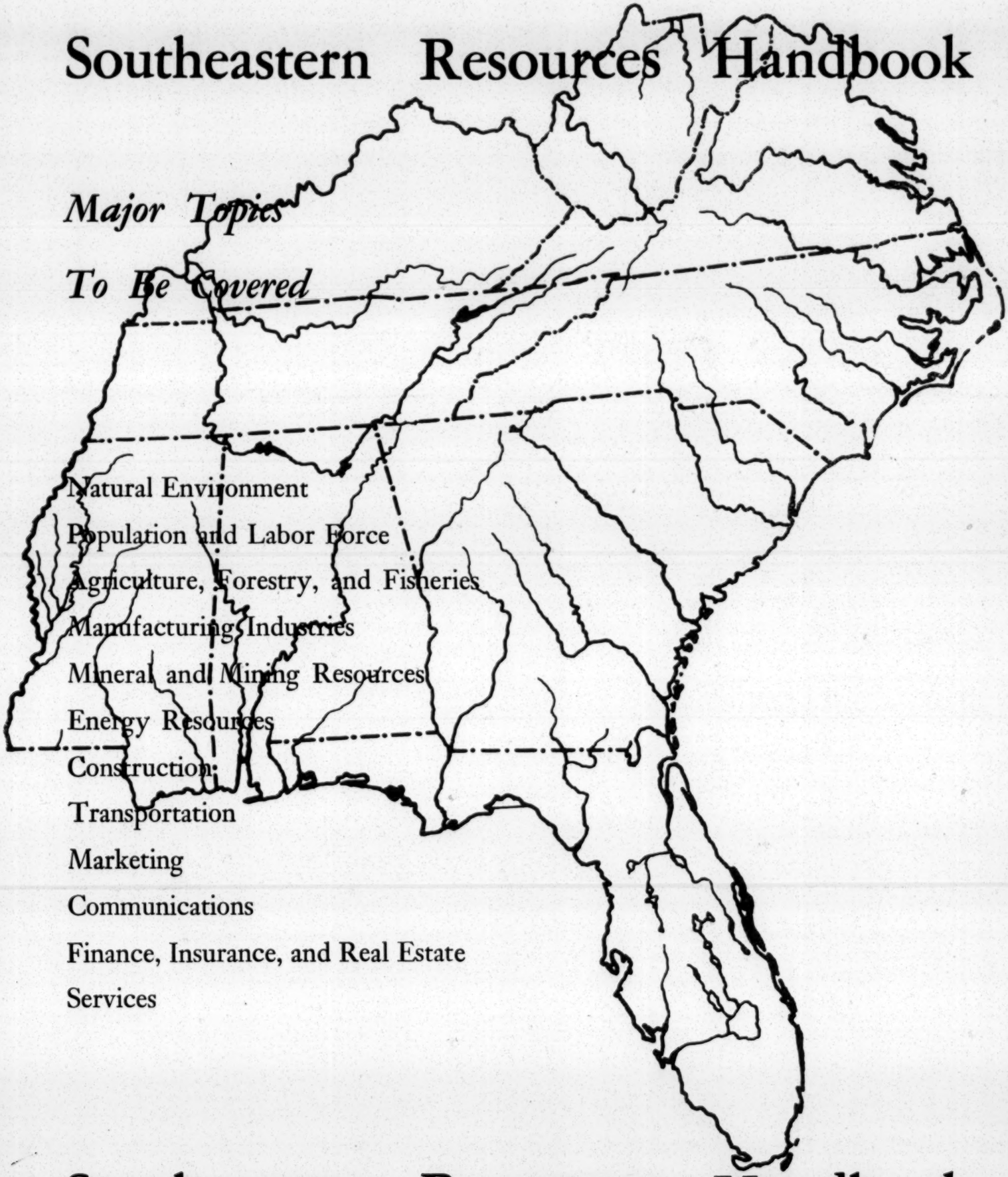
Subscription Plan

THE *Southeastern Resources Handbook* will be available on an annual subscription basis only. To meet the needs of those organizations requiring more than one book, a reduced rate will be established covering secondary subscriptions. Early subscribers, i.e., charter subscribers, will also be given a special subscription rate.

For Full Information Write To:

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA PRESS
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS, GEORGIA

Southeastern Resources Handbook



Major Topics To Be Covered

Natural Environment

Population and Labor Force

Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries

Manufacturing Industries

Mineral and Mining Resources

Energy Resources

Construction

Transportation

Marketing

Communications

Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate

Services

Southeastern Resources Handbook

October 18

October 12, 1955

Miss Lauradine Baker
University of Georgia
Religious Association
Chaplains Office
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Miss Baker:

I'll be there, at 6:45, Dawson Hall.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/ys

OCT 11 1955

October 10, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

We of the University of Georgia Religious Association are looking forward to your visit with us on Tuesday, October 18. We think it will be one of our best programs.

Our group will meet at 7:00 P.M. in the auditorium of Dawson Hall on Ag Hill.

If you find it would not be an inconvenience, perhaps I could meet you there about 6:45 to go over final program plans.

It will be a pleasure to have you visit us, and we hope you will have an enjoyable trip to Athens.

Most sincerely,
Lauradine Baker

July 6, 1955

Miss Lauradine Baker
Lafayette,
Georgia

Dear Miss Baker:

Thank you for asking me to come over for the meeting of the Georgia Religious Association to speak on Tuesday evening, October 18, 1955.

You may count on my being there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

July 5, 1955

Mr. Fleming:

GSM suggests that you find out about this organization -- quietly -- before he accepts or declines the invitation.

Hef - 2 o.
w — [illegible]
P [illegible].

JUL 5 1955

LaFayette, Georgia
July 1, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We of the University of Georgia Religious Association are planning our programs for this fall and are hoping that you will find it convenient to speak to our group on Tuesday evening, October 18, 1955. } free (ed)

The series of programs for the quarter will be entitled "What Can We Believe?" It shall be primarily concerned with the freshmen--helping them to formulate their ideas and beliefs as they step forward into their college years.

On October 18 the subject will be "What Can We Believe about Brotherhood?" As the speaker, you will take the first 25 or 30 minutes of the meeting, which is usually one hour beginning at 7:00, treating your subject in any way you choose, bringing in perhaps the relation of man to his fellowman concerning race.... "God's chosen".....or even to such broad areas as the United Nations. Toward the end of your talk, you might clear the path for discussion. We hope that this year we can put more emphasis on the student and his ideas than we have in the past.

Our council felt that you would be an asset to our program and could present your subject in a way that would be both a challenge and inspiration. I shall be awaiting your reply, and if you would like any additional information, please feel free to write me.

Yours sincerely,

Lauradine Baker

Lauradine Baker
Vice-president

May 29, 1956

Mr. Paul Pfuetze
Department of Philosophy
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Pfuetze:

If you are planning to be in Atlanta any time soon, George Mitchell and I would welcome the opportunity of a chat. I have heard you are planning to be away this summer, but if there is any chance of our getting together before you leave, please drop me a note. Nothing of great importance - we'd simply like to be brought up to date on your situation.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS GEORGIA

June 2, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold Fleming:

I have your note about a possible visit to Atlanta and the opportunity to chat with you and George Mitchell. We are leaving for Mexico soon, to do a little job with and for the American Friends Service Committee.

I am going into Atlanta next week, and I could arrange my visit, I think, to make sure of an interview with you and George. Would Tuesday or Wednesday be a possibility?

Let's say Wednesday -- that will give you time to reply to this note. If you and George are not available on Wednesday, then say when you would be. My schedule is not so tight this next but that I could arrange to go into Atlanta most any day. So just let me know.

Things are a little quiet on the local scene just now. But there are some interesting things to report and intepprot. It will be good to see you again. Regards to George and Guy Wells.

Ever cordially yours,

Paul E. Pfuetze

Paul E. Pfuetze

12th
13th
14th
15th

LIBerty 6-6937

Pfeutze
University of Georgia

April 16, 1957

Dr. Paul Pfeutze
Head, Department of Philosophy
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks a lot for your letter in answer to mine about George Iggers. Your letter is even more discouraging than was mine to George. I agree that self-censorship, like self-segregation, is hardly conducive to the development of the human personality or the growth of academic freedom.

Thanks for your good wishes; my best to you and Rubin Gotesky.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY
ATHENS, GEORGIA

April 11, 1957

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Your letter concerning Georg Iggers has been in my file for several days now. I have not answered it, thinking it better for Iggers to write to me if he wanted further information. This procedure also seems to square with your suggestion.

The situation is still tight here. We are not forgiven. Indeed, I have just been informed that the Budget Committee has again (twice in two years) denied to me and my colleague (Dr. Gotesky) any promotions or salary increases -- at a time when salary raises are being pretty generally given throughout the university. (Of course, on merit, but folks like us are the ones who do not "merit" increases). So the economic pinch is on up here too.

Many of the older Southern gentlemen, and especially in the Science faculties, would deny that there is any restriction upon academic freedom. But everyone, with any perception at all, even the students, feel a vague, pervasive censorship and unfreedom. It is perhaps all the more insidious because much of it is self-censorship; there are just a lot of things (especially concerning race) which the professors just don't talk about, fearful of what would happen if they did. And what would happen is what has happened to us--especially if it gets any publicity. They are doing everything they can to make it unpleasant for us to stay, hoping that, without firing us, we will quietly leave.

Good luck to all of you there.

Paul

August 9, 1961

Dean William Tate
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Dean Tate:

I hope that your troubles with your New South subscription are permanently ended; I am very sorry.

We are pleased that George McMillan was able to see you. McMillan's pamphlet, which he did for us last year on law enforcement, proved to be such a success that we asked him to undertake this assignment. Just as the law enforcement pamphlet was accepted by a number of police departments, including those in Savannah and Atlanta, as a succinct, readable description of typical police problems and good methods, so we hope his piece on Athens will be similarly accepted for its elucidation of the problems of college desegregation.

Many thanks again for your cooperation -- and your patience.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

~~LD~~ - WF - f.y.i.
LD ✓

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF MEN
ATHENS, GEORGIA

August 4, 1961

Miss Janet Feagans
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Feagans:

Thanks for the issues of the New South which you have sent me beginning in January, 1961. I am enclosing a check to continue my subscription.

Yes, in the past you have twice overlooked my order and you have very nicely written to apologize. I sent you a check for $2.00 and received no magazines, though the check was cashed; when I wrote you later you sent me the back copies for one volume, but my second check was again ignored. I am taking for granted that these issues from January through June will clear that up. I am enclosing another check for $2.00 with the request that you begin my subscription with the July, 1961 issue skipping August of course, then starting again in September. In all, I believe this will be about a 2-year subscription. When my subscription runs out, I presume you will notify me.

I enjoyed talking the other day to Mr. George McMillan, who made a good impression talking to us here on the campus about our problem in January. In general, since my major responsibility and greatest interest is in keeping order in Athens with as little trouble as possible, I have tried to make as few public statements as possible, especially as long as our program in Athens is running as smoothly as it now is. After January of this year, there has been no unpleasantness at all on the campus.

Sincerely yours,

William Tate
William Tate
Dean of Men

WT:pa

Enclosure(check)

posted 8/7/61 - $2.00 check from 1/62 to 12/62

File
Atlanta
Ga. Univ.

January 9, 1967

Mr. William Collins
Department of Political Science
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mr. Collins:

During lunch today with David Hunter, I learned more of the ASPA Internship Program. The Southern Regional Council has similar interests and is working along somewhat similar lines with our Voter Education Project. This is merely to assure you that we would welcome an opportunity to cooperate with you in these mutual interests should you find it appropriate.

I shall also be in touch with Mr. Burgess and Mr. Welch here in Atlanta to assure them of this.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

file / undersides

August 15, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Many thanks for your prompt and generous reply to my request for aid to Robert Benham. I know he is a worthy recipient and will clearly justify your faith in him.

Dean Cowen is on vacation at the present time, but I know I speak for him when I tell you how grateful we are to the Southern Regional Council for assisting this deserving young man. I shall inform the Dean as soon as he returns. He will present the check to Mr. Benham when he returns to school on September 24. Mr. Benham will be advised that further assistance will depend on his successful completion of the assigned work.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law and
Chairman, Committee on Financial
Aid and Scholarships

JFTM:rb

file

12 Red Comb Drive
Cartersville, Ga. 30120
September 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I was informed by Prof. Murray of the University of Georgia that you had granted me a stipend to further my legal education. It pleases me greatly to know that you have worked so assiduously to make sure that I have adequate finance to take care of my expenses. Your efforts in my behalf are deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Benham

Robert Benham

Bring up Dec. 16, 1968 re 2nd Scholarship Payment in Jan. 1969

bc: Vernon E. Jordan

August 13, 1968

Dr. John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law
The University of Georgia
School of Law
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Dr. Murray:

Enclosed is our check for $500 representing scholarship aid for Mr. Robert Benham. Subject to Mr. Benham's satisfactory work during the fall, and your recommendation in January 1969, we will be prepared to make a second payment of $500 toward Mr. Benham's expenses for the year.

Note

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

August 7, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you requested in our telephone conversation on August 5, I am happy to forward you the following information on Mr. Robert Benham, a student at this Law School who is scheduled to begin his second year of study on September 23, 1968.

Mr. Benham of Cartersville, Georgia received a B.S. in Political Science from Tuskegee Institute in 1967. His outstanding undergraduate record enabled him to qualify for a $750 first year scholarship from a fund the Dean has raised. The donors insist that the money be used for outstanding students with real need. At the end of the first year of study, Mr. Benham was not considered eligible for continuation of this grant and it has been terminated. His need continues, but the selection committee concluded that his standing in the class (63 of 96) did not justify a "scholarship" - particularly when there were many deserving applicants with higher grades. Since the total sum available for all in this class amounts to only $7500 this reaction is understandable.

Mr. Benham, however, is a good student and is well liked by classmates and faculty. He has real potential as a future leader in the state and it would be a great loss to the Law School if he were forced by circumstances to drop out or even to enroll elsewhere. In short we would like to keep him here. Accordingly, I would like to request your assistance in attaining a grant of $1000 to assist Mr. Benham in meeting expenses for the coming academic year. If half of this amount could be received in September 1968 and the remainder deferred until January 1969 I am quite sure that his current needs could be met. I would be happy to serve as your agent in the event you decide to help Mr. Benham and would further desire someone here to assist in distributing any funds involved.

Thank you sincerely for your encouragement and consideration. I feel confident that Mr. Benham will be a worthy recipient of your kindness.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law and
Chairman, Committee on Financial
Aid and Scholarships

JFTM:rb

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

March 10, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reference to your letter of August 13, 1969 regarding Mr. Robert Benham, I am pleased to report that Mr. Benham is continuing to do satisfactory work in the Law School. Therefore I recommend the second payment of $500 toward Mr. Benham's expenses for the year.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law and
Chairman, Committee on
Financial Aid and Scholarships

JFTM:rb

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

March 18, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the check for $500 you forwarded for Mr. Robert Benham. He and I are indeed most grateful to you and the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law and
Chairman, Committee on
Financial Aid and Scholarships

JFTM:rb

March 12, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
Chairman
Committee on Financial Aid and Scholarships
The University of Georgia
School of Law
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

Enclosed is our check for $500 representing additional scholarship aid for Mr. Robert Benham. I am happy to hear that Mr. Benham's work is satisfactory and that we are in a position to offer this assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
(Enclosure - 1.)

July 21, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
School of Law
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

To make certain the matter is taken care of, enclosed is our check for $500.00 representing a first semester scholarship in the School of Law for Mr. Robert Benham.

I, too, regret that we could not grant the full amount of your request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $500.00)

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

July 17, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of July 16. What can we say? We know that your generosity will be extended in our direction as much as you are able. Tuition and fees have gone up, living expenses are higher, and I know Mr. Benham will have rough going, but he should be helped as much as possible. In his behalf, then, I would like to acknowledge with gratitude your commitment of $500 for the fall.

If you forward the check to me about September 20, it will give me ample time to deliver it to Mr. Benham prior to registration. I hope, too, that things will be favorable enough at the turn of the year for you to consider him worthy of continued support.

Many thanks,

John F. T. Murray

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law
and Chairman
Committee on Admissions

JFTM/pds

July 16, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
School of Law
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

Largely because of current events in Washington relating to foundations and the reactions of foundations to that situation, our financial condition here for the future is very uncertain. In light of this, and very regrettably, we are not in a position to offer the $1,500 scholarship which you requested for Mr. Benham.

However, if it would assure Mr. Benham's attendance at the Law School in the fall, we can make a commitment of $500, payable in late August or early September. In December, subject to our financial situation at that time, we could give consideration to a second scholarship of $500, payable in January. This latter condition, of course, cannot at this time be made as a firm commitment.

Please let me know your reaction to this.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 3, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
School of Law
The University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

Your letter in behalf of Mr. Robert Benham, came to us during Mr. Anthony's absence from the office. He is presently on an Urban America tour of Europe, and will not return to the office until June 16th. At that time your letter will be brought to his attention, and most likely will be given sympathetic consideration.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

May 30, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You will recall that last year I requested scholarship assistance for Mr. Robert Benham, the only Negro presently attending this Law School. The Southern Regional Council, through your good offices, was most generous to Mr. Benham, for which he and I and the Law School are most grateful. The $1000.00 you forwarded to him during the current academic year has been instrumental in keeping this deserving young man in school.

I now come begging again in Mr. Benham's behalf and request that your organization again consider assisting him. As I am sure you are aware, we have had a tuition raise thrust upon us, and the costs of books and dormitory fees have also gone up. Mr. Benham is doing good, if not outstanding, work, and is every bit as deserving this year as he was last. We believe that the investment in his education will be a worthy one, for he has the potential to be a real leader of his people in this State.

Accordingly, I would like to request that the Southern Regional Council grant a $1500.00 scholarship to Mr. Benham which would be sufficient to see him through the 1969-1970 academic year. This amount could be distributed in three $500.00 increments on or about September 15, 1969, January 1, 1970 and March 15, 1970. I again volunteer to serve as your agent in assuming the proper distribution of any funds you are willing to allocate to this worthy cause.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law and
Chairman, Committee on Financial Aid

JFTM:rb

file

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

July 22, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Receipt is acknowledged of the $500.00 for Mr. Robert Benham. It shall be deposited in the Law School account and presented to Mr. Benham when he registers in September.

All of us at the Law School are most grateful to you and the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Professor of Law
and Chairman
Committee on Admissions

JFTM/pds

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

December 9, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Inclosed is my receipt for the $500 check forwarded for delivery to Mr. Robert Benham. I shall see that he receives the grant in time for him to pay his fees for the forthcoming quarter.

Thank you sincerely for your ready response to our requests for Mr. Benham. I shall pass on to him your invitation to visit you in Atlanta, and I hope that each of us shall have an early opportunity to accept your kind offer.

Sincerely,

John F.T. Murray
Associate Dean

JFTM:jf

Enclosure

Please return to Southern Regional Council on signature.

FUNDS RECEIVED BY John F. T. Murray

DATE 8 Dec 69 Assoc Dean

December 5, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
Associate Dean
School of Law
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

Enclosed is our check for $500 representing a final scholarship grant for Mr. Robert Benham. We are very pleased to hear of his progress and happy that we can offer this assistance. I do hope some time you and Mr. Benham will have an opportunity to visit us in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

December 5, 1969

Professor John F. T. Murray
Associate Dean
School of Law
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Professor Murray:

Enclosed is our check for $500 representing a final scholarship grant for Mr. Robert Benham. We are very pleased to hear of his progress and happy that we can offer this assistance. I do hope some time you and Mr. Benham will have an opportunity to visit us in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SCHOOL OF LAW

ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

December 3, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Again I write requesting assistance for Robert Benham, a third year law student at this Law School. Your generosity in the past has greatly aided this man in meeting the expenses of attending school. He is and we are extremely grateful.

Mr. Benham will graduate in June of 1970. He is in good standing and in no danger academically of not fulfilling his goal. He still needs monetary help, however, and it is for this reason that I ask that you consider him for a final grant. In your letter of July 16 you stated:

> "In December, subject to our financial situation at that time, we could give consideration to a second scholarship of $500, payable in January."

I am quite aware that you have made no committment, but I respectfully request that you do so at this time. I hope the financial situation will permit this final grant to Mr. Benham. The other black students presently enrolled are supported by CLEO, but Mr. Benham entered law school before that program was developed.

If you can see fit to extending further support to Mr. Benham I suggest that you forward the check to me for delivery to him on January 5, 1970 the day he is required to pay his fees.

Sincerely,

John F. T. Murray
Associate Dean

JFTM:jf

Faculty file
Olands - Harvard, 01
gm

July 13, 1966

Mr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Associate Professor of Social Psychology
Department of Social Relations
William James Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Tom:

Enclosed is some information, all from Statistical Summary, which may be of some help but I doubt that it will do a great deal. Also enclosed are the requested two SRC publications on school desegregation, September 65.

If the statistical information is not complete you will find more detailed statistics from Southern School News, which is on microfilm at the Harvard Library. In fact, the whole of SERS microfilm records probably are available there.

Hope this is of some help, no charge of course, and very much hope we can get together again in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km
Enc.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

July 5, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

I certainly enjoyed having a chance to see you once again at the White House Conference last month and I hope we can repeat the performance in either Cambridge or Atlanta soon again.

In developing statistical models using public opinion poll data and census data on the 1100 southern counties, I have run into difficulty obtaining desegregation statistics by county for each of the southern states. I note in New South that you advertise a Southern Regional Council publication which I do not think was sent me: namely, the September 1965 School Desegregation publication. Could you send me two copies of this and could you ask your research department to send me - if it is not already contained in the publication - data on Texas desegregation by county. What I really need to know is what year each Texas county began its desegregation of schools. Please bill me, c/o of the Laboratory of Social Relations, for the pamphlets and for all expenses connected with any activity by your research department.

Thank you for any help you can provide; see you soon again.

As ever,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Associate Professor of Social Psychology

TFP:ad

Dear Tom:

Enclosed is some information, all from Statistical Summary, which may be of some help but I doubt that it will do a great deal. Also enclosed are two the requested SRC publication on school desegregation, Sept. 65

If the statistical information is not complete you will find more detailed statistics from Southern School News , which is on microfilm at the Harvard Library. In fact, the whole of SERS microfilm records probably are available there.

Hope this is of some help, no charge of course, nd very much hope we can get together again in the not too distant future.

Sinc.pa

Please note two copies of the special report (o ly one attached)

File - Thanks - Harvard

October 5, 1967

Mr. Frederick S. Leber
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Leber:

Forgive me this letter rather than your questionnaire in response to your recent inquiry.

We are handling the response in this way largely because we would like to call to your attention our occasional use of law school students - particularly students from this region or persons who plan to practice in this region - but don't feel our occasional needs fit your directory.

While we have no permanent positions for attorneys we do attempt to employ a few law school students during the summer months. Generally at a salary of $75.00 to $85.00 a week. This summer we had seven such students. One did field work with our voter registration program. Another did research in sentence disparity, including travel to several state prisons to check their records. Two others analyzed recent federal court decisions, etc.

Should you think this of interest to your group, we would be happy to have some notation made in your directory.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Law School of Harvard University

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

PLACEMENT OFFICE

Dear Sir:

The Placement Office is preparing a pamphlet for distribution to Harvard Law School students this fall to be entitled Legal Services Opportunities. We feel that there are a number of students who might consider employment in fields such as civil rights, civil liberties, poverty law, etc., but who fail to do so because it is difficult for them to find initial information.

Would you be so kind as to fill out the enclosed form and send it back as soon as possible in the envelope we have provided?

Sincerely yours,

Frederick S. Leber

Frederick S. Leber
LL.B. 1968

FSL

Enclosure

Date: _____

NAME OF ORGANIZATION _____

AND ADDRESS _____

_____

INDIVIDUAL TO WHOM INQUIRIES SHOULD BE DIRECTED _____

LOCATION(S) OF EMPLOYMENT IF OTHER THAN ABOVE _____

_____

NUMBER OF OPENINGS FOR:

a) Summer _____Salary _____ b) beginning lawyers salary_____

c) experienced lawyers _____ salary _____

The work in our office is to a substantial extent (please make appropriate checks checks, checking twice those fields which receive the most emphasis):

_____civil rights
_____housing
_____criminal law
_____civil liberties
_____welfare

_____juvenile delinquency
_____family law
_____bail
_____employment discrimination
_____community organization
_____legislative research
_____drafting

____consumer problems

OTHER

__ _____

__ _____

__ _____

There is considerable _____field work _____research

_____trial and courtroom experience.

A brief description of the type of work in your office will be welcome and reproduced if submitted.

_____

_____

_____

_____

* * * * *

Please return this questionnaire to: Placement Office
Harvard University Law School
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

ATTENTION: Frederick S. Leber (LL.B.'68)

See Standard Hand.

April 1, 1968

Mr. James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant to the
Program Chairman
Institute of Politics
John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University
78 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Heard:

In my absence you have been sent our recent annual report which goes into some detail on our current activities. Today, under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of our 1967 audit, a publications list, and the recent issue of our quarterly magazine, New South.

As you will see from the audit, the Council employs a staff of approximately 45 persons and has a budget slightly in excess of a million dollars a year. (Much of these funds are given to other groups or efforts through such projects as our Voter Education Project.)

If you would like further information about the Council, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

78 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 02138

March 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I'm quite interested in gathering some information about the Southern Regional Council. The University library is not of much real help. I know something of one of your undertakings, the Voter Education Project, since Vernon Jordan was in Cambridge earlier this year. I'd like to know more about other S.R.C. endeavors. Could you give me some idea of the nature and the extent of what your organization does, what specific projects you are now conducting or will conduct in the near future, and the kinds and numbers of people you have working for you.

I look forward to an early reply from you. Whatever information you furnish will be well appreciated.

Sincerely,

James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant
to the Program Chairman

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~~66 Ann. Rep.~~
pl
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67 Ann. Report
(ml)

V.J.
Th. W.
M.7. fecos

free
Harvard Hand.

April 24, 1968

Mr. James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant to the
Program Chairman
John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government
Institute of Politics
Harvard University
78 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Heard:

Vernon Jordan has shared with me your letter of April 18th, and earlier Leslie Dunbar forwarded to me your letter to him. There is a slight possibility of a position, of a research and information nature, connected with our Voter Education Project. Should you be interested in exploring this further, we would be happy to have you come to Atlanta, at our expense, to discuss this with Mr. Jordan and the Director of Research of the Voter Project.

Since it will be necessary to select a time convenient to you and one which would find the three of us in the office, arrangements will probably have to be made by telephone. Would you,

therefore, call me collect so that we can discuss mutual dates if you are interested in coming to Atlanta?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

78 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 02138

April 18, 1968

RECEIVED
APR 22 1968

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Jack Wafford told me yesterday that I should write you without delay. I will be graduated from Harvard College this June. I have taken and failed the armed forces physical examination, so I am not liable to the draft. Being a bit tired of academic life and being unsure of what kind of graduate school to go to, I have decided to spend the next year or two doing what I consider useful and interesting work.

I want to do civil rights work and I want to do it in the South. For a number of reasons I am convinced that the South has a better opportunity than any other region of the country to reach a denouement , if not something better, on the race question.

The South is also my home, and it is where I will live in the future. I want to help make it a better place to live for both blacks and whites and I want to start now.

The old Movement, if not dead, has been at least transformed. Politics and economics, not religion and marches, are now the order of the day. Along these lines, the Southern Regional Council seems to me to be an organization which will play an important role in the field of Southern race relations in the future.

I wrote Paul Anthony a couple of weeks ago. He sent me quite a bit of information on SRC. I am particularly interested in two parts of the SRC operation: the field activities department and the research and information department. I would like to work in either of these two areas. I wonder if you could present this letter to the people in charge of these activities. If SRC is definitely interested in having me, I would be willing to fly to Atlanta soon to talk to the people there.

Please find enclosed a recent resume. If you are interested, you might also check your files for a March 28 letter from me to Leslie Dunbar of the Field Foundation. Mr. Dunbar has informed me that he forwarded the letter to SRC.

Sincerely,

James E. Heard

James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant
to the Program Chairman

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 1, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Could you advise James Heard directly?

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

Enc.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 1, 1968

Mr. James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant
Harvard University
78 Mount Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Mr. Heard:

I am glad I have your letter of March 28 and to learn of your interest in working in the South.

I am taking the liberty of forwarding your letter to Southern Regional Council in the belief that the Council will be best able to give you good advice. The Field Foundation itself is a grant making organization almost exclusively, and has only a very small staff.

Best wishes to you, and I do hope you will pursue the present plan.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/ig

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

78 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 02138

APR 1 1968

March 28, 1968

Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I will be graduated from Harvard College this June. In February I took and failed the armed forces physical examination; I am no longer liable to the draft. I do not plan to apply to graduate school for another year or two, and I am now looking for some interesting and useful work to do.

My home is in the South--Louisiana. The odds are that I will return there to live. While I feel no personal guilt for the cruel injustices Southern Negroes have been forced to endure, I do feel it my responsibility to work for changes. I will do it for the rest of my life, and I want to start now. My own readings and my contact with various people aroun Harvard--especially people I've come to know here at the Institute--impress upon me the difficulties whites now have in doing civil rights work in the South. If whites are doing anything, it seems, it is behind the scene advisory work.

Jack Wafford, Associate Director of the Institute, has told me a bit about the Field Foundation. He has also suggested that I write you. I would appreciate your thoughts and advice as to whom I might write or see about a job. What might I do? And with whom? I would also be appreciate of information on the Field Foundation itself. Does it have programs and operational staff of its own, or does it merely fund other projects?

I do realize that I've not been specific in my questions. The generality of my inquiry reflects a lack of information. I hope you can find the time to write me a letter and help clarify things.

Sincerely,

James E. Heard

James E. Heard
Administrative Assistant
to the Program Chairman

See Yarbrough Hines

April 24, 1968

Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew
Associate Professor of Social Psychology
Department of Social Relations
Harvard University
William James Hall
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Tom:

It was very thoughtful of you to write about the latest issue of New South, and I and those who put it together appreciate it very much.

Our normal run of the magazine is 5,000 copies. With this issue we ran 7,500 in the hopes of some additional distribution, including limited newsstands sales. After we get some further response, we will know what use to make of the extra copies.

Wish your visit to Atlanta on May 18th could be longer, though I do hope we can get together briefly. I would be happy to meet you at the airport, or otherwise be hospitable.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

William James Hall
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

April 22, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Just a brief note to tell you that I thought the recent issue of New South on Poverty in the Rural South superlative.

I had never heard of Paul Good before, but I thought his text was magnificent. I am seldom given to writing such letters, but in reading through the issue late the other night I determined to let you know what a great job I thought it was. Is there any chance of getting a copy of this issue into the hands of each legislator in Washington and in each Southern state capitol? Those who still have a conscience might yet be moved.

I am speaking at Georgia State College on Saturday, May 18th. Though I am just in and out of Atlanta on the same day, I hope to have a chance at least to give you a ring.

Cordially,

Tom

Thomas F. Pettigrew
Associate Professor of Social Psychology

TFP/pb

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PROGRAMS

The Faculty of Education awards the Master of Education degree, the Doctor of Education degree, and the Certificate of Advanced Study. It joins with the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in offering the Master of Arts in Teaching degree. General requirements for each of these degrees are discussed in the Catalog of the Graduate School of Education. The Faculty of Arts and Sciences awards the Ph.D. in Education degree; information about the Ph.D. is available from the Admissions Office, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 75 Mt. Auburn Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138. Information about the degree programs listed below is available from the Admissions Office, Graduate School of Education, Longfellow Hall, Appian Way, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.

MASTER OF ARTS IN TEACHING (M.A.T.)

Language and Literature (includes Classics, English, French, German, Russian, Spanish)

Mathematics

Music

Reading

Science

Social Studies (includes Economics, Government, History)

Special Studies

Visual Studies

MASTER OF EDUCATION (Ed.M.)

General Purposes

Guidance

Measurement and Statistics

Research in Instruction

CERTIFICATE OF ADVANCED STUDY (C.A.S.)

Educational Administration

Language and Literature

Mathematics

Reading

Science

Social Studies

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (Ed.D.)

Programs in Educational Administration:

- Administrative Career Program for experienced candidates (15 months)
- Administrative Career Program for inexperienced candidates (2 years)
- Curriculum and Supervision
- Educational Planning
- Research Career Program

Guidance

History of Education

Human Development

Language and Literature Education

Mathematical Education

Measurement and Statistics

Philosophy of Education

Reading

Research in Instruction

Science Education

Social Studies Education

Sociology of Education

The Master of Arts in Teaching program requires two years for completion, including a special seven-week summer session of supervised teaching, an academic year of study in which candidates are expected to combine study under the Faculty of Arts and Sciences with study under the Faculty of Education, and up to a year of paid supervised internship in a cooperating school system or other educational agency. Ordinarily candidates complete the summer program first, then do the academic year and finish the program with the teaching internship.

The Ed.M. in Guidance program follows the same pattern as the M.A.T.: the seven week summer session, a year of academic work, and a paid supervised internship.

The Ed.M. for General Purposes consists of an academic year of study.

The master's degree or its equivalent is prerequisite to admission to candidacy for the Certificate of Advanced Study. The program requires eight one-semester courses and an apprenticeship. In addition, each candidate must complete a special-field examination set by his program advisers.

Programs leading to the Doctor of Education degree typically include five stages, each stage usually equivalent to one year: (1) course work comparable to that required for the master's degree; (2) an internship comparable to that required for the master's degree; 3) advanced course work for the doctoral degree; (4) seminars, independent study, qualifying paper; (5) thesis or project. In certain programs (usually Human Development, History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Education) some students are admitted to doctoral study without a master's degree.

ADMISSIONS

Admission to graduate programs in education is governed by two admissions committees. The Administrative Board of the Master of Arts in Teaching Program (consisting of members of the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences) considers applications to the M.A.T. program. The Faculty Committee on Admissions of the Graduate School of Education considers applications to other programs.

Each application is initially reviewed by members of the admissions staff and potential faculty advisers. Final selections are made by the appropriate admissions committee. Completed applications are due by January 15, 1969. Applicants may expect to receive notification of admission action about April 1 if all

8

rental arrangements. Although there is a broad range of prices, costs are usually higher for private apartments than for University housing. Generally apartments are more expensive in Cambridge than in neighboring communities. One-bedroom apartments in Cambridge average $125-$160 furnished, and $110-$145 unfurnished: two- and three-bedroom apartments in Cambridge range upward from $130 unfurnished. The Harvard University Housing Office has lists of available non-University housing. These lists are available upon presentation of a letter of admission to the University.

THE DRAFT

The intention of the Selective Service regulations pertaining to graduate study is clear. Only graduate students enrolled in programs related to medical sciences will be given student deferments; men enrolled in graduate schools of education are unlikely to receive student deferments.

During the past year the Faculty voted to readmit to the same or to the equivalent program all admitted students who between January 1, 1968 and June 30, 1969:

(a) are drafted;
(b) are required to report for alternative duty under the provisions of the compulsory work program for conscientious objectors;
(c) are imprisoned as a consequence of Selective Service regulations; or
(d) volunteer for the Armed Services.

We anticipate the Faculty will vote to continue this policy beyond June 30, 1969. Any major substantive changes in a student's status must, of course, be considered by the appropriate admissions committee.

Available on request:

1. Information for foreign students.
2. Scholarship information for Peace Corps Volunteers.
3. Description of the School's involvement in urban education

Bring up: Apr 3

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

78 MOUNT AUBURN STREET
CAMBRIDGE 02138

March 4, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Paul:

The Institute of Politics is delighted that you have accepted the invitation to be one of its guests at the Institute Dinner on Tuesday, April 8, at the Signet Society, 46 Dunster Street, at 6:30 p.m. In attendance will be the Fellows and Members of the Institute and others representing a cross-section of the Harvard community.

The discussion after cocktails and dinner will center on the future of race relations in the South. Vivian Henderson, Sam Cook, and Chuck Morgan will participate with you in a panel discussion. Each panel member will make a ten-minute presentation followed by questions. I will serve as chairman. Your presentation should deal with the role of agencies like SRC on problems of the South.

Depending upon when you arrive, we would like to arrange some informal discussions with students while you are here.

The Institute will reimburse you for all travel expenses and will pay you a modest honorarium of $100.00. We look forward to having you with us April 8.

Sincerely,

Vernon

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.

/sd

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

DATE: March 26, 1969

TO: Members, Fellows and Guests

FROM: Debra Drake

RE: Institute Dinner, Tuesday, April 8, 6:30 p.m., at the Signet Society
46 Dunster Street

Topic: The South and Race Relations and as part of the nation

Chairman: Vernon Jordan

Speakers: Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, Professor of Political Science, Duke University
Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College
Charles Morgan, Jr., Southern Area Director, American Civil Liberties Union

Invited guests:

John F. Beatty, Harvard '69

Roberts O. Bennett, Harvard '69

Dr. Robert Coles, University Health Services, Harvard

Nathan Glazer, Professor of Education and Social Structure, Harvard

Robert Hall, Harvard '69

John Kain, Professor of Economics, Harvard

Charles Kindleberger, Professor of Economics, MIT

William Liller, Professor of Applied Astronomy and Master of Adams House, Harvard

Frank Michelman, Professor of Law, Harvard Law School

Thomas Pettigrew, Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard

Clifford Pugh, Harvard '70

Rev. Norman Rates, College Minister, Spelman College, Atlanta

James Rowe, Harvard Law School

Harrison Welford, Teaching Fellow in Government, Harvard

Robert Wood, Director, Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban Studies

April 10, 1969

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Harvard University
78 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

Dear Vernon:

Here are my expenses:

Roundtrip Plane Fare ..... $165.90 (Atlanta-Boston-Atlanta)		
Taxi (Boston-Cambridge) ...	4.00	
Parking (Atlanta)	3.50	
Lunch (April 8)	1.75	$175.15

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Ticket stub)

File - Univ - Harvard

LD ✓
PA
ML
NM
Ret PW

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

September 3

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

This is a belated note to tell you how much I enjoyed my visit to the Southern Regional Council and to thank you for your many favors. I found our conversations very stimulating and enlightening and the published materials you made available to me will give me fodd for thought for many months to come. What impressed me most about the Southern Regional Council was the spirit of calm dedication and measured optimism—the perfect combination of Southern ganiality and liberal tolerance—reflected by the all the members of the staff whom I met. I believe that you are doing invaluable work in an open-minded, non-doctrinaire way. As reformers, you have never lost sight of the need for continuity and community. In short, I was mightily impressed with what you were doing and the way you were doing it.

I hope that I will be able to keep up with the work of the Regional Council. I have suscribed to the NewtSouth and hope that you will send me any special publications that you can spare. Please give my regards to Paul Anthony and Margaret Lang and to Les Dunbar, if he's still around, and convey my thanks to them for their help and kindness during my stay. I hope I'll have a chance to see you all in the near future, and I'll keep you advised on the progress of my work on Southern identity. Tell Margaret I'll let her know if I get an idea for

No66/9

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

an article in the New South (something historical perhaps on interracial liberalism in the South—change and continuity on the ideological plane).

After leaving Atlanta, I went on to Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi and had interesting interviews with people like Lillian Smith, Clifford and Virginia Durr, Walker Percy, and Hodding Carter III. I think I can still say, however, that the highlight of my trip was the week I spent in Atlanta taking up the valuable time of all of you at the Regional Council. Once again, many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

George

George M. Fredrickson

October 20, 1953

Dean C H Thompson
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington, D C

Dear Mr Thompson:

Mr Sprague, Chairman of the Inaugural Committee at Tuskegee Institute, wanted extra copies of what I am to be saying Saturday, October 31, for your and Dr Rufus Clement's discussion.

I thought it might save him some trouble and you a day or two of time by sending, without authority, directly to you this copy of what I will be saying. I have so informed Mr Sprague.

Mr Sprague's letter said each of the discussants was to give ten or fifteen minutes of comment and evaluation.

I was allowed thirty to forty minutes; but my paper could hardly stretch to twenty. Still, I never saw one of these programs which could not stand some compressing.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1
cc: M D Sprague

April 19, 1954

Mr. Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director
The Summer School
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Snowden:

Delighted to come, and appreciate being invited. Friday, June 25, to be on hand from 9 till 3, and speak on "Problems Attendant Upon Ending School Segregation."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
APR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 15, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Department of Education is pleased to announce that during the 1954 Summer Session of the University a "Workshop on School Integration" will be held. The Department believes that this Workshop is a timely contribution to the study of problems in American education and democracy.

Enclosed is a tentative outline of the Workshop program, consisting of ten daily meetings, each divided into morning and afternoon conferences. Speakers and consultants will be presented at the beginning of the morning session. These presentations will be followed by a discussion with the Workshop participants.

The Department of Education is happy to invite you as the principal speaker for the fourth meeting on June 25, "Problems Attendant Upon Ending School Segregation."

The University will be responsible for your expenses and offers an honorarium of fifty dollars.

We look forward to having you as the guest lecturer for this occasion.

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director

Enclosure
hs

June 14, 1954

Mr. Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Snowden:

All is straight about my being present for the morning meeting, the luncheon, and some in the afternoon of June 25th. I will be ready to make a speech on "Problems Attendant Upon Ending School Segregation," but it is rare for me to run on for a full hour!

Needn't save me a room in the dormitory as I can't yet decide about where to sleep that night.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Summer School wishes to thank you again for your willingness to participate in our Workshop on School Integration and is looking forward to your important contribution. I have enclosed a copy of the brochure which contains the names of all participants who had made definite commitments at the time the brochure was printed. The purpose of this memorandum is to set forth a few final points.

Your topic "Problems Attendant Upon Ending School Segregation," which will be presented at the beginning of the June 25 morning session, should be planned for approximately one hour. Your presentation will be discussed by the following panel: Mrs. Bessie N. Hill and Rev. T. A. Lawless. After this presentation and discussion, the participants of the Workshop will interrogate the discussants and consultants.

If you desire to reserve a room in the dormitory, please let me know at your earliest convenience. Or, if you prefer, you may make other provisions for lodging and we shall take care of the expenses.

We hope that you will be able to join Professors Daniel and Cooke at luncheon immediately after the morning session.

If there are any other points about which you still have doubt, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Snowden

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director

Enclosure
hs

P.S. Dr. Cooke would like for you, if possible, to note the work of the Southern Regional Council and the Highlander Folk School.

PURPOSE OF THE WORKSHOP

To provide an opportunity for brief and intensive study of selected topics basic to an understanding of the program of intergroup education in facilitating school integration.

METHOD

The Workshop will be organized around topics to be presented by outstanding authorities on human relations, who will be assisted by consultants from various organizations and agencies. Students will work in groups and will study problems in the light of their own situation.

The morning session (9 to 12) will be devoted to presentation and discussion. The afternoon session (1 to 3) will include individual and group work, audio-visual demonstrations, library work, and preparation of materials for classroom use.

WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

The Workshop will hold ten daily sessions from Tuesday, June 22, through Friday, July 2. (Note: Saturday, June 26 will be a regular meeting day.) Each daily meeting will be divided into two sessions—a morning session from 9 to 12 and an afternoon session from 1 to 3.

TOPICS OF DAILY MEETINGS

1. Trend Toward Integration in American Life.
2. Present Status of Legal Action and Judicial Decisions.
3. Ending Segregation in the Schools — Recent Changes.
4. Problems Attendant Upon Ending School Segregation.
5. A Working Philosophy of Human Understanding.
6. Sociological and Anthropological Bases for a Program of Integration.
7. Methods and Techniques of Preparing Teacher, Child, and Community.
8. Activities and Materials in an Integrated Program.
9. A Proposed Program of School Integration.
10. Evaluation of the Workshop and of the Participants.

Please mail this advance application to the Director of the Summer School, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

EDUCATION S293—WORKSHOP ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Miss
Mrs.
Mr.

Name_____ (First) _____ (Middle) _____ (Last)

Mailing Address_____

Credit Desired (Check One): No Credit (Auditor)_____; Credit toward Degree at Howard_____; Credit for Transfer Purposes (another College, Department of Education or other agency)_____

Signature_____

VISITING SPEAKERS AND CONSULTANTS

Dr. Ambrose Caliver, Assistant to the Commissioner, Office of Education.

Dr. Dan Dodson, Professor of Education, New York University.

Dr. Joseph H. Douglass, Consultant on Intergroup Education, Office of Education.

Isaac Franck, Executive Director, Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington.

Dr. Jean Grambs, Educational Consultant, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Dr. Walter Hager, President, Wilson Teachers College.

Dr. Carl Hansen, Associate Superintendent of of Schools, Washington, D. C.

Attorney George E. C. Hayes, one of the attorneys in the Supreme Court case involving school segregation in the District of Columbia.

Elmer W. Henderson, Director of the American Council on Human Rights.

Mrs. Bessie N. Hill, Adviser, Guidance Department, Central High School, Trenton, New Jersey.

Attorney Phineas Indritz, National Council, American Veterans Committee.

Dr. Ellis O. Knox, Professor of Education, Howard University.

Rev. T. A. Lawless, O.S.F.C., Salesianum School for Boys, Wilmington, Delaware.

Dr. John Milligan, Assistant Commissioner of Education, State of New Jersey.

Clarence Mitchell, Director, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

George S. Mitchell, Educational Director, Southern Regional Council.

Dr. Ira De. A. Reid, Professor and Chairman, Department of Sociology, Haverford College.

Attorney Spottswood W. Robinson, one of the attorneys in the Supreme Court cases on segregation in education.

Dr. Hugo B. Schiff, Assistant Rabbi, Washington Hebrew Congregation.

Mrs. Alma Scurlock, Community Relations Department, American Friends Service Committee.

Dr. Harry J. Walker, Associate Professor of Sociology, Howard University.

WORKSHOP STAFF

Director: Dr. Walter Daniel, Professor of Education, Maryland State Teachers College, Bowie, Md.

Assistant Director: Dr. Paul Cooke, Associate Professor of English, Miner Teachers College, Washington, D. C.

CREDIT

Three semester hours of credit on the graduate or undergraduate level. Students not interested in credit may audit the Workshop.

REGISTRATION

The regular day of registration for the Workshop and the other courses of the Summer School will be Monday, June 21, beginning at 9 o'clock in the Registrar's Office. **Inasmuch as enrollment for the Workshop will be limited, persons desirous of a place in the Workshop are encouraged to indicate their interest by returning the attached application form to the Director of the Summer School as soon as possible.**

FEES

Tuition: $30.00, whether the Workshop is taken for credit or audited. No other fee for the Workshop.

ACCOMMODATIONS

Rooms are available in the dormitories for the period of the Workshop at the following rates: Single, $10.25; Double, $8.00.

Director of Summer School
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
Washington 1, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL

1954

WORKSHOP

ON

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

TEN DAILY MEETINGS

June 22 — July 2

Registration: MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1954

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

Washington 1, D. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 26, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We wish to thank again the consultants who contributed so generously to our successful Workshop on School Integration. The Workshop participants and Staff appreciated your address analyzing the changes in the South following the Supreme Court's decision.

With best wishes for a pleasant summer,

I am

Sincerely yours,

Frank M. Snowden Jr.

Frank M. Snowden, Jr.
Director

pf

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1954
Southern Regional Council

program attached
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March 3, 1955

Mr. Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director
Howard University
Summer School
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wormley:

Many thanks. I will be glad to be there Friday, June 24th, from 9:00 on.

I would gently suggest a change in the topic for the day. My version would be "Ending School Segregation -- Older South and the Uplands South." I don't insist at all but it is a little penalty to people we wish to persuade.

Fine to stay for lunch with Dr. Paul Cooke.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

February 28, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAR 3 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Department of Education is pleased to announce that during the 1955 Summer Session of the University the second "Workshop on School Integration" will be held. The Department believes that again this Workshop will prove to be a timely contribution to the study of this current issue in education and democracy.

The Workshop will again be organized to include ten daily sessions, each day from nine o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon. Speakers will address the Workshop participants, and the latter also will study their problems in small groups.

For the fourth meeting of the Workshop (Friday, June 24 at nine o'clock), I have been requested to invite you to address the participants on the subject "Ending School Segregation--'Bible Belt and Uplands South.'"

The University, of course, will be responsible for your expenses incident to the lecture. We look forward to having you as guest lecturer in the Workshop and further invite you to a luncheon after the morning session with the Workshop Director, Dr. Paul Cooke.

Dr. Paul Cooke, incidentally, will get in touch with you within the next few days to discuss the matter further with you and to answer any specific questions you may have in mind. For your information, I am enclosing a tentative schedule of the Workshop for 1955.

Sincerely yours,

Stanton L. Wormley

Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director

Enclosure
hs

Lewis M. C.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL
Washington 1, D.C.
Department of Education

WORKSHOP ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION
June 20-July 1

Schedule of Daily Meetings

Meeting	Topic	Date
First	"Racial Patterns in Today's American Life"	Tuesday, June 21
Second	"The Supreme Court Decree"	Wednesday, June 22
Third	"Transition and Integration in Education in 'Northern' and 'Border' States"	Thursday, June 23
Fourth	"Ending School Segregation—'Bible Belt and Uplands South' "	Friday, June 24
Fifth	"Moral and Philosophical Basis of School Integration"	Saturday, June 25
Sixth	"School Integration and the Community"	Monday, June 27
Seventh	"Techniques of the Classroom for School Integration"	Tuesday, June 28
Eighth	Open	Wednesday, June 29
Ninth	"Emotional Disturbance and School Integration"	Thursday, June 30
Tenth	"A Total Program of School Integration"	Friday, July 1

Over the two-week period the Workshop will hold ten daily meetings. Each meeting will be divided into two sessions—9:00-12:00 Noon, and 1:00-3:00 P.M.

June 24th

May 13, '55

Dear Mr. Cooke,

Here's a rough copy of a one-page speechlet. Sorry it's rough, but your secretary will have to retype to cut the stencil, and as I am secretaryless to-day, I let her have the job!

George Mitchell started out in Richmond, Virginia, and went to school there and in South Carolina and Delaware and Maryland. College in Richmond, Baltimore, and Oxford. Taught six years at Columbia College, in New York, then worked for the New Deal for ten years (mostly in thing agricultural) had a year and a half with the CIO-PAC, and has been working for the Southern Regional Council for the last ten years. Passes as a student of the South, and offers advice on how things ought to be!

I'll be on hand, bright and early.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 11, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 13 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Howard University Summer School is very pleased that you are taking part in our second Workshop on School Integration. You will find enclosed the workshop brochure.

We should like to distribute to the students of the workshop before you speak (1) a one-page summary of your remarks, and (2) a brief statement of your background -- college and university preparation, pertinent experience, publications, and other information you wish noted. Since our mimeographing schedule calls for our copy to be delivered by June 1, we should appreciate receiving the two statements on or before that time.

We shall appreciate any suggestions that you may have to offer in connection with the workshop program.

Thanking you again, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul P. Cooke

Paul P. Cooke
Workshop Director

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HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

JUN 9 1955

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 7, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are looking forward to your participation in the Workshop on School Integration at Howard University on Friday, June 24 at 9:15 a.m. and luncheon afterward. I assume that Dr. Paul Cooke, Director of the Workshop, has communicated with you in regard to the Workshop proper. I should like to inquire at this time whether or not you wish for us to arrange lodging at the University during your stay here. If so, I would appreciate if you would let me know as soon as possible the time of your expected arrival and the length of time you would desire such accommodation.

Let me thank you again for your willingness to serve this summer. We shall do everything in our power to make your stay a pleasant one.

Sincerely yours,

Stanton L. Wormley

Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director

hs

June 9, 1955

Mr. Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director
The Summer School
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wormley:

You may count on my being at the Workshop by 9:00 a.m. daylight time Friday, June 24th, and staying through 3:00 p.m.

I expect to spend Thursday night, the 23rd, at the Cosmos Club in Washington and will be available to you there for any last minute changes.

I will be coming back to Atlanta by plane the afternoon of June 24th. I am grateful for the opportunity of lodging out at Howard and ordinarily I would accept, but coming in late I don't want to wake up Howard University.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 9, 1955

The Cosmos Club
2120 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

I would be grateful for an inexpensive room for the night of Thursday, June 23rd. I shall be coming in about 10:00 p.m.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

June 20, 1955

Mr. Paul P. Cooke
Director of the Workshop
The Summer School
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooke:

I am sorry I was out of town for a week when your letter came in June 16th about Marshall Harris. I don't know where he is, though people in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics ought to know. He may still be around Washington.

See you Friday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

June 15, 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

According to the Agriculture Department, Mr. Harris is no longer there. Do you think you could help us locate him? I would appreciate it very much. Thank you.

PC

Paul Cooke

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

Received June 16, 1955.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 3, 1955

Mr. Marshall Harris
Agricultural Economist
United States Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Airmail Special Delivery

Dear Mr. Harris:

The Howard University Workshop on School Integration has as one of its lecturers your friend, Mr. George Mitchell, of the Southern Regional Council. Mr. Mitchell comes from Atlanta to speak to our workshop on the subject "Ending School Segregation — Bible Belt and Uplands South," on Friday, June 24 at 9:00 a.m.

Mr. Mitchell feels that you can make a most unusual contribution to this subject from your standpoint as an agricultural economicst who knows this aspect of the problem in the south. I am pleased, therefore, to invite you to come to the workshop on the same day and time as Mr. Mitchell.

Last year our workshop consisted of about sixty students of teaching and other professions who came from Washington, D. C., Texas, Alabama, North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland. We enclose a brochure that further describes this year's program.

If you desire further information please do not hesitate to write or telephone me at Dupont 7-6100, Extension 281, or Sterling 3-6111, Extension 528; or you may write to Mr. Mitchell at the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Street, Atlanta, Georgia.

I certainly look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul P. Cooke
Paul P. Cooke
Director of the Workshop

hs

BUREAU OF ANIMAL INDUSTRY
Animal Disease Station
Beltsville, Md.

Rec'd. JUN 8 - 1955
Ans'd _____ 195_____
Sig _____ By _____

July 7, 1955

Mr. Paul P. Cooke
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooke:

When the dust dies down, do dig up my expense account and send it along. And I believe you planned to put with it a $50.00 honorarium.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 3, 1955

Mr. Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director
The Summer School
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wormley:

Many thanks for the check for $80.01, which duly came through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

July 29, 1955

AUG 1 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Through an error this letter and check were not enclosed with your copy of the Proceedings.

Mrs. Strothers

CR 80.01
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HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 29, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

AUG 1 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Howard University is very appreciative of your contribution to the second Workshop on School Integration, June 21 through July 1, 1955.

We believe that the thirty-eight "Workshoppers" from nine states and the District of Columbia have gained a deeper understanding of all aspects of school integration and will be determined to contribute all they can to carry out the law and the spirit of integration.

Your talk on "Ending School Segregation--Older and Uplands South" and your further consultation at lunch with the students were major aids to their understanding. Dr. Paul Cooke, Workshop Director, joins with me in thanking you for your interest and cooperation.

The University regrets that this year no honoraria were available for the excellent services of the consultants, but because a 1954 grant to the Workshop was not repeated and because enrollment dropped sharply we were unable to offer the honorarium at the time we invited our speakers.

Attached is a copy of the annual Workshop report, Proceedings Workshop on School Integration 1955. We shall certainly appreciate your comments and suggestions about the Workshop and about the Proceedings.

Again let me express to you our sincere gratitude for your outstanding contribution to the success of the Workshop this summer.

Sincerely yours,

Stanton L. Wormley
Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director

Enclosures
hs

April 30, 1956

Mr. Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director
The Summer School
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wormley:

I am warmly appreciative of being asked back for this Summer's Seminar. Unfortunately I have laid aside June to be my vacation, and I am just not doing anything in that most pleasant month

I shall miss your excellent group at Howard.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED APR 30 1956

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 27, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For the past two years the Howard University Summer School has offered a workshop dealing with various phases of school integration. This workshop has been received enthusiastically and has proved very helpful to teachers, administrators, and the community at large. This summer we plan to continue this worthwhile activity in the form of a "Seminar in Educational Transition." As in previous summers we hope to present a group of distinguished persons to discuss various aspects of the problem.

June 17-22
Ky Labor School
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May we invite you to return this summer to discuss desegregation and obstacles to desegregation and integration in the South. We hope that Wednesday, June 20, 1956, might be divided as follows: (a) your talk at 9:00 a.m.; (b) group sessions having the benefit of your experiences at 10:30 a.m.; (c) luncheon at noon when you might talk with interested students. Again we should be pleased to bear all your expenses.

As before, all sessions will be held in the Engineering and Architecture Building of the University, Sixth and Howard Place, N. W., and luncheon will be provided in Baldwin Hall, just opposite the Fourth Street entrance to the University.

The Seminar director, Dr. Paul Cooke, joins with me in thanking you for your consideration of this invitation. We hope that you can come.

Very truly yours,

Stanton L. Wormley

Stanton L. Wormley
Acting Director

SLW:ep

NEW WORKSHOPS

Summer

1956

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON 1, D. C

SEMINAR ON EDUCATIONAL TRANSITION

TWO-WEEK WORKSHOP

JUNE 18 - JUNE 29

Purpose and Method: The Seminar will examine within the framework of American and world life (1) the principal phases of transition from segregated to non-segregated schools; (2) major characteristics of integrated schooling; (3) community actions, school-board policies, administrative practices; (4) inter-relationships of pupils, teachers, administrators, parents, and communities. Students will hear views of experienced consultants, will work in various types of small groups, and will initiate individual projects of genuine concern to them. Audio-visual demonstrations will also be provided.

Staff: The Seminar will be directed by Dr. Paul P. Cooke, Professor at the District of Columbia Teachers College, assisted by Harry B. Merican, attorney of record in the school segregation issue, and William Korey, Director of the Maryland - D.C. Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League. A core of distinguished persons from governmental, legal, educational, and social areas will serve as speakers and consultants. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the National Conference of Christians and Jews will serve as cooperating organizations.

Schedule of Instruction: From Monday through Friday, June 18-June 29, two sessions daily (9:00 a.m. to noon and 1:00 to 3:00 p.m.) will be held. Participants will also have an opportunity during the luncheon hours to meet informally with consultants and speakers.

Registration and Fees: Registration will be held during the morning session on Monday, June 18. The total fee for the Seminar is $30.00 whether taken for credit or audited.

Credit: Three semester hours' credit will be given for Education S244B-293B at either the graduate or undergraduate level.

READING LABORATORY WORKSHOP

FOUR-WEEK WORKSHOP

JULY 2 - JULY 28

Purpose and Method: The Reading Laboratory Workshop is designed for elementary and secondary school teachers and supervisors who wish to work in a practical situation with pupils in various areas of the reading program. Emphasis will be placed upon differentiated instruction with groups of three or four children in carefully supervised situations. Opportunities will be provided for each participant to share individual reading problems in daily staff meetings. Other features of the program will include demonstrations, observation in actual teaching situations, and participation in laboratories for developing facility in the following techniques and procedures: (1) Directed Reading Activities; (2) Informal Reading Inventories; (3) Kinesthetic Techniques for Word Learning.

Staff: The workshop staff will consist of specialists in the fields of reading and teacher training. Staff members will be available for individual and group conferences throughout the workshop period. The Reading Laboratory Workshop will be directed by Dr. Gertrude H. Williams, Associate Professor of English, District of Columbia Teachers College, assisted by Mrs. Lorraine F. Bivins, Supervisor of Student Teaching, District of Columbia Teachers College.

Schedule of Instruction: There will be two sessions daily (9:00 a.m. to noon and 1:00 to 3:00 p.m.) from Monday through Friday, July 2-July 28.

Registration and Fees: Students may register from Monday, June 18, to Monday, July 2. The total fee for the Workshop is $60.00 whether taken for credit or audited.

Credit: Six semester hours' credit will be given for Education S166B-266B at either the graduate or undergraduate level.

SCIENCE TEACHING IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

EIGHT-WEEK WORKSHOP

JUNE 18 - AUGUST 10

Purpose and Method: This course will consist of lectures, laboratory, and field trips in mathematics, astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics, biology, and science education. The aims and objectives are (1) to enlarge the students' grasp of new developments in the sciences and mathematics; (2) to aid them in deepening their understanding of basic scientific principles; (3) to help them in increasing their competence in analytical thinking in the sciences and mathematics; (4) to assist in enhancing their skill in the techniques and procedures for arousing, maintaining, and determining student interest and performance in the sciences and mathematics.

Staff: The staff will consist of specialists in various areas of teaching and in the sciences involved.

Schedule of Instruction: The class will meet Monday through Friday for eight weeks (June 18-August 10). Students will spend four hours daily in lectures and two hours daily in laboratory.

Prerequisites: A bachelor's degree and a course in the methods of teaching mathematics or science or the equivalent in teaching experience. Enrollment is limited to persons now teaching.

Registration and Fees: This course is offered only in the Phelps-Stokes Program. Enrollment is extremely limited. Persons interested should apply well in advance of Summer School directly to Dr. Herman Branson, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Program.

Credit: Two to six semester hours' credit may be given for Education S253 at the graduate level.

August 8, 1956

Mr. Paul Cooke, Director
"Seminar on Educational
Transition"
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooke:

I do appreciate the Proceedings of this year. We will all study them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

August 2, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Because of your kindness in participating in previous studies of school integration organized by Howard University, you may be interested in Proceedings 1956, reporting the work of this summer's program, "Seminar on Educational Transition."

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke

Paul Cooke, Director
"Seminar on Educational Transition"

PC:ep

Enclosure

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Suspend 2/1/57

June 15, 1957

November 28, 1956

Mr. Charles E. Thompson, Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 15th and for the excellent prospectus on your forthcoming Yearbook. I am glad that Dr. Parrish acquainted you with our recent survey on suffrage. You may be sure that we will cooperate with you in every way.

I shall be glad to undertake a contribution to your symposium, if I may accept the responsibility as an organisational rather than a personal one. Our work on the suffrage survey involves several staff members working jointly, and I am sure that one or several of us could do a manuscript suitable for the Yearbook. So, while accepting the assignment, I should like to leave the question of authorship open for the time being.

As soon as we have completed our analysis of the several state reports, I shall send you a copy. Meanwhile I'm glad to know that you may make use of some of the persons who served as state consultants.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

November 15, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

First, may I thank you for the assistance which you have already rendered us in the organization of our Yearbook project, through the kind auspices of Dr. C.H.Parrish; and particularly for your willingness to give us access to the data on suffrage which the Council collected this summer. I shall write you later about this matter, as I understand that it will be a couple of months before processing is completed.

I hope that Dr. Parrish mentioned to you that I would be writing to invite your further cooperation with us in our Yearbook project. (See mimeographed materials enclosed.) In the development of our Yearbooks, we try to obtain as contributors the very best persons available in the field. In view of your comprehensive knowledge of certain aspects of the field covered by the Yearbook, and in view of the Council's interests and efforts in the area covered here, we are very desirous of having you contribute a chapter to the symposium in Section IV on "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South." I hope that you will find it possible to accept our invitation to do so.

Naturally, we leave to your expert judgment detailed questions of scope and treatment. It might be helpful for you to know, however, that in planning the Yearbook, we conceived of this section as a critical summary statement by several experts in the field who would point up the problems involved, suggest some possible remedies which might be applied, and in general indicate the future possibilities and significance of expanding Negro suffrage in the South and the Nation. I might add that it is our plan to make available to the contributors in this symposium, duplicate copies of the manuscripts for the eleven Southern states specifically treated here.

For your further information may I state that we are allotting 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages for this chapter. Of course if more space is necessary, we will extend it. Moreover, we hope that the manuscript can be in our hands by June 1st, if possible; and not later than June 15th, if necessary.

In inviting your cooperation with us in this project, we are not unmindful of the fact that your normal commitments comprise a heavy schedule. We hope, however, that you share with us the conviction that this is an important project and will cooperate with us.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

December 7, 1956

Mr. Melvin Arnold
Harper & Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Arnold:

A thousand apologies for not communicating with you sooner. My trip to New York was cut short, eliminating the day when I had planned to see you. Failing that, my aim has been to send you descriptions of several community situations which might be appropriate for your projected book. The problem has simply been an extraordinarily heavy load on our staff.

Ideally we should get you and/or your prospective author in the office here for a day or two and talk the possibilities out. Then on the more hopeful ones we could dredge up from the files more detailed information. If that is not possible, I will pursue with renewed vigor my intention to send you at least a few case summaries.

In any event, I hope you won't interpret my long silence as signifying indifference to your project. Quite the opposite is the case.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

December 7, 1956

Mr. Charles H. Thompson, Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

It is quite all right to use my name for the time being in your prospective Table of Contents.

Our consultants in Florida were Dr. Lewis M. Killian, sociologist and Dr. Elston E. Roady a member of the Department of Political Science, both at The Florida State University, Tallahassee. Of the two, I should suppose that Dr. Roady is the more likely possibility for your chapter on Florida.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817

49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

November 27, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director of the Southern Regional Council
63 Anhune Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I take it that your New York trip did not materialiize. We would like to talk over with you our plans for the book, "Civil Rights and Race Relations", and hope that you have another trip to New York scheduled soon.

Yours sincerely,

Melvin Arnold

Melvin Arnold

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

SUSPEND UNTIL 2/1/57 (in Te file)

Ltr dated 11/15/56 from Chas. H. Thompson, Editor Journal of Negro Education, Howard University, Wash., D.C.

Re: article to be prepared for Yearbook - to be in their possession no later than June 1, 1957.

Ltr dtd 11/30/56

RECEIVED DEC 3 1956

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

November 30,1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to thank you for your letter of November 28 informing me that you or some members of your staff working jointly will do the chapter for us in our forthcoming Yearbook. Our Editorial Board is very happy that you have found it possible to make this contribution.

A little later I shall send you a revised Table of Contents with the names and official titles of the other contributors. In this connection may I say that although you have not settled the question of authorship, I hope that you will allow me to use your name, and make the necessary changes later.

I am very much relieved and delighted to note that you are going to give us access to the data which you collected last summer. I presume that the statistical data will be listed by states. I have already indicated to several of our contributors that these data were being processed and that I was requesting that they be given access to them.

May I note that I have secured several of the persons who participated in your survey last summer to do chapters for us: Dr. Bullock in Texas, Mr. McCain in South Carolina, Dr. Fenton in Louisiana, Dr. Cothran in Arkansas, and Mr. Gomillion in Alabama. The one reason I have not invited the persons who made the survey in the other states is the fact that I had invited other persons before I got information as to who they were. By the way, will you inform me who did the survey since I have to get someone to do the chapter on Florida?

I am very happy to learn that beginning January 6, 1957, you are to succeed Dr. Mitchell as Executive Director of the SRC. Please accept my best wishes for a most successful administration in your new position.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

File

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

December 14, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of December 7 informing me of your consultants on the survey in Florida. I have written inviting Dr. Broady to cooperate with us and am awaiting his reply.

I may have been presumptuous but I have indicated to persons who are doing Section IV that the summary of the results of the SRC survey would probably be available sometime in January, and that I would see that they got a copy. I presume this material is being tabulated state by state. I would appreciate it very much if you would let me know immediately when the material is available, so that I may put it in the hands of contributors to Chapter IV.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

February 11, 1957

(Dictated February 8th)

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Enclosed are copies of Negro registration figures for most of the counties in each Southern state. Tennessee and Arkansas are not included. We were unable to secure figures for Tennessee, but the Arkansas figures will be sent to you as soon as they can be typed, probably Monday.

Also shown is the number of potential Negro voters* -- that is persons over twenty-one -- except for Georgia and Kentucky where the voting age is eighteen.

You will notice that in some cases the number of registrants exceeds the number of eligibles. This is explained by poorly maintained and unchecked voting lists. We will try to furnish you with more information drawn from our survey findings as soon as we can manage it.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

*according to 1950 Census

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

February 19, 1957

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I am sorry our notation, "Not for publication," threw you off. As you might guess, this was put on for other purposes. Its meaning for your contributors would simply be "Not for publication except in the special summary issue of the Journal of Negro Education." We have carefully reviewed the list of your respective contributors and have found that only in three states -- North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama -- do we have other material that would be helpful to contributors who did not participate in our study. On further reflection, it occurs to us that the simplest way to handle this would be for your contributors in these states to communicate directly with our consultants. In each case except North Carolina, they might be expected to be closely in touch anyway.

In case you do not have our list handy, the three consultants in question are: Solomon Sutker, A & M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma; Mr. James Pierce, Alabama State College, Montgomery; John Griffin, Emory University, Georgia and Dean Brazeal, Morehouse College, Atlanta Georgia.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

February 13, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432,
Atlanta 3,Georgia.

Dear Mr.Fleming:

This acknowledges receipt of your letter of February 11th with which you enclosed copies of Negro registration figures for most of the counties in each Southern states, Tennessee and Arkansas not included. I appreciate very much this expediting of the material.

On the bottom of the list of figures for each state I note the following statement: "Not for publication." I am not exactly sure what this means. Does it mean not for publication until you publish it, or does it mean not for publication, period? Will you kindly advise me so that I may inform our contributors, who are using this material?

With sincerest personal regards and with profound thanks for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

February 21, 1957

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

RECEIVED FEB 23 1957

not acknowledged

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of February 19 in reply to my query of some few days ago relative to the statement "Not for publication" on materials recently sent me. My first reaction was that it was "put on for other purposes" as you indicate, but since we wanted to be certain I thought it best to get in touch with you. I am passing this information on to the contributors concerned so that work on their chapters may proceed without further delay. May I also thank you for indicating the names and addresses of the consultants who may be reached relative to "other material" available on North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

May 13, 1957

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Bureau of Educational Research
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

Thank you for your letter dated May 6th reminding me of our commitment to contribute an article to the forthcoming Yearbook. I am remiss in not having written you before now to say that Miss Florence B. Irving, our Research Assistant, is the staff member who is preparing the article. (You will recall that, when I originally accepted the assignment, I secured your agreement that the article might be authored by some staff member other than myself.) I note that you now have a printed version of the Table of Contents; I sincerely hope this doesn't mean that it's too late for Miss Irving to be listed as the author of this particular article.

Since receiving your letter, I have checked with Miss Irving and found that she is at work on the assignment. We do have one misunderstanding with respect to your deadline. In your last letter you say "May 15th if possible, and not later than June 1st, if absolutely necessary." In your letter to me dated November 15, 1956, you said "June 1st if possible; and not later than June 15th, if necessary." Miss Irving has been working according to the latter time-table. I am sure she will do everything she can to expedite the writing, but I feel we should prepare you for a submission date possibly somewhat later than the revised deadline.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION*

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Roy Wilkins, *Executive Secretary,* NAACP, New York City

***Copies may be secured from Howard University, Washington 1, D. C. $2.50 for the Yearbook; subscription, $4.00 per year.**

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

May 6, 1957

RECEIVED MAY 13 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am sending you this letter merely as a reminder that the article which you so kindly consented to contribute to the forthcoming Yearbook issue of the Journal is expected on May 15th if possible, and not later than Junelst, if absolutely necessary. I sincerely hope that nothing will prevent you from meeting our deadline.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Chas. H. Thompson

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

Enc.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MANPOWER, PERSONNEL AND RESERVE

16 May 1957

Dear Dr. Thompson:

We are glad to have in advance the Table of Contents of the Summer 1957 Yearbook issue of the JOURNAL. We await our subscription copy and have already made staff assignments for the critical reading of this volume. We shall be interested to see what treatment will be given in the articles comprising two points, among others:

A. The Absentee Voter Program of the Armed Services through which personnel as far away as the South Pole were urged and assisted in voting, -- without regard to race, creed or color.

B. The probable amount of voting by Negro service personnel through this program without such being recognized by race and without any of the impediments generally encountered by the Negro citizen appearing in person in certain areas.

Our interest on behalf of service personnel is related to their services and sacrifices to extend the democratic process to many parts of the world, and including their home communities from which they were drafted or volunteered.

We shall read with interest.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Editor
The JOURNAL of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

COPY

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.
DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

mary

July 19, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My Dear Mr. Routh:

I am extremely grateful to you for your kindness in furnishing the requested materials. Your second mailings arrived first thing this morning--quite in time for inclusion in my report for Dr. Seidenberg. These materials will be very helpful. Enclosed is a small check to reimburse your postage funds.

If it is convenient, I would still appreciate the materials which your Labor Consultant brings back from the Fisk Institute. My interest in this subject will certainly continue beyond the confines of the present seminar.

Dr. Walker was happy to hear from you and sends his best regards.

Very truly yours,

H. Naylor Fitzhugh

Encl: 1

HNF:mm

March 13, 1961

Mr. Charles H. Thompson
Editor
Journal of Negro Education
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I am happy to send you two copies of our report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." You are welcome to publish any or all of it in the Journal of Negro Education.

It was a pleasure seeing you last week, and I only wish we had had time for some real conversation.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION
A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS
INCIDENT TO THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES

BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

March 3, 1961

RECEIVED
MAR 7 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

It was nice seeing you today. As I noted, we think we would like to run a copy of your statement to President Kennedy in the JOURNAL. Therefore, I am writing to remind you that you promised to send me a copy for that purpose. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me two copies so that I will not have to type it over for the printer.

Thanks and with personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Chas H. Thompson tr

Chas. H. Thompson
Editor

CHT/tr

Rec'd 4/17

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

April 16, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

RE: Miss Judy LaRita Rogers

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The person whose name appears above has applied for admission to our School. Miss Rogers' record of employment indicates that she has been employed in your institution from June 5, 1961 to August 31, 1961.

Because of the responsibilities involved in social work, we attempt to select students whose personalities are adapted to working with people and who appear to possess the capacity for learning professional ways of doing so. Your evaluation of the applicant as an employee will be helpful to su in considering her ability to meet the requirements and demands of social work education and practice.

The following points are suggestive of the material that would be most helpful to su:

1. Performance of assigned duties
2. Response to supervision or direction
3. Reliability
4. Initiative and enthusiasm in performance of duties
5. Relations with follow-workers
6. Adjustment of unfamiliar situations
7. Attendance record
8. Length of service and responsibilities assigned

Sincerely yours,

Georgia Pinnick c.j.
(Mrs) Georgia Pinnick
Chairman
Admissions Committee

GP:cj

February 27, 1963

Professor Daniel C. Thompson
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dan:

You gave me quite an assignment Maybe the attached answers will be of some use. I am sure that you will take note of my request that my answers to questions 5 and 6 not be attributed to me by name.

Let me know when in March you will be here. As of now, I expect to be in town the whole month except March 15 through March 18 or 19, and March 28 through 29.

We were all sorry that you got sick and missed the Notre Dame conference. Eli Ginzberg, who must go to more meetings than any man in captivity, said at the end that it was the best conference he had been to, and I pretty much felt the same way. I will see that you get reports.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

1. The most obvious answer is "political influence," based on the twin facts that in 1863 Negroes possessed almost no offices or votes and that today they have great influence in Presidential politics and in the electoral divisions of several states and a larger number of cities. On the other hand, Negroes, even though inert, had enormous influence on the politics of the 1850's and 1860's (witness, the Civil War), and ever since have motivated politics North and South ("white supremacy," "bloody shirt" etc., etc.). In considerable measure, Negroes still influence politics as an issue. I suppose the point should be stated somewhat like this: that Negroes have for more than a century been one of the primary determinants of political decisions, but the great change is in having become active wielders of power.

I am not good at ranking things, and so I don't know whether this political gain or educati nal progress should be ranked first. Certainly, the latter has been immense. Political influence and educational advance have been the base from which the "entrance into civic life" that I mention below in #3 has been effected.

There are also such fields as sports and music.

2. Clearly, I think, in economic advance. Measured by the relationship of Negro to white wealth and income there has been a shocking lack of progress. A secondary area which could be mentioned is church life, though here it is almost impossible to know what any person other than yourself means by "progress," and I can't even be sure what I mean. From where I sit, it appears to me that Negroes have built church organizations and church life at least as community-serving and at least as close to Christianity as any other people ever have. As Christians, I suppose that Negro church-goers cannot but lament the lack of full communion with other Christians, regardless of whose fault that is; so in the sense that Negro Christians have been prevented from having full communion, I suppose there has been little progress.

3. I think here one could repeat the areas pointed to under #1. I would add that since 1950, there has been enormous gain -- and I think perhaps the most crucial one we have yet witnessed -- in the entrance of Negroes into the civic institutions of American society, reaching from schools to lunch counters, with many others in between. I think it should be

clear to any alert observer that this means more than desegregation: it is the beginning of a process of absorption into the mainstream of American society, with the concomitant ability to influence the course which that stream may in the future take.

4. I would refer you to my answer to #2. There has not really been yet any decisive shift in the economic status of Negro Americans.

5. THIS ANSWER NOT FOR ATTRIBUTION TO ME BY NAME. I would say, first of all, the NAACP and its Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Secondly and thirdly, without ranking them, I would say the local student movements in the winter and spring of 1960 and (despite the irregularity of performance), the various local Negro civic and political organizations .

6. THIS ANSWER NOT FOR ATTRIBUTION TO ME BY NAME. This is hard to do. It would also be hard for me to think of anyone who has contributed as much as Thurgood Marshall.

I think we tend, generally, to underestimate the importance of the whole civil rights picture of the integration of the armed forces during the Korean fighting which, among other things, had the effect of, finally, commiting the federal government. I suppose President Truman should be given the principal credit; General Ridgway was important also. Probably because of my job, I am keenly impressed by the importance of the contribution of a group of southern editors who might be symbolized by Ralph McGill, who have been the most important means of getting the white Southerner to act with some sense.

Finally, I attach great value to the influence and teaching of Martin Luther King, Jr. One, of course, cannot do more than consult his own appraisals of the situation, and so I can only say that I believe the Negro movement for the last 10 years has had a latent capacity for hatred and violence and that Dr. King has been of inestimable importance in allaying this altogether normal and even expectable development

7. Without ranking, because I think ranking here would be impossible and that strategies must be fitted to varying situations, I would mention five:

(1) court action;

(2) the sit-ins and similar demonstrations when they have strong support and clear-cut objectives;

(3) negotiations; (But, seldom have negotiations been effective except as a way of settling an issue created by Negro pressures of other sorts.)

(4) the ballot; (But I must say that, in my observation, Negro political organizations do not seem to bargain well for the spoils of victory.)

(5) economic boycotts when widely based.

8. Without ranking, I would mention three:

(1) negotiation without first mobilizing pressures;

(2) lobbying in Congress and lobbying with executive offices;

(3) the use of communications media, i.e., techniques with the mass media.

9. [I think that over the next couple of years the field of concentration should be on voting. I mean by this both voter registration and voting itself. I think a larger Negro electorate has got to be achieved, and soon, before much more headway can be made. I think of voting as the substratum of power which undergirds advance in other areas of civil rights, and the present strength of the foundation will probably not be able to hold up much more. So, we have to make the foundation deeper.] Simultaneously, Negro organizations and other civil rights groups should be looking for every opportunity that presents itself in every locality to make a gain. Finally, there needs to be -- this is not necessarily the job of "civil rights" groups -- a tremendous emphasis put on the national problem of disadvantaged people and what must be done to extricate them from their handicaps.

10. No comment.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

file

February 15, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1963

Mr. Lester Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 5, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In a few weeks The Journal of Negro Education, published at Howard University, Washington, D. C., will issue a special Yearbook. The general purpose of this Yearbook is to assess, in broad perspective, "The Relative Progress of the American Negro Since 1950" in terms of what progress he has made during the past 100 years, and to determine what still needs to be done in order for Negroes to achieve full integration into the American social order.

I have been asked to write the section on "Civil Rights Leadership."

Since you have given outstanding leadership in the area of human rights we need your comments on the ten questions attached. If you desire, your comments will be held in the strictest confidence. However, we would be honored if you will give us the privilege of quoting from certain, if not all, of your statements.

I know how busy you must be, but your immediate response would be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Daniel C. Thompson

Daniel C. Thompson
Professor of Sociology

DCT:wl

Yes, I do hope that I'll have the opportunity of seeing you soon about a project on which I am working. I plan to stop in Atlanta during march. I'll write you before then.

Dan

Civil Rights Leadership

(1863-1963)

1. In what areas of our national life would you say Negroes have made the most significant progress since 1863?

2. In what areas of our national life would you say Negroes have made the least progress since 1863?

3. In what areas of our national life would you say Negroes have made the most significant progress since 1950?

4. In what areas of our national life would you say Negroes have made the least progress since 1950?

5. What organizations would you say have been most effective in the area of civil rights since 1950?

6. In order of importance, what three Americans do you believe have made the most significant contributions to civil rights since 1950? (Please give reasons for your nominations.)

T.M.

7. What leadership strategies and techniques used by civil rights leaders would you say have been most effective in the progress Negroes have made since 1950?

8. What leadership strategies and techniques used by civil rights leaders would you say have been most ineffective in achieving equality of citizenship for Negroes since 1950?

9. Assuming that civil rights leaders will continue efforts to achieve equal citizenship status for Negroes--in what specific areas of our national life would you suggest they concentrate their activities? (Please give reasons for your conclusion.)

10. In your judgment, are there strategies and techniques civil rights leaders might use that so far they have not used to any significant extent? (Please explain your answer.)

File: Howard University

March 25, 1964

Dr. G. Franklin Edwards
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Dr. Edwards:

We have entered a subscription for you to receive New South, beginning with the March issue (which, alas, has not yet gone to the printers).

We sent you yesterday a bundle of materials including the September and October-November New Souths, and I am please now to forward the January and February issues as well as a copy of my Annual Report. We are also putting you on our mailing list to receive our other publications as they are released.

I enjoyed very much being with you at Louisville, and hearing your receptive remarks. I hope our paths will cross frequently.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

March 24, 1964

MEMORANDUM

To: NM & BC From: NMJ

Nobbie:

Please put the following person on our Category #7 (Research) listL :

Mr. G. Franklin Edwards
Professor of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Bernice:

Please send Mr. Edwards (label attached) the following materials:

Henderson, Morland, Coles
"Direct Action" NEW SOUTH
"March on Washington" NEW SOUTH
Subscription Blank for N.S.

Thanx to you both

MEMORANDUM March 24, 1964

To: Janet Smith

From: MMJ

Janet,

Please enter a one-year subscription to New South for the following person and bill him.

Dr. G. Franklin Edwards
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

thanx, mmj

Rec'd 3/23/64

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

March 20, 1964

Dr. W. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

At the time of our Louisville meeting I requested that you enter a subscription for me to the New South. I shall be pleased if you will enter my name as a subscriber and bill me for the cost involved. I shall appreciate also having you send to me a publication list from which I might elect to purchase materials.

I noticed in the New York Times last week mention of the annual report of the Director of the Southern Regional Council. If this is not privileged material, I shall appreciate having a copy of it.

I reserve for last mention of the fact that it was a great pleasure to meet you and to share with you participation in the Youth Speaks program.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

G. Franklin Edwards

G. Franklin Edwards
Professor of Sociology

GFE:wl

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

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			TELEPHONED TO W. UNION	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Dr. G. Franklin Edwards June 5 10464

Street and No. Department of Sociology, Howard University

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* Washington, D. C.

HAD TO CHANGE PLANS. WILL ARRIVE CHAPEL HILL ABOUT 10:00 AM FRIDAY MORNING. HOPE YOU WILL HAVE SOME TIME.

File Howard Univ.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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file

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DR LESLIE W DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 7 FORSYTH ST ATLA

EXPECT TO REMAIN IN CHAPEL HILL UNTIL TIME TO TAKE RETURN FLIGHT TO WASHINGTON AT 135 PM FRIDAY WE SHOULD HAVE SOME TIME TO TALK ON FRIDAY MORNING

G FRANKLIN EDWARDS.

File Howard Univ

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

July 6, 1964

Dr. W. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
7 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Professor Harold W. Pfautz of Brown University has been designated to serve as Coordinator of the Brown-Tougaloo Project. Harold is a personal friend of mine and was in town recently to talk with people in the U. S. Office of Education regarding a proposed conference which he expects to hold in Providence on August 21st and 22nd. (The conference will cover certain problems which may be expected in the Brown-Tougaloo tie-up.)

I mentioned to Harold that he should make every effort to have you attend this conference. I showed him your memorandum covering the Student-Teacher Program. I am certain Harold will be writing you about his conference, and I trust you will be able to attend.

I sincerely hope everything goes well with the Student-Teacher Program.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin

G. Franklin Edwards
Professor of Sociology

GFE:wl

Rec'd 7/6/65

file →

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

CENTER FOR YOUTH AND COMMUNITY STUDIES

August 3, 1965

BP ✓
MJ-file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Several months ago you sent me some material at my request for use in drafting a speech. Please forgive me for not having written sooner to express my thanks. I do so now, with great regrets that I had not done so much before this. The material provided many insights of a valuable nature.

Cordially yours,

Arnold S Trebach

Arnold S. Trebach, ~~LL.B., Ph.D.~~
Associate Director for Law and
Human Rights

AST:jo

April 17, 1956

Mr. Robert G. Stephens
Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations
Welborn House
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Stephens:

I should think your best choice would be Galen A. Martin, 208 West Main Street, Frankfort, Kentucky. He is the rather recently employed Executive Director of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations. Young fellow, active, competent, informed, thoughtful, on the right side. Close by and wouldn't break you.

You would do well with Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director of SRC. Taught human relations at the University of Miami for some years. Knows the game, and has travelled frantically around the South for the last couple of years setting up and shoring up our Southern Regional Councils on human relations.

Both these guys are liberal white Southerners.

A possibility would be John H. Marion, who is the Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, 100 East Franklin Street, Richmond, Virginia.

I could be had, but it would cost you travel expenses and $100 for a couple of evenings.

I could name you other people if you needed them.

You have got a man teaching art who is my friend. Name George. He is a Scotsman.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Welborn House
April 9, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 10 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

First let me tell you a little about the project which I represent. Then I will be able to tell you what it is that I hope you will do for me.

The project is the Indiana University Workshop in Intergroup Relations--which is not a workshop in the usual sense but which in other respects is quite honest.

The central core of the Workshop is a series of twelve evening programs--Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays of the three weeks from July 16 to August 2, this year. Each program consists of 40-50 minutes of speech or round-table by visiting speakers, 10-15 minutes of intermission, and then 40-50 minutes of answers to questions collected from the audience during the intermission. The meetings are open to the public (and the press) as well as to enrolled students. The audiences vary from 125 to 300 or more depending upon many different and often unpredictable circumstances. There are about 175 enrolled students, of which more than half are graduate students in education and of this half about half again are colored students from the South. The others in the audiences are faculty members, other graduate and undergraduate students, townspeople, and a few civic leaders and professional social workers from around the state. The first few programs are usually of a general and scientific background sort; the next three or four quite strongly on the educational aspects of intergroup relations; and the final programs on intergroup relations in other fields, etc.

The Workshop also conducts optional discussion groups in the afternoons, consultations, and a quite extensive program of supervized reading. (Nearly half the students did supervized reading in addition to attending the twelve evening programs.) We also distribute a packet of pamphlet materials to our students--materials of the sort that mean something to such students and not the usual sort of propaganda item.

The group of faculty members who started the Workshop started it in terms of intergroup relations problems in the state of Indiana. We soon found, however, that our audience and students were from all over the country, and so we have broadened out a bit.

Last summer when we collected suggestions from our students we found that many of them--especially the Southern students--wanted us to have "a liberal Southerner" do one of the evening programs this summer. We heartily agreed with them. In addition, however, we felt that we should also have"a discouraged Northerner" give a second program. The combined effect of the two programs, we hope, will be to convince our audience that the South is not all bad and the North is not all good in matters of prejudice and discrimination. The Northerner, in all probability, will be someone associated with the Urban League.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

We would like to have these two programs during the week of July 16--the precise days being subject to negotiation, of course.

Before I go any further, let me say what I mean by "a liberal Southerner"--this being a personal confession rather than a definition, for I am merely an administrator and not at all an expert in intergroup relations. He is, to begin with, a person who recognizes that Negroes are genuine human beings and is willing to treat them as such. He is a person who is ready to make changes so as to treat Negroes properly and to make changes in the near future. But beyond this he is several men rather than one. The changes that he proposes may include desegregation or exclude it, or include it in relatively public contexts but exclude it in relatively private contexts. And he may propose to make these changes in the course of one year, five years, ten years, even twenty years.

The person we need for our program can be any one of the men that I have indicated, but he should also be able to represent the others. He should be an effective semi-popular speaker; but, most important of all, he should be able to handle a barrage of hard-hitting questions which the audience will turn in.

Incidentally we believe very strongly in free speech. We will do our best to pick the right speaker in the first place; but, once we have picked him, he is free to say what he thinks.

The Workshop pays its speakers' expenses--first-class railroad fare from their homes (whether they are there or not) plus room and board, all in a lump sum. The "liberal Southerner" whom I have described--as do nearly all our speakers--probably would prefer to take no more than his expenses and thus make the talk a public service matter. However, if he were a professional speaker of some prominence, it might be necessary for him to insist on a honorarium. In such a case we might be able to put the program into the Auditorium and add some money from the Convocation budget.

We always give our speakers and their organizations public credit for cooperating with the University in putting on the Workshop.

By now you undoubtedly have guessed what I want you to do for me--give me a few suggestions of "liberal Southerners" who might be able to do the program for us and willing to do it under the present very nasty circumstances. Please include yourself and your fellow staff members as possibilities. After all, you people are probably better situated than anyone else to know all sorts of liberal Southerners and what they are thinking and doing.

Very sincerely yours,

R. G. Stephens

Robert G. Stephens, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations

THE 1955

INDIANA

UNIVERSITY

WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A series of evening forums for faculty members, students, and all others interested in reducing discrimination and prejudice in our communities

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JULY 18 TO AUGUST 5

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

PROGRAM

All meetings of the Workshop will begin at 7:00 p.m. and continue to about 9:00 p.m. with an intermission at about 8:00 p.m. (All times are Central Daylight Time) All meetings will be held in Rooms 125, 127, or 131 of the air-conditioned Education Building, Third and Jordan, Bloomington.

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Monday, July 18. "Why we fail to get along" by Rev. Raymond T. Bosler, editor of the Indiana Catholic and Record

Tuesday, July 19. "Recent research in intergroup relations" by Sheldon Stryker, Instructor in Sociology, Indiana University

Wednesday, July 20. "A clinic for problems about ways and means of achieving integration" by

Charles E. Haines, former student leader at Indiana University

Harold E. Hill, Indiana School of Religion and past president of the Bloomington Council of Social Agencies

W. Howard Mann, Professor of Law, Indiana University

Harlan J. Noel, Director of the Political Action Committee, Indiana State Council, CIO

C. C. Thornburg, Chairman of the East Chicago Fair Employment Practice Commission

Philip J. Winkfield, Director of the Indianapolis Job Opportunities Program of the American Friends Service Committee

Thursday, July 21. "Puerto Ricans--asset or liability?" by Joseph Monserrat, Director of the New York Office, Department of Labor, Migration Division, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico

Monday, July 25. "The human element in an integrated school" by George W. Brown, Principal of Emerson School, Gary

Tuesday, July 26. "Intergroup relations in the curriculum" by Shirley Engle, Associate Professor of Education and Critic Teacher in Social Studies, Indiana University

Wednesday, July 27. "A clinic for intergroup relations problems in education" by

Fay Arganbright, Assistant Director, Bureau of Educational Placement, Indiana University

Howard T. Batchelder, Director of Student Teaching in Secondary Schools and Professor of Education

Mrs. Orlin Lockridge, State Chairman of Procedures and Bylaws, Indiana Congress of Parents and Teachers

Clarence E. Robbins, Superintendent of Schools, Vincennes

Nicholas Sileo, Director of the Christian Center, Bloomington

Thursday, July 28. "The current status of desegregation in the public schools" by

Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches, NAACP

Monday, August 1. "The challenge of cultural differences among school children" by

Mark Roser, Supervisor of the Child Welfare Department, Gary Public Schools

Tuesday, August 2. "The NAACP and 1963" by

William T. Ray, Indianapolis realtor

Wednesday, August 3. "Integration in the churches" by

Rev. Lewis H. Deer, National Director of Social Education and Intercultural Relations for the Disciples of Christ

Thursday, August 4. "Integration in the armed services" by

James C. Evans, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower and Personnel)

The Workshop is a cooperative project. The physical facilities and administration, and the traveling and living expenses of the speakers are provided by Indiana University. The time and effort and talent of the speakers are contributed by the speakers themselves and by their organizations.

ACADEMIC CREDIT

Those who wish to do so may earn one to three hours of credit for the Workshop. They may earn one hour by (1) attending ten or more of the programs (subject to verification) and (2) writing a report on them. They may earn an additional hour by (1) reading Brewton Berry: *Race Relations* and (2) passing an objective test on it. They may earn one or two additional hours by (1) doing individually assigned reading and (2) writing a report on it. No more than three hours may be earned; and if enrollment in the Workshop would carry the student's total load beyond the prescribed limits, he must receive special permission from his dean to enroll. Those interested in earning academic credit should write or telephone for further information.

Enrollment for credit is *not* required for admission to the programs of the Workshop.

FEES

Students enrolling for credit must pay the regular University fees. All others may attend the programs of the Workshop without charge.

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

Rooms with private baths will be available in the Union Building as the following rates:

Single	4.00
Double—for two	6.00
Twin—for two	7.50

Rooms with lavatories and detached baths will be available in the Campus Club at the following rates:

Single	3.50
Double—for two	5.50
Twin—for two	6.50

Requests for reservations should be sent to Manager, I. U. Memorial Union, Bloomington, Indiana. Reservations will be held until 6:00 p.m. of the day of arrival. A deposit of one night's rental is required to hold reservations after 6:00 p.m.

THE 1954

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

A series of evening forums for faculty members, students, and all others interested in reducing discrimination and prejudice in our communities

JULY 19 TO AUGUST 7

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

PROGRAMS

All programs will be at 7:30 p.m. All except the program on July 30 will be held in Room 131 of the air-conditioned Education Building at the corner of Jordan and Third Streets. The July 30 program will be held in Rooms 125-127 of the same building. All programs will be open to the public.

Monday, July 19. Meeting at Welborn House (Eighth and Woodlawn) for all students who plan to earn academic credit for attending the programs

Tuesday, July 20. Frank S. Loescher, intergroup relations consultant, formerly Executive Director of the Philadelphia Fair Employment Practice Commission: "The present state of intergroup relations in the United States"

Wednesday, July 21. Dov Neuman, visiting lecturer in folklore, Indiana University: "The Jewish people"

Thursday, July 22. Henry J. Richardson, Jr., Indianapolis attorney and member of the national legal staff of the N.A.A.C.P.: "Progress in integration: the school system of Indiana"

Friday, July 23. Harold E. Driver, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University: "Race, language, and culture"

Monday, July 26. H. H. Remmers, Division of Education Reference, Purdue University: "Intergroup attitudes of high school youth in America"

Tuesday, July 27. Fred Witney, Department of Economics, Indiana University: "Economic aspects of discrimination"

Wednesday, July 28. Leo Pfeffer, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress: "Church, state, and freedom"

Thursday, July 29. John J. Kane, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame: "Protestant-Catholic relations"

Friday, July 30. Joseph H. Douglass, consultant in intergroup relations, United States Office of Education: "The Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools"

Monday, August 2. Lee R. Gilbert, Principal of Froebel School, Gary: "Experiences in administering a program of intercultural education"

Tuesday, August 3. Nicholas Sileo, Director of the Christian Center, Bloomington: "Achieving integration in our churches"

Wednesday, August 4. Alan T. Nolan, Indianapolis lawyer: "How a fair employment practices law works in specific cases"

Thursday, August 5. Violet Tennant and Evelyn von Herrmann, Indiana University Division of Social Service: "The contribution of social group work to the integration of a community"

Friday, August 6. Norman A. Stack, West Central Area Director, American Jewish Committee: "The work of the American Jewish Committee in human relations"

ACADEMIC CREDIT

One to three hours of academic credit can be earned by properly qualified Indiana University students for attending the Workshop programs (for roughly one hour of credit) and reading related books (for one or two additional hours). The approval of the student's adviser is necessary. Further information can be obtained by writing to Robert G. Stephens, Welborn House, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Students who earn credit for attending the Workshop must pay the regular fees of $6 per credit hour for residents of Indiana and $9 per credit hour for nonresidents.

One or more of the Workshop programs will be included as special material in a number of regular summer session courses--in Philosophy P240, for one example. The Committee considers this to be a very important use of the programs, perhaps even the most important.

THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Heyman B. Allman, Director of the Summer Session

Newton P. Stallknecht, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy

Mary Hammond Houk, Director of the Division of Social Service

Robert H. Shaffer, Assistant Dean of Students

Fred Witney, Associate Professor of Economics

Shirley Engle, Assistant Professor of Education

Robert G. Stephens, Assistant Professor of Philosophy and Director of the Workshop in Intergroup Relations

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COOPERATING INDIVIDUALS AND AGENCIES

Many individuals and agencies outside the University have contributed generously to the Workshop this year. The program lists some of these persons and their agencies. In addition, the following have given very welcome advice and assistance to the Director of the Workshop:

Max Birnbaum of the American Jewish Committee

Louis B. Greenberg of the Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council

William T. Ray of the N.A.A.C.P.

Mark Roser of the Anselm Forum of Gary

C. C. Thornburg of the Fair Employment Practice Commission of East Chicago

June 15, 1956

Mr. Robert G. Stephens
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Stephens:

I am so glad Galen Martin is going to make you a speech.

I wrote your Art Department to find out where George Rickey went to, but the Art Department keeps mighty quiet.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Welborn House
May 28, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED JUN 2 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I enclose a number of items pertaining to the Indiana University Workshop in Intergroup Relations--by way of letting you know "how it all turned out".

You will notice on the Program that Mr. Galen A. Martin consented to take one of our evening programs. I look forward to meeting him and hearing what he has to say.

Perhaps some day we may be able to catch you in an opportune moment when we have more money or you feel extra generous. Perhaps we may some day have more than a shoestring to operate on--but now I'm dreaming.

Your friend George Rickey has left these parts--and these parts are both sadder and quieter as a result.

Many thanks for your help.

Very sincerely yours,

R G Stephens

Robert G. Stephens, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations

--------THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY WORKSHOP IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS FOR 1956--------

The Workshop is a flexible and variegated educational program for all persons interested to any extent in reducing discrimination and prejudice in our communities. The core of the Workshop is the series of twelve evening programs listed below. These are open to the public without charge.

PROGRAM

Monday, July 16. "The Church speaks to the problem"
by W. Douglas Rae, minister of the First Baptist Church of Bloomington
Tuesday, July 17. "The Southern Regional Councils and their members"
by Galen A. Martin, Executive Director, Kentucky Council on Human Relations
Wednesday, July 18. "Organized opposition to desegregation, and its ramifications"
by Nelson C. Jackson, Director of Community Services, National Urban League
Thursday, July 19. "The pattern of integration in American communities"
by Dietrich C. Reitzes, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Indiana University, and Director of "Negroes in Medicine", a University of Chicago study

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Monday, July 23. "Desegregation and integration in the St. Louis Public Schools"
by Charles A. Shewman, formerly Consultant in Human Relations for the St. Louis Public Schools
Tuesday, July 24. "A report on developments in school segregation and desegregation"
by Don Shoemaker, Executive Director, Southern Education Reporting Service
Wednesday, July 25. "Promising practices in intergroup education--methods & materials"
by Earl S. Kalp, Educational Consultant, Northeastern Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews
Thursday, July 26. "Integration and education"--a panel discussion
by Stanley Ernest Ballinger, Assistant Professor of Education, Indiana University
Earl S. Kalp, Educational Consultant, Northeastern Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews
John Ward, teaching fellow in government, Indiana University

Monday, July 30. "Anti-Semitism today"
by Robert Gordon, Director, Indiana Region, Anti-Defamation League
Tuesday, July 31. "The unions and discrimination"
by Francis C. Shane, Secretary of the Committee on Civil Rights, United Steelworkers of America
Wednesday, August 1. "Challenges to religious freedom"
by [redacted] Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress Philip Baum
Thursday, August 2. "Indiana: past, present, future"--a panel discussion
by Albert D. Chernin, Executive Director, Indiana Jewish Community Relations Council
James J. Mallon, Superintendent of the Children's Division, Catholic Charities Bureau, Indianapolis
Clifford E. Minton, Executive Secretary, Urban League of Gary

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All the programs will begin at 7:00 p.m. (Central Daylight Time) and end about 9:00. The programs on July 23, 24, 25, and 26 will be held in Room #124 of Jordan Hall. The remaining programs will be held in Room #100 of the Business and Economics Building.

Students who wish to do so may earn one unit of academic credit for attending the evening programs and, if they also wish, one or two additional units for doing supervised reading in the field of intergroup relations. Students who enroll for credit must pay the regular Summer Session fees of $8.00 per credit.

Please address all inquiries to Robert G. Stephens, Welborn House, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

The 1956 Indiana University
Workshop in Intergroup Relations
July 16 to August 3

INFORMATION FOR STUDENTS TAKING THE WORKSHOP FOR ACADEMIC CREDIT

General

The Workshop is concerned with discrimination and prejudice between groups--"racial" groups, "religious" groups, ethnic groups, and others. It is designed for all persons who are to any extent interested in preventing or reducing discrimination and prejudice. It aims to provide them with information and advice.

Staff and Offices

1. The main office of the Workshop is at Welborn House (Department of Philosophy), which is on the northwest corner of Eighth and Woodlawn. The telephone number is 6811, Extension 530.
2. The Director of the Workshop is Mr. Robert G. Stephens, assistant professor of philosophy. From 10:30 to 12:00 in the morning, Monday through Thursday, or at other times by appointment, Mr. Stephens will be at his office in Welborn House for conferences with students.
3. The Workshop's Educational Consultant is Mr. Earl S. Kalp, Educational Consultant, Northeastern Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Mr. Kalp will be in Bloomington on July 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26. He will be at his office in Welborn House for conferences with students from 10.30 to 12:00 in the morning and from 2:30 to 3:30 in the afternoon.
4. The Assistant Director of the Workshop and its General Consultant is Mr. John Ward, teaching fellow in government. He will be at his office in Social Science #307 from 8:30 to 10:30 Monday through Friday.
5. Mr. Thomas Rukavina will take the roll, receive reading reports, distribute announcements and other materials. He will arrive early for the evening programs and may be consulted then.

Enrollment

Students may enroll in the Workshop at several different times. They should enroll on Saturday, June 16--the regular enrollment period for the Summer Session. They should come to the Philosophy desk for this. They may also enroll at any time after this by obtaining an "Add Card" at the Office of Records and Admissions and having it approved by the dean of their school. They may also enroll at the Administration Building (first floor, south end) on Monday, July 16, from 8:00 to 12:00 in the morning and from 1:00 to 5:00 in the afternoon, when the Workshop will have its own special enrollment period. Class admission cards obtained at this time should be turned over immediately to Mr. Stephens or his representative at the desk.

Regular Meetings of the Workshop

1. There will be twelve evening meetings of the Workshop lasting from 7:00 to about 9:00 p.m. on July 16, 17, 18, 19; 23, 24, 25, 26; 30, 31, and August 1, 2. See separate Program for speakers and topics. Attendance at a minimum of ten of these is required. The meetings of July 23, 24, 25, and 26 will be in Jordan #124; all the others will be in B & E #100.
2. There will be twelve afternoon discussion meetings of the Workshop lasting from 3:30 to 4:30 p.m. in Education #127. Mr. Stephens, Mr. Kalp, Mr. Ward, and others will lead informal discussions--usually based upon the program of the evening or of the preceding evening. Attendance at these meetings is optional.

Special Meetings of the Workshop

1. There will be a meeting at 7:00 p.m. in Education #127 on Monday, June 18, to answer questions about the Workshop. Students who have enrolled for the Workshop on June 16 should attend this meeting and turn in their class cards to Mr. Stephens.

2. There will be a meeting at 7:00 p.m. in Education #125-127 on Thursday, July 12, to answer questions about the Workshop. This meeting is not required. It is designed for students whose questions about the Workshop have not yet been answered.

Units of Work

The Workshop offers three one-credit units of work for which a student may earn academic credit. A student may take one or more of these. Unless he has special permission from Mr. Stephens, he must take the first of the units.

Unit #1--Attendance at the evening forums:

1. The student must attend a minimum of 10 out of the 12 evening programs presented by the Workshop. At each of these he must sign and turn in a special attendance slip as evidence of his attendance. Slips not signed by the student himself will not be counted. Slips not marked specifically for the evening in question will not be counted.
2. At the end of the entire series of meetings, the student must pass an objective test covering ten of the meetings. The test will be given at 7:00 p.m. in B & E #100 on Friday, August 3.

Unit #2--Reading of a general textbook in the field of intergroup relations:

1. The student must read Brewton Berry: Race Relations (Houghton, Mifflin, 1951, $4.95). This book is available at the Indiana University Bookstore, where it is shelved under the School of Education books.
2. The student must pass an objective test on the above book. One such test will be given at 8:00 p.m. in Education #125-127 on Thursday, July 12. A secind such test will be given at 8:00 p.m. in B & E #100 on Friday, August 3. The student will be allowed to take either test but not both.
3. Notice that the work of Unit #2 may be completed before the evening programs begin. The Workshop staff recommend that this be done if at all possible.

Unit #3--Additional reading in the field of intergroup relations:

1. The student must read a book or books in the field of intergroup relations selected to fit his needs at an individual conference with Mr. Stephens, Mr. Kalp, or Mr. Ward, or selected by his major professor or department head.
2. The student must submit a report on this book in which he describes the content of the book and then evaluates it. The report must be at least 1000 words (five double-spaced typewritten pages) in length. It must be turned in before 5:00 p.m., August 6, to Mr. Stephens, or placed in Mr. Stephens' mailbox in Welborn House. It may be typewritten or written in ink. The student should keep a carbon or other copy in case anything should happen to the copy that is turned in.
3. Notice that the work of Unit #3 may also be completed before the evening programs begin.
4. During much of the day on Monday, July 16, Mr. Stephens and Mr. Ward will be at the enrollment desk at the Administration Building to make assignments of readings for Unit #3.

Course Titles and Credits

1. Students in the School of Education (both graduate and undergraduate students) should enroll in Education H515. Credit obtained under this course number may be classed either as inside or as outside the field of education. Consult your adviser.
2. Students in any school or department who can meet the prerequisites may enroll in Philosophy P240 Ethics for three credits. One hour of this will be earned by attending the evening programs of the Workshop--by Unit #1 as described above. The remaining two hours will be earned by normal reading and classwork devoted to ethical theory. The class meets daily at 9:30 a.m. in Science #304 except during the three weeks of the evening programs. Consult Mr. Stephens.
3. In a number of other schools and departments it is possible for students to enroll for the Workshop under course numbers of those schools and departments. Consult your adviser or Mr. Stephens.
4. Students must bear in mind that all schools of the University require special written permission for a student to take more than a specified number of hours of

work. The School of Education, for example, requires such permission for more than nine hours of work.

Grades

There are a number of different grading policies and practices in the University--as there are in nearly all universities. In order to be fair, Mr. Stephens will consult the proper officials of the various schools before assigning grades for work done by students enrolled in the Workshop.

Fees

Students enrolling for credit must pay the regular University Summer Session fees--$8.00 per credit. There are no other fees.

Supplementary Materials

1. A packet of leaflets and pamphlets will be presented to each student. It will include (a) leaflets describing a number of the intergroup relations agencies, (b) leaflets listing materials and services sold or distributed free by a number of these agencies, (c) pamphlets furnished free by a number of these agencies.
2. A number of packets of pamphlets on various subjects in the field of intergroup relations will be placed on reserve in the School of Education library. (See a separate list of these, which will be handed out later.) These packets may be used only in the library. They are provided by a number of the intergroup relations agencies.

Miscellaneous Comments

1. The Workshop is called a workshop because it is an educational program of an unusual and flexible sort. The Workshop does not claim to be a workshop in any of the usual senses that the word has acquired in recent years.
2. The main objective of the Workshop is to provide at least a minimum of information and advice about intergroup relations to as many people as possible. There are several other objectives which the Workshop would like to add, but these are for the future.
3. The subject-matter of the Workshop is social and it is important. Inevitably, then, it is subject-matter about which people disagree. The Workshop committee believes that such important social matters should be taught, even though they may be subject to various disagreements. If the people of the United States have decided one of these disagreements, the Workshop committee believes that the Workshop does not have an obligation to present the view of the "defeated" opposition. If the people of the United States have not decided a disagreement, the Workshop committee believes that the Workshop does have an obligation to present the views of all the principal disagreeing parties--so far as this is practicable. In any case, the Workshop committee believes that it has an obligation to allow and encourage the free expression of opinions by members of the audience.
4. There is no obligation on the part of a student to agree with the objective which the Workshop favors--a non-discriminatory society. His grade will not suffer.
5. During the past year the work of decreasing prejudice and discrimination has suffered serious setbacks. The Workshop committee believes that these setbacks should not be disregarded, hidden, or overlooked. The Workshop committee believes that true knowledge of the facts of a situation is indispensable to intelligent action in that situation.

A General Description of the Indiana University Workshop in Intergroup Relations

The Workshop is not a workshop in the usual sense of the word but a special and highly flexible educational program designed to give a little instruction in intergroup relations matters to as many of our summer school students as possible.

The central core of the Workshop is a series of twelve evening programs--Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays of the three weeks from July 16 to August 2, this year. Each program consists of 40-50 minutes of speech or roundtable by visiting speakers, 10-15 minutes of intermission, and then 40-50 minutes of answers to questions collected from the audience during the intermission. The meetings are open to the public (and the press) as well as to enrolled students. The audiences vary from 125 to 300 or more depending upon many different and often quite irrational things. There are about 175 enrolled students, of whom more than half are graduate students in Education, many of them from the South. The others in the audiences are faculty members, other graduate and undergraduate students, townspeople, and a few civic leaders and professional social workers from around the state. See separate sheet for a tentative program of the evening programs for this year.

The Workshop also conducts optional discussion meetings in the afternoons, individual consultations, and a quite extnesive program of supervised reading. (Nearly half the students do supervised reading in addition to attending the evening programs.) See separate sheets for further information regarding this part of the work.

The staff of the Workshop consists of Mr. Robert G. Stephens, Director, Mr. Earl S. Kalp, Educational Consultant, and Mr. John Ward, Assistant Director and General Consultant. Mr. Stephens is an assistant professor of philosophy at Indiana University. Mr. Kalp is Educational Consultant, Northeastern Division, National Conference of Christians and Jews. Mr. Ward is a teaching fellow in government at Indiana University. All inquiries and correspondence regarding the Workshop should be addressed to Mr. Stephens at Welborn House, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

In 1952 a preliminary three-day conference on intergroup relations was held at the University. In 1953 a workshop of the conventional sort was offered--with very poor results. In 1954, 1955, and again this year, a workshop of the special form described above has been offered--with very good results.

The Workshop is a cooperative project. The physical facilities and administration, and the travelling and living expenses of the speakers are provided by Indiana University. The time and effort and talent of the speakers are contributed by the speakers themselves and by their organizations. The members of the staff are paid at minimum rates.

Persons who receive academic credit for the Workshop pay the regular Indiana University Summer Session fees of $8.00 per credit. All other persons may attend the evening meetings without charge.

May 7, 1957

FBR:

Before I could answer this guy, he called. He is delighted to have you, based on the glowing recommendation I gave, and he is scheduling you for Wednesday July 17th -- the date you expressed a preference for.

He would like you, at the very earliest, to write him what title you would like your speech billed under and send him some biographical data. Some urgency about this, since he is trying to firm up his printed program.

They will pay $100 as stated in the letter attached, this amount to cover all expenses incident to the trip.

HCF/eab
Encl. ltr from Robert G. Stephens,
Director, Wkshp in Intergroup
Relations, Indiana Univ.,
4/27/57

May 8, 1957

VIA AIR MAIL

Dr. Robert G. Stephens, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Dr. Stephens:

Harold Fleming has told me that you called and would like to have me come to the University of Indiana's Workshop in Intergroup Relations. I note that the day for my appearance is Wednesday, July 17, and the time is 7:00 P.M. The topic of my speech will be "The South Has a Rendezvous With Democracy."

As to biographical data: I am a Floridian of Virginia background; did my AB and MA at the University of Miami in Florida and my doctoral work at the Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University. I have taught human relations, intergroup relations, and intercultural relations (depending on where I was teaching) at the University of Miami, in the summer at New York University, the University of Michigan, the Sorbonne, the University of Heidelberg, and the University of London. During World War II, I was in Naval Air Intelligence.

I trust this is sufficient information at this time. If you would like anything further, please let me know. I would appreciate, upon its completion, a copy of the little brochure you all put out, several previous copies of which you sent in your previous letter.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

May 23, 1957

Dr. Robert G. Stephens, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations
Welborn House
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Dr. Stephens:

Many thanks for your letter of May 21. It contains all the information I need for my participation in the Workshop in Intergroup Relations on the evening of Wednesday, July 17.

The air-conditioned room with "detached bath" is quite satisfactory. I hope you will invite me back when the new Student Union is complete.

Best regards and I look forward to seeing you at Bloomington.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

July 16, 1957

To: Mr. Robert G. Stephens, Director
Workshop and Intergroup Relations
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Flying to Indiana. Driving to Bloomington. Will call you on arrival. See you for dinner.

Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Division of University Extension
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

PUBLIC SERVICES
Audio-Visual Center
Community Services
Bureau of Public Discussion
Industrial and Labor Services

October 16, 1958

TEACHING SERVICES
University Centers
Correspondence Study
Bureau of Lectures
Special Classes

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

We are sorry to learn from your letter of October 8 that the preview prints of THE CONSTITUTION AND EMPLOYMENT STANDARDS, and VOTING PROCEDURES reached you late. However, we were glad to get the information that there was a delay in the mail.

This information will help us in scheduling our films and in future bookings. We have had some of this trouble in other cases this year.

In order to remedy this situation, I am bringing your letter with appropriate memos to the attention of our Circulation Department.

Thank you for your evaluation and cooperation.

Yours truly,

Hal Skinner

Hal Skinner
Audio-Visual Center

HS/md

April 2, 1959

Mr. Stanley E. Ballinger
Indiana University
School of Education
Box 47
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Mr. Ballinger:

Thank you for your note of the 31st.

The title of my address will be, "Federal Authority and States' Rights," if this meets with your approval. I believe that the basic question which faces the South at the moment is not desegregation alone but rather, a basic misconcept on the part of Southern politicians of the meaning of a Federal Union. This, of course, would be tied to what is happening in the South in terms of progress toward and resistence to compliance with the Supreme Court's School Decision.

Yes, please make reservations for me at the Union Building. I will fly up Monday, the 20th, stay overnight, and fly back on the 21st. I will be in touch with you later about my flight time, etc.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

After 5 days, return to
INDIANA UNIVERSITY
School of Education
Box 47
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

Stanley E. Ballinger

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
School of Education
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

March 31, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am most pleased that you will be able to speak to our Workshop in Intergroup Relations on July 20, 1959. We are happy to be able to pay your travel, room, and meal expenses and regret our inability to offer any honorarium for your services. Would you like to have a room reserved at the Union Building on campus? The rate is about $5.50 for a single with bath. Also if you can give me a title for your address at your convenience, we can settle any other details later.

Sincerely yours,

Stanley E. Ballinger

Stanley E. Ballinger, Director
Workshop in Intergroup Relations

SEB/jlm

Pending Indiana U. Venue

July 21, 1961

Dr. Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
Ballantine Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Dr. Grimshaw:

I would like for someone from SRC to come to Bloomington; I think it would be foolhardy at this time to say that I could come, unless another meeting in the general direction develops. Would you accept a commitment that we shall supply someone between November and March, and that early this fall we will make a definite arrangement? Many thanks for inviting us and me.

Don't let that girl from Alabama get out of control, and keep up the good work of your NAACP chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

??? Return to LWD

advice?

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
~~Box 70~~
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
Ballantine Hall

July 5, 1961

Mr. L. D. Dunbar, Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The campus chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. here has grown considerably in recent years and has achieved some moderate success in combatting local discrimination. The campus organization has been successful in cooperative campaigns to desegregate campus housing; barbershops serving the student body; the local hospital and is now engaged in action directed toward desegregation of off-campus housing and of establishments licensed by the Alcoholic Beverage Commission. Nationally it has participated in fund-raising for A.C.T. and, for this year, the evicted farmers in Haywood and Fayette counties.

Unfortunately, this activity has been carried on by only a small group of interested young men and women, white and Negro, without the support of the now substantial Negro student population. With some exceptions, these youth live quite insulated lives, and are sometimes surprised (or so they claim) to learn that discrimination still exists. These educated young people, who should be in the forefront of community action, are likely, after they leave college, to live in their home town without any participation in those aspects of community life directed toward the attainment of equal rights for all persons.

We feel that these students should be obtaining training for full participation in all aspects of community life, not merely acquiring vocational skills. In this coming year we hope to attract more of them to programs of anti-discrimination. One aspect of our program will be education in the realities of discrimination in American life, and to various ways in which this discrimination is being attacked. We hope to have two meetings a month - one devoted to a lecture by a person actively engaged in such activity - one devoted to local programs and to tactical problems.

We intend to invite representatives from the national offices of the N.A.A.C.P. and of C.O.R.E., officials of municipal and federal agencies, and student and other leaders of programs now going on in the South to talk to

Mr. L. D. Dunbar July 5, 1961

us. We would like to have the perhaps more objective perspectives of an organization such as yours, long engaged in research rather than action. Exposure to facts, both on actual conditions and on recent changes, might help stir some of these students out of their attitude of complacency.

We have little money. However, if you, or a representative of your research staff (or someone like McMillan) came to a city as nearby as Louisville, Cincinnatti, or Indianapolis, we could undertake to pay for food and transport and could provide housing. We are writing at this early date in hope that you might select a time convenient for you or a staff member - between November, 1961, and March, 1962. This would permit us to make at least tentative arrangements for our program. We hope you will be able to visit us.

With thanks for your kind attention, we are

Sincerely,

George H Woolley
George Woolley
President, N.A.A.C.P.

Allen D. Grimshaw
Allen D. Grimshaw
Faculty Advisor, N.A.A.C.P.

P.S. I would like to add my personal plea that you try to make it yourself. I'd like very much to talk to you about your research and your plans, but see little prospect of visiting Atlanta. Come and see us and relax for a few days in the insulated surroundings of Academia.

Sincerely,

A.D.G.

We have a new girl from Alabama who claims she has a flair when it comes to books like de-segregate — she wanted to type this letter over. She asked if she could attend an NAACP meeting, she wants to know if it's really true what they say about us in Dixie. I told her I don't carry a card.

ADG.

August 31, 1961

Professor Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Professor Grimshaw:

Plans for your meetings seem to be coming along excellently. The only thing I can add at this time regarding my participation is that I recently received an inquiry regarding the possibility that I might speak at a race relations institute at Earlham College, sponsored jointly by Earlham and Antioch.

The dates were tentative, as indeed the whole idea presently seems to be, but they begin with early March, and if consecutive dates at Earlham and at your campus were a possibility, that would double the chances that I might be able to come.

At any rate, I re-affirm our commitment to send someone sometime between November and March.

Enclosed is a list of names of some students who might be suitable speakers. I have put a red check beside those whom I know personally and can recommend.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

(8)

INDIANA UNIVERSITY

BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
Ballantine Hall

August 10, 1961

Mr. L. T. Dunbar, Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 21. While we would, of course, prefer to have you yourself visit us, we will be glad to welcome anyone from your research staff. We realize that current events are keeping you very busy. Your temporary commitment, to send someone between November and March, is sufficient at this time. I am writing both to confirm this temporary arrangement and to ask for some advice.

In addition to your commitment we have had invitations accepted by William E. Hill, Inter-Group Relations Officer of the Housing and Home Finance Agency of the Public Housing Administration (Chicago office), and Marshall Bragdon, Executive Director of the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee (Cincinnati). In addition to the representatives of official government agencies, we have asked that representatives be sent from private action agencies. We have written James Farmer, of the Congress of Racial Equality, and have asked him whether he could send us someone. While we realize we are setting our hopes high, we also intend to invite either Thurgood Marshall or Herbert Wright of the national office of the NAACP to visit the campus. If we invite Marshall we hope to have joint sponsorship with some organ of the law school. We also intend to invite James Baldwin, possibly to be co-sponsored by the school of letters here. With these people we will have the bulk of our program filled out. However, we hope to have our first speaker a representative of current direct action in the South.

A representative of the youth division of the national office of the NAACP recently visited the campus. While he was here we asked that he send us a list of names of young people who have been leaders in direct action in the South. He said that he would send such a list within a few days. As yet, two weeks later, no such list has appeared. We would like to have such a person speak to our first meeting. I wonder whether, in view of your attention to current events in the South, you might possibly send us a list of some young people who have played such roles along with some brief biographical notes on their activities, their backgrounds, and more importantly, their availability. I hesitate to ask this added favor of you, but it seems there is no alternative.

As we noted in our earlier letter to you, we have little money. However, I think that if such a young person were available we would be at least able to pay expenses. I realize that it is late to direct such a request to you, apparently we had too much confidence in the national office of the NAACP.

I hope that events will develop so that you yourself will be able to visit the campus. If this is not the case perhaps I will be able to meet with you and talk over mutual interests at some time in the future. In any event, thank you very much for your courteous attention and your help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Allen D. Grimshaw

ADG/eac

File
Ohio's (Indiana)
or gen.

August 29, 1967

Mr. R. M. Winston
Indiana University
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Mr. Winston:

Thank you for the inquiry and information about your interesting study. It is very unlikely that we can be of any help, and certainly any financial assistance we could offer would be very modest. Under these circumstances, if you are interested in pursuing the inquiry, would you give me some indication of what you would see as the mimimum funds you must have to complete this work as well as the timing of it?

Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy of a special study on Louisville, Kentucky.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO.

809 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
20 August 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Within recent years an emerging and evolving Negro leadership has been one of the significant features effecting new forms of social interaction in the field of racial relations. The cause(s) of the emergence of a new type of leadership in the Negro community, unknown a decade or so ago, has been the focus of attention of numerous social scientists. This new Negro leadership, a "protesting" rather than an "accommodating" type has emerged to affect change in the Negro community.

Both practical and theoretical considerations dictate the need for a new appraisal of Negro leadership. Militant "protest" leadership appears to come as a consequence of some crisis in race relations. The situation in Louisville, Kentucky, is one such instance in which a change in the pattern of Negro leadership appears to be taking place. This community, in a crisis with regard to the question of open occupancy, appears to be well suited for a case study of changing patterns of Negro leadership.

The integration of fairly detailed case study material with structured interview data seems a fruitful way to proceed to community decision-making research. Case studies add substance to the framework of descriptive and analytical behavioral categories; by the same token, applying analytical constructs to the case study material heightens its value.

I have been intimately involved in the struggle for civil rights in Louisville and I am endeavoring to bring to it the insight and perspective of a social scientist who is primarily interested in the sociology of the Negro. Dr. C.H. Parrish, of the University of Louisville, has encouraged me to pursue research in this area and I am writing to you at his suggestion.

I am at present a doctoral candidate in the Department of Government at Indiana University. Having completed graduate course requirements, I am in the process of conducting systematic inquiry in the field in Louisville, Kentucky, for my doctoral dissertation on "Changing Patterns of Negro Leadership: A Case Study of Louisville, Kentucky".

In the past my graduate study has been financed with the aid of an Indiana University Fellowship and a Teaching Assistantship from the Department of Government. My undergraduate study was completed at the University of Michigan.

At this juncture I no longer have a source of income. My wife, a joint provider in the past, is expecting our first child. The Department of Government has only limited funding for this coming year. It is with this in mind that I am turning to the Southern Regional Council for some financial assistance.

If you wish further information concerning the quality of my graduate work, you may write to:

Professor A. Don Sorenson
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Professor Sven Groennings
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Professor I. Kim
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Professor William Simon
Department of Sociology
Ballantine Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

With regard to my immediate involvement in Louisville, Kentucky, I suggest you write to Dr. C.H. Parrish, Sociology Department, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

R.M. Winston

P.S.
Dr. Parrish mentioned the existence of a profile of Louisville prepared for the Southern Regional Council by Benjamin Muse. I would appreciate it if you can make this available to me.

Also, I have enclosed a check for three dollars for a subscription to New South.

$3.00
8-21-67
C.L.

File
Universities
(Indiana)
or gen.
See previous corresp.
+ attach to that

September 27, 1967

Mr. R. M. Winston
809 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Dear Mr. Winston:

Your letter of September 2nd and the breakdown of expenses indicating your needs have been given serious thought here relative to our own interests and resources.

I am afraid my response at this time will be very unsatisfactory to you. We cannot make any type of financial assistance available until after the first of the year, if then. And, it would have to be limited to several hundred dollars; certainly no more than $400.00. Should you be continuing with your work and wish to have us consider the matter further, I will be happy to do so after January.

I sincerely regret this answer cannot be more satisfactory.

Sincerely,

PA/mmj

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
Department of Government
Woodburn Hall
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

TEL. NO. 812

809 East Tenth Street
Bloomington, Indiana 47401
6 September 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter and the offer of some limited financial assistance. The expenses incurred as a consequence of my field work in Louisville and the added financial burden of our forthcoming baby have created a real concern. I would greatly appreciate some assistance no matter how modest.

I have itemised the expenses for the next eight months, the time I have allotted for the completion of my field work and the writing of my thesis. I realize that you will not be able to offer assistance of this magnitude; I hope, however, that you can better judge from this assessment.

Estimated Expenses For Eight Months:

rent	$480.00
board	320.00
transportation	175.00
medical (childbirth)	500.00
expenses arising from the research:	
tapes and supplies	50.00
typing, xerox, and binding	200.00
TOTAL	$1725.00

Thank you for your interest in my study.

Sincerely,

R.M. Winston

Unanswered
wg

Lorenz Boehm
RR 6 Box 139
Bloomington, Indiana

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE PROGRAM IN AMERICAN STUDIES
Ballantine Hall 405
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA 47401

AREA CODE 812
TEL. NO. 337-1671

November 23, 1967

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street North West
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At present another graduate student and myself are creating a prospected program in American Studies involving a study of the Negro's relationship to the development of American civilization. Although the details of the program are still being thought out, our purpose here is to offer a brief outline, beg your interest and ask for any information you may be in a position to make available.

Currently we are involved in an explanation of the entire project: setting forth the concepts and precepts on which the program will be based, defining terms and ambiguous notions (eg., What is American Studies and how can it relate to the Negro?), speculating on the value or potential effects the program could have and considering how, if at all, the program could be implemented.

Along with this, however (and more to the point of this letter), we are creating two general sections which will make up the bulk of the program. The first is a series of undergraduate courses involving, for instance, studies of the Negro family; the Negro in the south; the Negro in the city; the Harlem Renaissance; Negro education, especially with regards to Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois; a history of the Negro in politics; a history of the Civil Rights Movement and, related to it, of protest literature and many others as yet, perhaps, unrealized. The second is a selected list of books, articles and pamphlets which we consider necessary for the practical existence of the program.

We realize that the spectrum of possible courses is extremely broad, that the number of books, articles and pamphlets available is boundless and that our plans may prove hopelessly idealistic or incredibly foolish. However, we also feel that the ground for this kind of program is particularly fertile and that the ends to which it could be carried are provocative (to say the least), even if idealistic.

Consequently, although our explanation of the program is vague, we would appreciate knowing your reaction to it and, if favorable, being directed to any material you feel would be relevant.

Thank you for your time and attention.

Respectfully yours
Lorenz Boehm
Lorenz Boehm

file Univ. of Ill.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Professor Melvin G. Holli
University of Illinois

REGARDING

SRC archives at the University of Illinois

DATE

March 9, 1966 (there is some earlier correspondence also)

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Paul Anthony -- who's holding the SRC ARCHIVES folder

Free
Universities —
Libraries
Cr. ref
Newspapers, et al —

April 20, 1966

Miss Joyce Sozen, Associate Editor
Research Digest
University of Illinois
1202 W. California Avenue
Urbana, Illinois 61803

Dear Miss Sozen:

We would be pleased to have you note the various studies that we are planning for the Research Digest. There are several problems, however. One is the matter of time, another is our concept of these studies. Many of them make allowances for several persons working or for several relatively brief studies that will fit into our overall interests.

For instance, our studies in the federal anti-poverty area will probably encompass at least seven or eight publications during the course of this year. The same is true in our community organization work and in our concerns in the area of technological unemployment.

Enclosed is a copy of the Director's Program Report for 1965. Near the end of that report, beginning on page 26, you will see our description in brief summary of each of these programs. Where the projects have a director, that is indicated. Conceivably this will

serve your purpose.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

(1)

Bureau of Community Planning · College of Fine and Applied Arts · University of Illinois · Urbana

1202 W. California · Phone 333-3020 or 333-3021

April 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We would greatly appreciate having an abstract for the Research Digest of your project:

"Studies of federal antipoverty, racial and employment programs; technical assistance program to train Negro and other groups."

The purpose of the abstracts is explained in the accompanying letter, and rules for editing them are also attached.

I am sorry to be writing at such a late date. However, after your project came to our attention, it was necessary to contact the Ford Foundation to obtain the name and address of the person in charge.

If we could receive an abstract from you by the first week of May, we could include it in our summer issue.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Joyce Sozen

Joyce Sozen, Associate Editor
Research Digest

JS:sma
encl.

Bureau of Community Planning · College of Fine and Applied Arts · University of Illinois · Urbana

1202 W. California · Phone 333-3020 or 333-3021

Abstracts for the next issue of Research Digest, a semi-annual publication of the Bureau of Community Planning dealing with current research in the urban and regional field, are being assembled at this time. This will be Volume 13, Number 1, Spring, 1966. The deadline for submission of material is April 15, 1966.

I am writing to inquire whether you have any research projects underway or recently completed which should be brought to the attention of our readers. We will be very happy to consider any contributions which you may wish to submit. General rules for the preparation of abstracts are attached to this letter.

Your early attention to this request will help to improve the usefulness of the Digest, and will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Scott Keyes, Editor
RESEARCH DIGEST

SK:vs

encl.

RULES FOR PREPARING ABSTRACTS SUBMITTED TO "RESEARCH DIGEST"

The objective of the Research Digest is to serve as a medium of communication among individuals and groups engaged in urban and regional research. Abstracts are desired covering research projects recently initiated, projects well underway on which significant progress or findings can be reported, or projects recently completed, especially those which have been reported previously in this publication. Brief notes on items of interest to researchers in this field are also desired. Special articles in keeping with the character of the publication will also be considered.

Rules for editing abstracts are given below. In general, it should be remembered that, although all types of research, whether fundamental or applied, are considered for listing, abstracts on applied research are desired only on projects which contribute new techniques which may be useful in other areas. Theses and dissertations submitted should be related to uncharted areas of knowledge.

1. Each abstract should start with:

   TITLE OF PROJECT

   Main Investigator(s)

   Status of research and publication (i.e., how far along the research is; when and in what form publication is expected)

   Agency conducting the project, along with sponsoring or cooperating agencies

   Previous Digest report, if any, on this project (refer to Volume, Number, and Number of Abstract, i.e., 10:2-3)

2. Remainder of abstract should be in paragraph form with major headings inserted and underlined within that form. Recommended sequence, if headings appear to be applicable:

   Research Problem
   Previous Relevant Research
   Hypotheses
   Method of Study
   Major Findings

3. Copy should be double-spaced and each abstract should not exceed two double-spaced pages.

4. Initials of contributor should appear in parentheses at the conclusion of each abstract.

5. Mail to: Research Digest
   Bureau of Community Planning
   1202 West California Avenue
   University of Illinois
   Urbana, Illinois 61803

SK:vs

November 23, 1953

Mr Howard Beers
1120 South Lime Street
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Howard:

Very many thanks indeed to you for arrangements and kindnesses and time and for making things go when I visisted Lexington recently.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

May 26, 1954

Professor Howard W. Beers
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Professor Beers:

I will do my best to get you some more students. I will be up there for the Kentucky Labor School, July 18-23, and look forward to seeing you and the Conference group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Programs

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 4, 1954

RECEIVED
MAY 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Church Bldg.
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Acting on impulse I am sending you a copy of the announcement of this summer's Seminar in Intergroup Relations at the University.

Is there a possibility that some of the people who will take up work in the Southeastern States under the Southern Regional Council program would profit by attendance at this Seminar?

I don't know what the attitude of the National Conference of Christians and Jews would be for scholarships for such persons but you will note that applications could be made to the appropriate regional directors.

This is just a thought. Give it only the attention you think it deserves!

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Beers

Howard W. Beers
Head

HWB:le
Enc. 1

December 1, 1954

Bureau of Government Research
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Folks:

You very kindly sent me a copy of The Crisis of the States, but every other page or so was a blank. Looks like it is worth reading and if you will send me a whole one, I will read her smack through.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 26, 1956

Mr. Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Bureau of Community Service
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Willis:

Just two or three days ago I signed up through Ben Segal, invisibly with Jimmy Wolf, to be at the Kentucky Labor School for the week beginning Sunday, June 17. I will be glad to do anything in connection with your seminar in intergroup relations that can be fitted in with anything Jimmy Wolf can write as a schedule. Suggest you get in touch with Jimmy Wolf and agree.

KLS will be paying my travel and will presumably giving me one hundred dollars for SRC. If your seminar could fee SRC via me twenty dollars a crack SRC would be very grateful. That shouldn't break you.

Irene reverts at the end of April to the custody and management of the American Friends Service Committee. I happen to know that her salary with them is covered for several months after May 1; salary but not her travel. Write to Dick Bennett, AFSC, 20 South 12 Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania, or call him at RIttenhouse 6-9372, and lock such of her time as you wish.

I think your new man running the Kentucky Council on Human Relations may be useful to you. By name, Galen A. Martin; home address - 2 Carey Avenue, home telephone - 3-0055; office address - 208 West Main Street; both home and office in Frankfort.

Ben Segal, at 1631 "K" Street, Washington 6, D.C., would be a most useful consultant to you. He runs the labor interest of the Fund for the Republic.

Margaret Degan, now in St. Louis, could be helpful to you. Address her at 114 S. Bemiston Street, Clayton, Missouri.

I think most highly of C.H. Parrish. Also I know nobody wiser than your Rabbi there in Lexington. Gal with head on tight is my cousin by marriage, Priscilla Robertson, at Anchorage. Cary's wife. Flesh and bone of New England; uncompromisingly for the right.

We will remember the two of you and wish for you both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
BUREAU OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

March 23, 1956

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am writing to you in regard to the program of the University of Kentucky's Seminar in Intergroup Relations which, this summer, is to be held between June 12 and 29. Dr. A. D. Albright, of the College of Education, and I are in charge this summer. This is, of course, the summer program which you have visited several times--I believe while you have been here in connection with the Labor School. I want to raise two questions.

First, might you be available to be a consultant with us for a day or so sometime during the above days? Our funds, as always, are limited and we should find it convenient if we could infringe upon some of your time with the Labor School if you are to be here during some of that time, and could be so generous as to be with us some. Or, we would be delighted if the Council might be able to send you to us for a day or so.

Second, we are also very much interested in having Miss Irene Osborn as a consultant sometime during this two-and-a-half week period. Do you know where she may be during this time, whether she might be able to be with us, and (finally), whether the Council might be able to help out with her expenses? We may be in a position to do something on this, but will be grateful for whatever assists others may offer.

Incidentally, our theme this year will be intergroup relations in the local community. We hope to relate this program to some of the community work we have been doing.

Recent developments in the South have certainly been disturbing. Wish I could have a chat with you and Harold and others there. Hope SRC work is going well and that you and yours are having a good year. Please remember Dot and me to Mrs. Mitchell. Hope we will have a chance to see you this summer.

Sincerely yours,

Willis

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Assistant Professor

WAS,Jr.:le

P. S. If there are other folks in the field of race, labor-management or other "intergroup" relations we might have as consultants, I would appreciate your suggesting any that come to mind.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

April 16, 1956

RECEIVED APR 18 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your reply in regard to my letter about our Intergroup Relations Seminar. I am getting in touch with some of the people that you mentioned.

I have just written to James Wolfe about your appearance with our Seminar and hope that something can be worked out. I trust we can work out at least a nominal contribution to the Southern Regional Council for your services. We certainly will if at all possible. Thank you for your various suggestions.

I am sorry I did not get to see you in Atlanta last week. I enjoyed meeting John Hope. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Willis

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Director, Seminar in
Intergroup Relations

WAS:lm

May 22, 1956

Mr. Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
University of Kentucky
College of Arts and Sciences
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Sutton:

Good news that you think you can scratch up a feelette for my appearances. Whatever you and Jaimie Wolfe agree on I will do.

I will get up yonder Sunday night the 17th and will stay on through the 22nd.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

May 17, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is just a note to say that James E. Wolfe, the Director of the Kentucky Labor School, has written me that though they will schedule mainly morning meetings, he feels sure that we can work out a time mutually agreeable so that while you are here our Seminar on Intergroup Relations will have the opportunity of some contact with you. We will try to make at least a $20.00 contribution to the SRC for your visit. We will be counting on having you then sometime during the week June 18 through 22.

The program is shaping up and there are some folks who seem to be signing up. Will enclose a copy of the brochure which we have mailed out over the state attempting to solicit business. We'll be having Galen Martin with us some too. Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely,

Willis

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Director, Seminar in
Intergroup Relations

WAS:le
Enc.

July 3, 1956

Professor Willis Sutton
Sociology Department
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Willis:

How about touching our parched tongue with thy comforting hono. for appearances at NCCJ-UK meeting?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 7, 1956

Mr. Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Director, Seminar in Intergroup Relations
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Willis:

Most generous check, and we are all deeply grateful. I had undertaken to raise roughly a thousand this year by speech-making, and I think it was your check that put the thing past the goal!

Had a good time, and remain grateful to Honesty doing its Duty — Mr. and Mrs.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC Official Receipt $50.00

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY
LEXINGTON

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

August 6, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 7 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At long last I am enclosing a check as honorarium for your Seminar participation back in the last of June. Please accept my humble apologies for the tardiness. I do not understand why it took so long to get money transferred from one state agency to the University, but perhaps you have had similar experience.

We certainly did appreciate your willingness to be with us. I am very glad that we can make this check slightly larger than I at first anticipated. As always, your appearances were certainly highlights in the Seminar, and Dot and I certainly enjoyed having you with us several evenings. Thanks again. All best wishes.

Sincerely,

Willis

Willis A. Sutton, Jr.
Director, Seminar in
Intergroup Relations

H 50.00
CR RHA
8/7/56

ITS:lm

Enclosure 1

October 26, 1959

Dr. A. D. Albright
Executive Dean
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Albright:

A heavy schedule of travel and meetings has prevented my answering sooner your letter of September 25. I hope this reply is still timely and will be of some help. In any case, I want you to know that I will be glad to cooperate in every way with the Education Commission's study.

The following comments are numbered in the same order as your questions.

(1) The tremendous growth of metropolitan Atlanta -- most of it centrifugal -- is making for increased homogeneity of neighborhoods and most community institutions. Residential areas may be fairly precisely graded as to their "prestige," and schools, churches, and shopping centers tend to reflect these gradations. This situation obtains generally in both the white and Negro communities. The development of good-to-luxurious housing on the Negro west side is one of the most remarkable aspects of change in recent years. However, the restrictions on Negro residential development have limited the mobility of that group, as compared with whites.

Urban renewal will probably contribute to the trend toward homogeneity, further stabilizing residential segregations by relocating low-income Negroes in all-Negro areas.

A counter-trend to the outward movement is noticeable in the large demand for houses in the close-in areas that have kept their prestige -- Ansley Park, Brookwood, Garden Hills. If expensive, high-rise apartments are erected in renewal areas, this inward movement may be further strengthened. But it is unlikely that enough desirable, close-in dwelling units will become available to change the major pattern of suburbanization.

The population growth of the metropolitan area derives its impetus from two types of inmigration: (1) rural Negroes and whites who usually settle in the central city, and (2) managerial, professional, skilled and white-collar workers from other parts of the South and the Nation; these new residents tend to settle in the suburbs and satellite cities. Both types of migration have important cultural implications for the city in general and the public schools in particular. The older central city is increasingly populated by low-income, educationally deficient, culturally deprived persons. Added to these problems are those of interracial tensions and, prospectively, school desegregation. Thus the oldest school plants, least attractive to the best qualified teachers, likely to receive least special aid and equipment, face the greatest challenges in education and social adjustment.

The churches generally have no agreed-upon philosophy for meeting these changes. As the older areas have been "taken over" by the new settlers, the churches have tended to follow their congregations to the suburbs. In some cases, they have remained, at least for a time, serving their faithful flocks as white islands in a sea of Negro residents. The proliferation of new churches in the outlying areas has, of course, bred more congregations of social, economic, and racial homogeneity.

(2) As metropolitan Atlanta has grown, the goals and values of its people have become more and more like

those of other American metropolises. With a more cosmopolitan population has come the demand for more diversified artistic entertainment, and intellectual activities. Community status has come to be even more closely associated with wealth and business position. It is my impression that interest in the quality of education is greater and, particularly in the case of non-Southern newcomers to the area, may express itself in a preference for private schools. This may be attributable in part to fear of the public schools being closed to avoid desegregation; but it probably reflects also deeper and more lasting attitudes.

(3) These and other gross changes are functions of increasing size and diversity of population and the relatively high level of prosperity in recent years.

(4) For one thing, certainly the Negro's status will be changed and the whole city with it. The most likely prospects are: better Negro housing but more residential segregation; little school desegregation at the elementary level, except possibly in low-income or transition neighborhoods - in other words, where it is least likely to be successful; increasing desegregation in the high schools, and by the end of ten years perhaps taken for granted; more social-class segregation even than now, within both white and Negro communities; greater Negro participation in politics with expansion of office-holding; gradual weakening of employment discrimination but, concurrently, growing autonomy of the Negro business community; well-nigh complete end to segregation in public life with little alteration in personal relationships (except decline in numbers of domestics); one would expect that private colleges of city and area, as well as Tech and Georgia State, would be desegregated, and that intermingling of Negro and white students and intellectuals would have occurred; larger size of city and freer intellectual life should mean that art, music, etc. - now largely an activity of Society - would be more un-selfconsciously cultivated; as in other urban centers, greater family disorganization, more delinquency, perhaps a decline in church-going.

The public schools -- assuming, as I do, their continuance -- will face many challenging demands,

including: (1) all of the problems of serving a rapidly expanding population with revenues that are not likely to expand proportionately; (2) adjustment to at least minimal desegregation; (3) meeting the special educational needs of children, white and Negro, from families unequipped for urban living, culturally and economically deprived.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD - Your advice on this will be appreciated. HCF

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

EXTENDED PROGRAMS

September 25, 1959

Dear Dr. Fleming:

The Education Commission of Atlanta and Fulton County has undertaken a study of public education in your metropolitan area. I have been asked to serve in a part of this study relating to the social and cultural factors which influence and condition education.

A few informed and thoughtful leaders in metropolitan Atlanta are being asked to share their insights and judgments on a few questions. Would you write me, in whatever length you desire, your observations and experience on the following:

1. What is happening in the "social mobility" of people in metropolitan Atlanta--in the churches, schools, residential groupings, business, government agencies?

2. What shifts are occurring in the things people consider important; e. g. parental authority, family life, law and order, individuality, education, possessions, etc.?

3. What and who have brought these changes and shifts that you describe in 1 and 2?

4. What further changes do you foresee over the next ten years in the social and culture patterns of the people in metropolitan Atlanta?

Your responses will be treated as you desire. So feel free to be as candidly analytical as possible.

If the schedule for the study permits, a subsequent conference with you or a small group would undoubtedly assist in the progress of the study. Whatever the ensuing course of events, however, I shall anticipate your observations and experience on the questions posed.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Albright
Executive Dean

ADA:ap

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dear Dr. Albright:

A heavy schedule of travel and meetings has prevented my answering sooner your letter of September 25. I hope this reply is still timely and will be of some help. In any case, I want you to know that I will be glad to cooperate in every way with the Education Commission's study.

The following comments are numbered in the same order as your questions.

1. The tremendous growth of metropolitan Atlanta -- most of it centrifugal -- is making for increased homogeneity of neighborhoods and most community institutions. Residential areas may be fairly precisely graded as to their "prestige," and schools, churches, and shopping centers tend to reflect these gradations. This situation obtains generally in both the white and Negro communities. The development of good-to-luxurious housing on the Negro west side is one of the most remarkable aspects of change in recent years. However, the restrictions on Negro residential development have limited the mobility of that group, as compared with whites.

The Urban Renewal program will probably contribute to the trend toward homogeneity, further stabilizing residential segregation by relocating low-income Negroes in all-Negro areas.

A counter-trend to the outward movement is noticeable in the large demand for houses in the close-in areas that have kept their prestige -- Ansley Park, Brookwood, Garden Hills. If expensive, high-rise apartments are erected in renewal areas, this inward movement may be further strengthened. But it is

unlikely that enough desirable, close-in dwelling units will become available to change the major pattern of suburbanization.

The population growth of the metropolitan areas derives its impetus from two types of inmigration: (1) rural Negroes and whites who usually settle in the central city, and (2) managerial, professional, skilled and white-collar workers from other parts of the South and the Nation; these new residents tend to settle in the suburbs and satellite cities. Both types of migration have important cultural implications for the city in general and the public schools in particular. The older central city is increasingly populated by low-income, educationally deficient, culturally deprived persons. Added to these problems are those of interracial tensions and, prospectively, school desegregation. Thus the oldest school plants, least attractive to the best qualified teachers, likely to receive least special aid and equipment, face the greatest challenges in education and social adjustment.

The churches generally have no agreed-upon philosophy for meeting these changes. As the older areas have been "taken over" by the new settlers, the churches have tended to follow their congregations to the suburbs. In some cases, they have remained, at least for a time, serving their faithful flocks as white islands in a sea of Negro residents. The proliferation of new churches in the outlying areas has, of course, bred more congregations of social, economic, and racial homogeneity.

2. As metropolitan Atlanta has grown, the goals and values of its people have become more and more like those of other American metropolises. With a more cosmopolitan population has come the demand for more diversified artistic, entertainment, and intellectual activities. Community status has come to be even more closely associated with wealth and business position. It is my impression that interest in the quality of education is greater, and particularly in the case of ~~xxxxxx~~ non-Southern newcomers to the area, may express itself in a preference for private schools. This may be attributable in part to ~~concern over the possibility~~ fear of the public schools being closed to avoid desegregation; but ~~it is possible that this also~~ it probably reflects also ~~xxxx~~ deeper and more lasting attitudes.

3. These and other gross changes are functions of increasing size and ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ diversity of population and the relatively high level of prosperity in recent years.

4. Insert attached

1. As in all cities, there is movement of residence by those who can afford it away from the central area. Only one of the close-in neighborhoods (Ansley Park) has retained its prestige, and this is about two miles from "downtown". There is talk of expensive apartment houses for some of the close-in land being cleared for urban renewal and expressways; this may counteract the trend. More slowly than in many cities, the large department stores have opened branches: but with completion of Lenox Square a probably irreversible break-up of shopping patterns has started. Relative prestige of various neighborhoods is generally well-known in pretty precise gradations. True not only of white but of Negro sections. The almost unbelievable growth of good, very good, and luxurious housing in the Negro West End has been the most interesting of Atlanta's housing chan changes. At the same time, urban renewal is making segregation more stable by relocating low-income Negroes in areas where they do not threaten white seclusion. Overall, new construction in KeKalb County is well ahead of that in Fulton; luxury homes going northwest, good homes going northwest, north, but northeast most of all; so-called West End given over to Negro expansion of all kinds. Less than in northern cities which I know, have the churches followed their congregations; new churches are springing up everywhere, with congregations as homogenous as the neighborhood; but many of the old down-town churches flourish and attract their members in from the north side. The schools too have taken on the social coloration of their neighborhoods. Because Atlanta is only now becoming a primarily industrial town, the white collar class does not work in factory-size units. There is, therefore, less of the influence of plant hierarchies in social life, and people circulate fairly freely. High social station of Negro college faculty people is not, of course, true in the white community of Atlanta's white professors.

Insert

2. My impressions are that the changes are not specific. That is, if you postulate a typical American City of 300,000 growing within a decade to over 500,000, acquiring its increase partly from the country and partly from the importation of skills - you have Atlanta, where family life etc. are typically urban, and would correspond to the models the sociologists have been exhibiting to us.

3. Population growth, prosperity

4. For one thing, certainly the Negro's status will be changed and the whole city with it. The most likely prospects are: better Negro housing but more residential segregation; little school desegregation at the elementary level, except possibly in low-income or transition neighborhoods - in other words, where it is least likely to be successful; increasing desegregation in the high schools, and by the end of ten years perhaps taken for granted; more social-class segregation even than now, within both white and Negro communities; greater Negro participation in politics with expansion of office-holding; ~~however, cultural differences will probably prevent forever Negro~~ politics taking the revengeful path which Irish politics took in Boston or Italian politics took in Providence; gradual weakening of employment ~~segregation and~~ discrimination but, concurrently, growing autonomy of the Negro business community; well-nigh complete end to segregation in public life with little alteration in personal relationships (except decline in numbers of domestics); one would expect that private colleges of city and area, as well as Tech and Georgia State, would be desegregated, and that intermingling of Negro and white students and intellectuals would have occurred; larger size of city and freer intellectual life should mean that art, music, etc. - now largely an activity of Society - would be more un-selfconsciously cultivated; as in other urban centers, greater family disorganization, more delinquency, perhaps a decline in church-going.

(over)

~~For the public schools~~

The public schools -- assuming, as I do, their continuance -- will face many challenging demands, including : (1) ~~adjustment to at least minimal desegregation~~ all of the problems of serving a rapidly expanding population with revenues that are not likely to expand proportionately; (2) adjustment to at least minimal desegregation; (3) meeting the special educational needs of children, white and Negro, from families unequipped for urban living, culturally and economically deprived.

Sincerely yours,

HCF

LWD (F.Y.I.)
MF (File)

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

EXTENDED PROGRAMS

January 19, 1960

Dear Dr. Fleming:

My head is hung in some shame. Weeks ago you wrote me in response to four questions I had raised with you to get information for the study of education in Metropolitan Atlanta under the auspices of the Educational Commission of Atlanta and Fulton County. And I have been this dilatory in expressing my gratitude for your assistance, but perhaps the belatedness will serve to emphasize a message of thanks.

Your comments were extremely helpful, to the extent of being plagiarized in several instances. I am still hopeful that a talk with you will come before long to explore further your observations and experience.

Again, many thanks.

Sincerely,

A. D. Albright

A. D. Albright
Executive Dean

ADA:ap

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 26, 1962

Mr. Donald R. Ellegood
Director
Louisiana State University Press
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Don:

Staige showed me your letter of November 13. I think New Orleans is intriguing because nowhere else have so many factors--almost every one of which has been present elsewhere and is therefore in a sense "typical"--been intertwined. To wit:

- fierce state opposition
- long litigation going back to 1952
- urban-rural tensions
- shoddy newspapers but, on the other hand, at least one good "press," viz. WDSU
- law enforcement problems, including riot control
- Citizen Council strength and activity
- racist harassment
- school boycott by whites
- establishment of private school, and use of tuition grants
- intervention by federal government, both openly and behind the scenes
- a "keep the schools open movement" - SOS, CPE, etc.
- juncture of school desegregation and sit-in movement
- belated but crucial emergence of business men on the side of compliance
- a vigorous federal judge (replaced by Mr. Kennedy with a conservative who slowed things down)
- a few instances of individual heroism and nonconformity

- Negro initiative
- Negro factionalism
- one of the few intelligent segregationist spokesmen (Wagner)
- flamboyant, colorful characters, such as Perez, Rainach, Davis, Jack, and Long (ever notice how boring all the fellows in Mississippi are?

And on top of all, the Catholic Church and its schools, and its influence.

I don't know any "scholar" to suggest. No social scientist--unless there were one of skill. A historian perhaps. Because written as an insight into men's history, I think this could be a beautiful book. But a good professional writer might do it best of all.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

BCC: Gerald Walker
George McMillan

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Mr. Joseph Ulmer - La. State

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
BATON ROUGE

December 28, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I certainly appreciate your letter of December 26, and your listing of all of the elements which went into desegregating New Orleans.

I would very much like to develop a book on this subject. I wonder if you could do one thing further for me, in this connection: could you dictate a summary statement outlining the organization of such a book? In other words, give me your thoughts on what is needed in the way of background or introductory material, how long a period (which episodes) should be covered, what is needed in the way of analysis; in other words, what you think should go into the book.

This in conjunction with your list of the "typical" ingredients which were evidenced in New Orleans, better than elsewhere, would give me the real basis to approach someone, probably in history or sociology at Tulane, to do a book.

With kind thanks for your further help, I am

Yours sincerely,

Don

Donald R. Ellegood
Director

DRE:mb

louisiana state university press • baton rouge • 70803

May 21, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your good letter. Yes, let's do keep in touch about your manuscript. In fact, I hope to be in Atlanta next month and if I am, I will hope to see you at your office.

My best to Staige.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Wentworth
Director

RLW/rh

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY IN NEW ORLEANS

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

LAKE FRONT · NEW ORLEANS · LOUISIANA · 70122

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

(2)

April 22, 1966

Rec'd 4/25/66

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I am ashamed of myself for having procrastinated so long about the funds from LIFE.

I called Steve Lemann a few days ago and he said he would get things in motion.

The LIFE Board has already voted by mail to give the money to SRC. It is now a matter of filing the appropriate forms for dissolving the Foundation. I will keep behind it and see whether the process can be speeded up.

Nat Welch called me the other day just to say "hello" from one SRC board member to another. He was in town as President Johnson's representative to a nuclear meeting.

Please forgive all the delay on my part. I will keep you posted on the progress of the funds from here on out.

Sincerely,

Mary

Mary E. Sand

MES/cmb

Office of Regional Director
Alexandria-Lafayette Region

~~417 East University~~
P.O. Box 532, U.S.L.

Lafayette, Louisiana

Febuary 28, 1967

Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Please excuse the short form of this note. I am writing because I would like to request some information from your organization. The information desired is that which concerns the purpose of S.R.C. itself as well as any other publications which your organization might be able to send.

I am an officer of the Gulf States Province Newman Clubs. Our province contains all the Newman Clubs within the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama. On the last weekend in March, some 500 or more students will come to New Orleans to meet at our annual Gulf States Province Convention.

I would like to have some materials on S.R.C. for a display table. I would appreciate any which is sent, and in any quantity. Thank you very much.

Sincerely

Frederick D. Wright
External Affaires
Vice Chairman. G.S.P.

25 - bf
10 - 1-64 NS
10 - ITOW
10 - NSt
25 - VR
10 - W67 NS
25 - NS pp
10 - Neighborhoods
to be sent 3-13-67js

File
Unions - gen
(if there is but one
for Fr.)

March 8, 1967

Mr. Frederick D. Wright
University of Southern Louisiana
P. O. Box 532
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your offer to display some of our publications at the Gulf States Province Newman Clubs Annual Convention is greatly appreciated. Materials for a table display will be forwarded.

To the individual who builds the display, our special thanks.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

October 18, 1967

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Ralph:

Thanks for the information about the article. We were in no hurry, but I am happy and relieved that publication is assured.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Board Ralph Dreger

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

16 October 1967

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Among your many concerns you may not have recognized that quite a bit of time has passed since you sent funds for "immediate publication" of a review article on "Psychological comparisons of Negroes and whites in the United States." The delay has been occasioned by factors beyond our control. Dr. Miller and I sent in the manuscript in the middle of February of this year. It was not until the end of last week that we received notification that the article will be published in the Psychological Bulletin. A referee used by the editors of the Bulletin kept the manuscript so long that finally another referee had to be employed to carry out the overview from the editorial standpoint. "Immediate publication" in this case will mean at the latest by the spring of 1968. A special monograph issue will probably be published for this review.

I wish to thank you and Southern Regional Council for the support of this work. The second referee, who actually made the decision to accept the article for publication, spoke of it as being scholarly and objective.

With my best regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:fb

file

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

28 October 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your response to my recent communication. I wish to express my gratitude to you and to SRC for the help in preparing for and obtaining reprints of the monograph.

Under separate cover I am sending you 10 copies of the monograph. If the staff feels as if you need more I shall be happy to provide as many more as are necessary.

Looking forward to seeing you in mid-November, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:fb

October 18, 1968

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Ralph:

Since the $800 you mentioned has been allocated some time ago and accounted for, you should feel free to use these funds any way related to the project that you feel best.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

14 October 1968

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the Psychological Bulletin monograph which should have been printed a year and a half ago. Dr. Miller and I had it ready about February, 1967. It was sent to the Psychological Bulletin editor. It remained on the desk of one of the consulting editors for seven or eight months. He apparently objected to some of the things we said in the article and could not bring himself to do the editing that was expected of him. Then with the mechanics of having a new consulting editor and all of the rest in relation to publication, it took about a year and a half additional beyond what it should have taken.

I wish to inquire concerning the use of the $400 which you sent for "immediate publication" which, of course, we have not had to underwrite because the publication was not immediate. I wonder if it would be possible to use at least a portion of the $400 for reprint costs. I am not sure what the cost will be, for the bill has not yet come. I ordered 350 reprints, and Dr. Miller ordered a supply for himself.* Some substantial number of reprints could be provided by SRC if you would so desire. If, of course, it is not possible to use the money for the reprints I shall return the amount to SRC.

Looking forward to seeing you next month, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:fb

* For which he will pay.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

MS

29 August 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you muchly for the check for $400 which we can apply toward immediate publication of the comparative psychological studies. I shall deposit the money in our special account until the Psychological Bulletin bills us. (I am assuming that the Bulletin will accept our article but I see no reason why it would not do so.)

Looking forward to seeing you in the early part of September, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Ralph Mason Dreger

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:mm
cc: Dr. Kent S. Miller

file Board — Gen.
(1966)

August 22, 1966

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Department of Psychology
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Ralph:

Enclosed is our check for $400 in the support of your research. We are very pleased that we are in a position to offer this money to help.

At a later date I would like to discuss with you the opportunity for SRC to receive copies of your final work.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

August 22, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please make a check to Dr. Ralph Dreger for $400 and marked as indicated in his letter "Dreger-Miller N-W Research Grant". Please take the check from No. 318 School Integration-Research.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

(2)

Rec'd 8/15/66

11 August 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Miller and I are indeed grateful for the help you are providing. I think the best way to handle the check is to make it out to me and plainly marked "Dreger-Miller N-W Research Grant."

Again, thanks much. Expect to see you in September.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor

RMD:fb

See Board Gen. 1966

August 8, 1966

Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
and Agricultural and Mechanical College
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

Dear Ralph:

We can go $400 and conceivably, though not likely, $500 on a research grant in support of the important work you are doing.

Is it satisfactory to make the check out to L.S.U. Department of Psychology or is there another means you would prefer having it handled?

As soon as we hear from you we will forward our check.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(13)

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

1 August 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your letter of July 27th does leave me somewhat saddened; however, yes, we shall be glad to accept any amount of money toward immediate publication. I shall try to scrape together some few hundred dollars here and possibly Kent Miller can get some together at Florida State University.

I am sorry that the potential donor does not see the value of the type of publication which Miller and I produce as a means of offsetting the "misanthropology rubbish" to which reference is made; the type of publication which Miller and I have does tend to offset what Garrett & Company have produced on such a vast scale, but offsets without competing. If one were only engaging in counter-propaganda, then I would agree it does not pay to compete. Precisely because we are not engaging in counter-propaganda but in scholarly publication, our work counts more with those who really count in the long run than any amount of propaganda would accomplish. Well, anyway, it was a good try and I appreciate very much your endeavoring to get the funds. If it is possible to have the several hundred dollars that you mention, we shall certainly be deeply appreciative. I shall let you know as soon as our work is completed.

Greetings from Georgia and me to you and the staff.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:fb

file
Board
Gen. 1966

July 27, 1966

Dr. Ralph Dreger
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Ralph:

It has taken considerably longer than I had hoped to get a response from the potential donor concerning underwriting the cost of your article in the Psychological Bulletin. Somewhat to my surprise, and very much to my regret, the request has been turned down. The donor commented

> "We have looked into the possibility of trying to off-set the kind of mis-anthropology rubbish Henry Garrett and the Patrick Henry Press have been flooding the country with but have decided that this is an area in which it does not pay to compete."

I am very sorry about this. It is by no means certain, but possible that from some other sources of funds we could invest several hundred dollars in this project. But it would only be several hundred, if at all. Is there any way that this could contribute to the certainty of your work being completed?

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE
BATON ROUGE · LOUISIANA · 70803

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

1

1 July 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your consideration of my recent request. I hope that the possibility works out.

I have just learned that the pre-publication cost for the Psychological Bulletin is $30 per page. An article of approximately 40 pages would run about $1200. The thought has occurred to me that Southern Regional Council might wish a number of reprints, in addition to the ones which Miller and I should like to have as we had in 1960. The number of requests for the previous article ran into the hundreds. As you can well imagine the interest in the area is very high, not only here in this country but throughout the world, even though we limit our review to American publications or work on American subjects. If SRC does want a supply of reprints, we should consider this aspect in connection with the total cost.

Again, thanks much. Georgia sends her regards along with mine.

Sincerely,

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology

RMD:fb

VIA AIR MAIL

October 1, 1957

Dr. Philip Davidson, President
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Davidson:

At Dr. C. H. Parrish's suggestion, I send you the enclosed materials on the history and activities of the Southern Regional Council.

I do hope that, after due consideration, you will feel it possible to give some of your time and leadership to the Council. There has never been a time when this organization needed wiser or more dedicated leadership. Given that, I believe we can play a significant part in mobilizing the constructive elements in the South that have so far been silent and ineffective.

In any case, we are deeply grateful for your interest and understanding.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/s

Enclosures: Brief History of SRC
South of Promise
Policy Statement Adopted November 1956

I couldn't resist adding some material to show you that HILC is still functioning! We're doing very well, actually

HAMPSHIRE INTER-LIBRARY CENTER

Thirteenth Annual Report

1963-1964

AMHERST · MASSACHUSETTS · 1964

Hampshire Inter-Library Center
Thirteenth Annual Report
For the year ending June 30, 1964.

Losses were heavy this year. Miss Flora Belle Ludington, one of the founders of HILC and one who played a major role in its growth and develpment, retired as the Librarian of Mount Holyoke College and as a corporate director of the Center in June 1964. Miss Ludington is a national figure and tributes to her personal qualities and professional accomplishments have come from many sources. No organization owes her as much as HILC, however, and nowhere will she be missed more.

A second retirement was that of Samuel Pratt Bothwell, who served more than nine years as the messenger and who was the senior employee. Mr. Bothwell came to HILC in July 1954 following his retirement from the Smith College Department of Buildings and Grounds. With a lively interest in the Center and much pride in his record of "getting the mail through" in spite of the worst New England weather, he contributed greatly to the service HILC was able to perform.

On a more sanguine note, the year saw increases in acquisitions, processing, and use on which it is satisfying to report. Total expenditures of $43,875.03 were up ten thousand dollars over those of the previous year and were almost double those of five years ago. About half of this -- $22,031.20 -- was spent for additions to the collection. Materials acquired in support of the Asian-African Studies Program amounted to $5,329.78. Regular acquisitions included: Periodicals, $7,323.80; Back Files, $2,706.28; Books and Continuations, $3,387.60; and Binding and Microfilm, $3,283.74.

Success in locating and acquiring materials needed for the Asian-African Studies Program exceeded by far that of any previous year. Current subscriptions to twenty-three serials were entered, many of them for government documents of major importance. Among the latter were the parliamentary debates of Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Malaysia; reports of the high courts of Australia, South Africa, India, Ghana, Nigeria, and Rhodesia and Nyasaland (to be continued by reports of the new countries following the dissolution); and reports of the election commissions of India, the Philippines and Malaya (scattered reports only for the last). Good back files of most of these have been located and are on order. In addition, the reports and papers of the Indian censuses of 1951 and 1961 (publication still in progress) were ordered and part of the papers for the 1941 census. Although back files of other serials were more elusive, several good runs were purchased or received as gifts: Arabica, v.1-8, 1954-1961; Central Asian Review, v.1-8, 1953-1960; Revue des études islamiques, v.1-30, 1927-1962; Oriens, v.1-14, 1948-1961; China News Analysis, Jan. 1957-May 11, 1962, Oct. 25, 1962-July 19, 1963; National Geographical Journal of India, v.1-8, 1955-1962; South Asia Social Science Abstracts, 1954-1958; and Southern Asia Social Science Bibliography, v.2-9, 1953-1960. Finally a copy of Kaye and Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58. London, 1908-11. 6v. was acquired.

The list of serials currently received in HILC now numbers 647, a net gain of 45 over the previous year. Seventy-two new subscriptions were entered (including those placed for the Asian-African Studies Program), but eight titles were cancelled and nineteen ceased publication or had lain dormant so long that it was decided to drop them from the list until publication resumed. The new subscriptions included many in the natural sciences: Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Doklady. Novaia Seriia (Russian edition); Ameghiniana. Revista de la Asociación Paleontológica Argentina; Bibliographia Geodaetica; Biophysical Journal; Human Genetics; International Journal of Radiation Biology and Related Studies in Physics, Chemistry, and Medicine, London; Monatshefte für Chemie; Neues Jahrbuch für Geologie und Paläontologie. Abhandlungen and Monatshefte; Neues Jahrbuch für Mineralogie. Abhandlungen and Monatshefte; Solid State Communications; Tschermaks mineralogische und

petrographische Mitteilungen; Zentralblatt für Geologie und Paläontologie, Teil I and II; and Zentralblatt für Mineralogie, Teil I and II. In every case except two, complete back files were either purchased or acquired by deposit.

Among other purchases were valuable sets in the fields of religion and medieval studies. These included a microfiche edition of the Acta Sanctorum (Jan.1 - Nov.10), a complete file of the Acta Sanctae Sedis, v.1-41, 1865-1909 (microcard edition), a set of the Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis (1, 1964+), and a set of the Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium (1, 1960+). Cartography is represented by the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, a twenty-four volume set of facsimiles of rare atlases of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries (to appear 1964-67).

Holdings of French and German documents were supplemented with the microcard editions of French parliamentary debates for the period 1890-1917 and the Verhandlungen des Reichstags for the years 1898-1919. Other back files acquired included all volumes lacking in the Western languages edition of the Akademiia Nauk SSSR.(Doklady) Nouv. Sér., published from Oct. 1933-April 20, 1947, and thirteen complete and six broken volumes of El Trimestre económico (Mexico). Four volumes of the "Diplomatum regum et imperatorum Germaniae" of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica were received, two long-out-of-print parts of "Cornwall" of the Victoria History of the Counties of England and the nine volumes needed to complete the HILC set of the Archivo del General Miranda (Caracas,etc., 1929-50).

Three thousand seventy-seven volumes were added to the collection during the year bringing the total to 24,093. Eight hundred sixty-four of these were added by binding. In detail the year's growth embraced the following:

	1963/64		Total Holdings	
Monographs	13 titles	67 vols.	114 titles	741 vols.
Series	124 titles	3,010 vols.	1,645 titles	23,352 vols.
Microcards	2 titles	4,060 cards	8 titles	7,534 cards
Microfilm	7 titles	78 reels	68 titles	813 reels
Microprint	0 titles	5 boxes	2 titles	355 boxes
Microfiche	1 title	2,094 cards	1 title	2,094 cards

Large strides were taken to catch up on a backlog of binding. As a result, 864 volumes were bound, 370 cardboard covers were made for newspapers, and 466 pamphlet boxes and covers were prepared for unbound periodicals. This constituted the greatest accomplishment in this respect in HILC's experience.

Previous reports have mentioned the special collections, which are organized on the shelves but given the simplest cataloging. Their present state is this:

Academic Administrative Reports	118 institutions represented, 18 stack shelves of material
College Catalogs Issued Before 1900	21 institutions represented, 3½ stack shelves of material
Dissertation Abstracts	69 institutions represented, 10 stack shelves of material
Labor Journals	107 titles, 16 related titles, 22½ stack shelves of material
Library Reports	258 institutions represented, 12½ stack shelves of material
Little Magazines	233 titles, 5 1/4 stack shelves of material
Old Travel Guides	10 different series, 3 stack shelves of material

Deposits were small, consisting of 48 cartons and 32 stack shelves of material. These were made up largely of back files of journals to which HILC subscribes currently and end-of-year deposits of "Current Issues in Member Libraries, Back Files in HILC" titles. Duplicates of 110 titles were offered to an agent for sale in June. Nine hundred forty-five dollars were received during the year from the sale of duplicates shipped earlier.

The most spectacular advance made during the year was in recorded use. The figures which follow are more than twice as great as those for the previous twelve months and three times those of two years ago.

Total Loans	5,483 (3,590 vols., 1,329 microcards, 478 sheets microprint, 86 reels microfilm)
Renewals	591 (272 vols., 279 microcards, 40 sheets microprint)
Readers	539 (165 fac., 367 stud., 7 from outside)

In the light of the increased use, HILC's hours of public opening were extended on a trial basis from four to seven hours a day. If it is found that patrons use the library during the hours it was not open previously, the schedule will become permanent.

An additional full-time clerical assistant was hired on a one-year appointment to help catch up on arrearages which occurred during the previous year while the Director was on leave. The staff for the twelve months was composed of: Mrs. Pauline P. Collins, Director; Mrs. Elizabeth C. Nathan, Cataloger (part-time); Mrs. Ernestina Staleva, Clerical Assistant; Miss Beverly Packlaian, Clerical Assistant (temporary); Samuel Pratt Bothwell, Messenger, and Tom Gillis, Student Assistant. Mr. Bothwell, who retired early in the year, was replaced by temporary help.

The year's accomplishments augur well for the future of HILC. Larger possibilities appear ahead.

Participating Institutions

Amherst College
Mount Holyoke College
Smith College
University of Mass.
Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.

Board of Directors 1963-64

Richard G. Gettell	Mount Holyoke	Newton F. McKeon*	Amherst, Treasurer
John S. Harris	University of Mass.	Thomas C. Mendenhall	Smith
Nelly S. Hoyt	Smith	Hugh Montgomery*	University of Mass.
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		Theodore Soller	Amherst
Flora B. Ludington*	Mount Holyoke	Lawrence E. Wikander	Forbes Library

*Member of the Executive Committee

HAMPSHIRE INTER-LIBRARY CENTER AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS

Director:	Mrs. Pauline P. Collins
Hours of opening:	Monday - Friday, 9-12, 1-5
Telephone:	545-2620
Loan practices:	Any person may use material in the reading room. Faculty members and graduate students from member institutions may borrow in person from the Center; undergraduates and others are served only by inter-library loan.

Messenger service to member libraries: Daily trips Monday - Friday, in term.

Rec'd 8/30/65

HAMPSHIRE INTER-LIBRARY CENTER, INC.
% THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS
AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS

August 27, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Altanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am not writing about library affairs, but in my capacity as program chairman of the local branch of the American Association of University Women.

Would you find it possible to come to Amherst next April to speak at the annual dinner meeting of the Connecticut Valley Branch of AAUW about your work?

Date: April 20, 1965 at 7:30 p.m.
Place: Lord Jeffery Inn in Amherst.

It takes considerable brass to invite you because we haven't a sou with which to pay an honorarium; however, in the past we have sometimes been able to tie in our speakers' appearances with appearances at the University or at one of the colleges. Both Smith College and the University have funds and are usually eager to cooperate. The other colleges are cooperative also, but Smith and the University are the ones we approach most often.

If you find you can appear and don't object to a tie-in appearance at one of the four colleges, could you let me know what your fee might be?

The Connecticut Valley Branch of AAUW includes members from the four colleges and from an area around as far as Springfield. Local members serving on national committees are Miss Cameron and Miss Lemaire from Mount Holyoke. Miss Helen Stobbe of Smith College is the Massachusetts State President this biennium.

We hope you will find it possible to speak.

Very truly yours,

Pauline P. Collins

Mrs. Pauline P. Collins
Program Chairman
Connecticut Valley, AAUW

File - Friends - Univ. of Massachusetts

September 1, 1965

Mrs. Pauline P. Collins
Hampshire Inter-Library Center, Inc.
c/o The Library
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Massachusetts

Dear Mrs. Collins:

I feel I must decline your kind invitation, not because you cannot pay an honorarium (though travel expenses would have been a necessity), but because next April I shall no longer be doing my present job. As a matter of fact, after this month I shall retreat into the dim shadows of foundation work. It would have been a pleasure to renew old acquaintances and visit old friends in the area.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

A GUIDE TO THE

HAMPSHIRE INTER-LIBRARY CENTER

AMHERST · MASSACHUSETTS · 1965

Introduction

THE Hampshire Inter-Library Center (HILC) was established in order to provide a jointly-owned research collection to supplement the holdings of the libraries of the participating institutions. The underlying purpose of HILC is to secure those expanding and often unforeseen benefits which only formal cooperation among members can ensure.

HILC was incorporated in September 1951, taking its name from Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in which all the institutional members are located. The original members were Amherst, Mount Holyoke, and Smith. The University of Massachusetts was admitted to membership in 1954. These four members share equally in providing financial support. The Center is governed by a Board of Directors composed of the president, the librarian, and one faculty member from each of the four institutions, and the librarian of the Forbes Library in Northampton. The Forbes Library became a member in 1962. As the local regional library of the Massachusetts Western Regional Public Library System it serves to link HILC and its members with the public libraries of the Commonwealth's four western counties.

Nature of the Collection

HILC's holdings concentrate on important but infrequently used publications and on serials and sets rather than on monographs. These fall into two classes: those it acquires by purchase or gift, and those which are transferred to it by member libraries. Current subscriptions to periodicals and other serials—by intention titles not elsewhere in the area—receive major emphasis in the Center's acquisition program. HILC now receives approximately 650 serials and their number is regularly increasing. In addition 50 scholarly sets, a number still in process of publication, are listed.

Incoming issues of most journals are routed on receipt to the libraries of the three colleges. They are displayed for a fortnight by each library in turn, returning thereafter to HILC where they become available for loan or consultation. With HILC housed in its building, The University of Massachusetts Library deems it unnecessary to share in this procedure.

The collection totals some 25,000 volumes and grows at a rate of between 2,000 and 3,000 volumes a year. This count does not reckon materials in all the four varieties of microform, for the consultation of which reading machines are provided.

Deposits

Material is transferred to the Center only after having the approval of the interested departments of the institutions concerned. Thus far deposits have been confined to sets, principally those of a serial nature. Such material can be handled with far more economy and greater resultant gains than is possible with monographs. Experience has shown that by combining in HILC the files from two or more member libraries a more complete file of the journal often results. Duplicates are sold and the proceeds used to acquire material lacking in the area. These additions to area resources are made on the recommendation of faculty members.

Hitherto, with few exceptions, deposits by members have occurred only after they have been suggested initially by the librarians. If the fullest advantage is to be taken of HILC, faculty members should feel free to initiate such suggestions through their departments. Important materials which are little used are most eligible for deposit. HILC is not a dumping ground for the unwanted or the inconsequential.

Acquisitions

Recommendations of acquisitions by HILC are always welcome but they must be initiated through a member library. Every faculty member from time to time encounters materials important in his field but likely to see little use, materials such as new specialized journals or expensive sets. In such situations the cooperative resources of HILC are most helpful, for often the acquisition which would be inappropriate or difficult for a single institution turns out to be most appropriate for HILC. Such recommendations are assumed to be supported by the instructor's own department. Once a recommendation is made, all members of HILC are canvassed to learn whether or not the work in question is already to be found in the area. When reports are in, the corresponding departments in the other colleges are queried on their interest in the recommended item. After this procedure and when affirmative reports prevail HILC makes the proposed acquisition.

This description may make the operations appear more cumbersome and protracted than they are in practice. Thanks to the messenger service and to routines now well established they are managed easily, though not always as speedily as might be desired.

Loan Practices

Anyone may use material at the Center. Faculty members and graduate students of member institutions may borrow in person or secure on inter-library loan. Undergraduates and others, while free to read at the Center, may borrow only by inter-library loan. All loans, however made, are for a four-week period unless otherwise specified, and are subject to recall after two weeks.

Requests for HILC material on inter-library loan should be made through the regular inter-library loan service in each library. Messenger service to member libraries is daily, Monday through Friday, during the academic year. By this means the members are linked with each other as well as with HILC and the exchange of material throughout the area is facilitated. One caution must be voiced, however: the timing of the messenger's schedule is such that it is unrealistic to expect that a book can be delivered the day it is requested, though this may, with good fortune, occur. Use at the Center is the only recourse when immediate access is desired.

Catalogs

Catalog cards for HILC titles are supplied to each of the members. The libraries of the three colleges file them in their public catalogs; the University of Massachusetts places them in a separate section at the beginning of its public catalog. Thus the resources which HILC adds to the area are made known to all who may require them. One exception to this should be noted. It relates to seven "special" collections not deemed deserving of detailed cataloging. They concern: Academic Administrative Reports; College Catalogs prior to 1901; Dissertation Abstracts; Labor Journals; Library Reports; Little Magazines; and Old Travel Guides. Inquiries concerning them should be made at the Center.

Facilities

HILC's Reading Room seats 28. Here are its public catalog and current issues of periodicals alphabetically arranged. Adjacent is a small room equipped for reading material in microform where typing may also be done.

The HILC stack is closed to users but a staff member is always available to fetch with dispatch what readers may wish. An exception is made for faculty members who, if they desire, may have access to the stack.

DIRECTOR: Mrs. Pauline P. Collins

HOURS OF OPENING: Monday – Friday, 9–12, 1–5

TELEPHONE: 545–2620

MESSENGER SERVICE: Daily Monday – Friday in the academic year. Frequency reduced in vacations.

LOCATION: Second level of the University of Massachusetts Library addition. Enter by the south door and descend two levels.

PUBLICATIONS: *Annual Report.* 1952 – date.
Serials Currently Received. 1952 – date.
Each annual issue supersedes previous issues.

3M65

March 25, 1955

Mr. Ralph Borsodi
University of Melbourne
Melbourne, Florida

Dear Mr. Borsodi:

Many thanks for your kind letter of March 22nd, about the University of Melbourne.

I go back to Columbia days when your son was a welcome member of our student group.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

MELBOURNE, FLORIDA

March 22, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is a belated report about the developments in connection with the organization of the University of Melbourne.

All work in connection with the academic organization was temporarily suspended the past winter owing to the fact that the original site selected for the University had to be abandoned because of legal difficulties in satisfactorily establishing title. The committee which is working on this problem of a site hopes to make a decision within the next week or two. We are now working to establish a time-table covering the various steps which have to be taken prior to the opening of the first semester. Work on the quarterly journal which the University plans to publish has been going on for the past month and we plan to begin publication so that some knowledge about our plans in printed form will become available as soon as the first issue is printed.

The interest taken by both the local community and the interest expressed by the press throughout Florida has been most encouraging. This local support, in addition to that which leaders in thought and education have given us, makes all of us who are engaged in the work of organization confident of its success.

Cordially yours,

Ralph Borsodi

Ralph Borsodi, Chancellor

RB/h

Announcing

Opening of the

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

Melbourne Village

Florida

February 7, 1955

".....a self-governing association of men (and women) for the purpose of study; an institution privileged by the state for the guidance of the people; an agency recognized by the people for resolving the problems of civilization." — James Creece, "*The Extension of University Teaching.*"

I. **THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE** was incorporated under the laws of the State of Florida on March 11, 1952 for the purpose of conducting according to its charter, "an institution of higher learning devoted to the Arts and Sciences of Living." Its first School will be opened February 7, 1955 and will be a graduate school of education limited to thirty selected students. The School will devote itself to a single course in praxiological philosophy — a course in the re-orientation and integration of education around the major problems with which living confronts mankind.

II. **THE BOARD OF REGENTS** of the University consists of T. J. Wood, Ph. D., Miami, Florida; Shirley O'Donnol, M. A., Melbourne Village, Florida, Jane Button, B. A., Melbourne Village, Florida, whose terms of office expire January, 1957; Tom Sweeting, Clare B. Borsodi, Rhoderick F. Taylor, B. Arch.; all of Melbourne Village, Florida, whose terms of office expire January 1956; Margaret Hutchinson, M. R. E., Columbus, Ohio; Virginia P. Wood, B. A., Dayton, Ohio; and Elizabeth Nutting, D. R. E., Melbourne Village, Florida; whose terms of office expire January 1955; and Rose Smart and Ralph Borsodi, M. A., Melbourne Village, Florida, *ex officio*.

III. **THE TEMPORARY OFFICERS** of the University are Ralph Borsodi, M. A., Chancellor; Elizabeth Nutting, Dean; Rose Smart, Clerk and Bursar.

IV. **THE FACULTY** will consist of three resident and approximately fifty visiting members. From one to six visiting members of the faculty will be at the University at all times. The names of the faculty members will be announced sometime during the Fall of 1954. As nearly as possible half of the faculty will consist of educators from the Orient and half from America and Europe.

V. **ALL INSTRUCTION** will be by the Seminar method, and every Seminar will be conducted by a leader and not less than two anti-lecturers. The Seminars will begin at eight o'clock and continue for an indefinate period each morning. The rest of each day will be left to the students to devote to reading, writing and discussion and consultation. The Sunday morning Seminar will be inspirational in nature. Attendance at the Seminars during the first Semester of the

student will be obligatory, but leave will be granted for sufficient cause with the understanding that the subject-matter will be subsequently covered by listening to tape recordings of the Seminars missed. In order to qualify for a degree, no required period of study is required beyond that of the twelve week period of one Semester.

VI. **EVERY CANDIDATE** for the degree of Master of Arts must submit a satisfactory thesis (which must be mimeographed) and every candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, a contribution to education (which must be published in book form.) In addition, candidates for the Master's degree must satisfactorily pass a comprehensive oral examination by a board of three examiners, one of the members of which shall be a visiting faculty member, and candidates for the Doctar's degree a similar examination by a board of five, of which at least two of the members are visiting faculty. The cost of mimeographing and of printing these books will be included in the cost of tuition. All books will be published by the University of Melbourne Press, and customary royalties will be paid to each author.

VII. **NO STUDENT** will be matriculated except by invitation. Information about and applications from possible invitees will be welcomed. As nearly as possible the student body will be divided half and half between students from the Orient and those from America and Europe.

VIII. **THE COURSE OF STUDY** will involve rigorous concentration upon certain techniques, certain bodies of thought and knowledge, and certain ideals. It will aim to equip the student to marshall his thoughts, to speak effectively in public, and to write clearly; these are the techniques; they are educational in nature. It will also aim to furnish the student with insights into the major problems of living and knowledge of the most important prescriptions of different arts, sciences, philosophies, and religions with regard to them. These are the bodies of thought and knowledge; they are praxiological in nature. Finally, the course will seek to imbue every student with certain ideals never better expressed than by Henry Adams:

> *"A parent gives life, but as parent gives no more. A murderer takes life, but his deed stops there. A teacher effects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops."*

Engagement

August 28, 1954

Mr. Arthur W. Calhoun
Box 761
RFD 1
Melbourne, Florida

Dear Mr. Calhoun:

The University of Melbourne sounds like the kind of place a University ought to be. Do please count me in as someone who would like to be asked to take part in a seminar.

I put in a pamphlet of the Council's as showing how we think. And for my own academic standing I can boast some years of teaching and some years of doing. Nice wife, too.

I'll be glad to send what you may need in the way of personal history. For reachable people who know me, I suggest the Herbert Davidsons at Daytona, or Davisson Dunlap at Jacksonville.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover this date.

Feb. '55

Box 761, RFD 1, Melbourne, Fla.

July 2o, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell

63 Auburn Ave.

Atlanta 3

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I am wondering whether you would be disposed to consider some time an invitation to participate for a week or two in the seminars of the University of Melbourne, which will probably start by the fall of 1955. You will find herewith specifications for visiting faculty.

We are getting excellent responses and are sure that the visiting faculty will be available as planned.

The university is emphasizing integration and world outlook rather than acdemic tradition. I think, however, that we shall be able to win recognition by exacting requirements.

It is our intention to work out subjects and dates to suit the convenience of participants.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur W. Calhoun

The program for members of the visiting faculty of the University of Melbourne as it has been developed up to the present time is as follows:

1. The value of the visit is very much increased if the visiting faculty member is accompanied by his wife (or husband), particularly when they are representatives of other cultures than our own, because this gives an opportunity for informal discussions of many things which would not develop in the Seminars.

2. Ample notice of the time at which the visit is desired will be given, if practicable at least six months beforehand, so as to permit rearrangement of the program to a time which is most convenient for the visit.

3. Transportation by air will be furnished to both husband and wife. Melbourne has its own airport and the visitors will be met on their arrival. Full information and tickets will be forwarded in ample time.

4. Visitors will be housed in guest houses, which are what are known in Florida as "efficiency apartments". Each has all modern conveniences, including a kitchenette. Each visitor will be furnished an automobile for their own use throughout their visit.

5. The only formal meetings at the University will be the morning Seminars, which start at 8 o'clock and continue for an indefinite period each morning. The rest of the day throughout the visit is available for informal discussions and for the enjoyment of Florida. There is a swimming pool in the Village and the beach itself is a relatively short drive. The group known as the Friends of the University of Melbourne will entertain the visitors at informal dinners as many times as they are able to stand such entertainment. Each occasion of this sort would furnish an opportunity for lively interchange and discussion with a selected group. Similar informal occasions with students will be arranged for luncheons, picnics, beach parties, barbecues, etc.

6. Sunday mornings will be entirely free. There are churches of most denominations in Melbourne, if they desire to attend services. In the afternoon there is a convocation of the entire student body open to the general public, at which the problem of the week --- one of the fifteen "major" problems of living --- will be discussed in a Round-Table, the members of which will include the resident and the visiting faculty. This Round-Table will be broadcast.

7. In the event that any of the students are ready for comprehensive examinations at the time of the visit, the visiting faculty members will be requested to take part in the examination for the conferring of degrees.

ON UNIVERSITIES

"Hitch your wagon to a star." --- Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his essay on "Civilization."

The University of Melbourne is a University --- not a "Westernity" nor a "Nationality." Its concept of culture is neither American nor Western; its orientation is deliberately cosmopolitan. The real aim of higher education should be Man --- not Western Man, not National Man, but Civilized, Urbane, Humane Man.

It is not an intellectual department store. It is not universal in the sense of departments of all kinds, schools of all kinds, and courses in every possible special subject of study. It is universal because its one objective (the study of praxiology --- the study of how to think and how to act like a civilized human being) is universal in nature; its approach to study (surveying and integrating the knowledge and wisdom in all the arts, all the sciences, and all the philosophies and religions of mankind) is universal in scope; its course of training (training in how to write and how to speak) is of universal utility. It believes not only that knowledge can be integrated, but that it must be, and that such integration is an essential prerequisite to graduate study --- that without such integration, the graduate runs the danger of becoming a highly trained and specialized barbarian instead of a genuinely civilized human being.

Its curriculum is organized not in terms of subjects but of problems. Organization in terms of subjects leads to specialization, departmentalization, compartmentalization, fragmentation. Organization in terms of problems --- of the basic problems of living --- leads to integration; to the examination of all the arts, all the sciences, all the philosophies and religions of mankind for the purpose of evaluating what each has to offer (and what every speaker, every book, every object of art, and every experience offers) in the way of answers to the basic problems with which living like a civilized human being confronts every man and woman, everywhere.

It considers that the sheer accumulation of facts and the sheer mastery of techniques is dangerous; that right-motivation should not be taken for granted; that enlivening is essential to enlightenment; that without inspirational cultivation of the emotions and the will, means are exalted without adequate consideration of ends. It considers learning how to earn a living without consideration of why and how to live, not higher --- but the lowest kind of --- education.

It refuses to admit anybody. It deliberately restricts its student body to a small number of men and women who are representative of different cultures, different nationalities, different religions; who are intellectually and emotionally sufficiently mature to seek the root-causes of everything; with whom sheer association will itself constitute a liberalizing education. Since intimacy and fellowship in such a small group is unavoidable, right selection of the membership is an educational activity.

It does not rely exclusively upon professional pedagogy, no matter how skillful; it relies mainly upon the inspiration of intimate sharing in the search for truth with leaders in all fields of thought and action who belong to different cultures, come from different nationalities, and believe in different religions. What is presented by its permanent teaching staff is therefore examined and subject to challenge in every class by a visiting faculty of anti-lecturers of the highest eminence representative of important and particularly of opposed schools of thought.

MERCER UNIVERSITY

MACON, GEORGIA

Office of the President

June 23, 1964

Dean Joseph Hendricks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dean Hendricks:

This is a brief acknowledgment of your thoughtful letter of June 19, 1964. Your suggestion that Mercer could render a unique service in the education of Negroes in this area if financial support could be obtained is well taken. Indeed, I believe it is an institution such as Mercer, in a city of this size, serving a region of this character, where the greatest service may be rendered if only the support may be found. Here may be the base of the pyramid for the "culturally deprived," where we may permeate into communities more effectively and diversely. Mercer has demonstrated her earnest conviction and interest.

As you know, the Southern Association and the College Entrance Examination Board have combined their efforts into The Education Improvement Project, which is supported by grants of the Ford and Danforth Foundations. It is intended that this Project will help to establish centers under the aegis of private institutions where they, working with the public schools of the city, may assist in the improvement of Negro teacher training and of Negroes who hope to enter graduate schools. In my opinion this does not touch deeply enough the heart of the South's need and condition. Dr. Donald Agnew is the Director of this Project. When you are in Atlanta soon, I would like for you to discuss this matter with him and Dr. Dickey and probe the possibility of Mercer obtaining some assistance to participate with the other institutions in the Project along the lines you suggest.

The Summer Institute you specifically propose may be similar to a program undertaken by Dillard University which was reported in the Saturday Review recently. I enclose the issue herewith.

Yours very truly,

Rufus C. Harris

Rufus C. Harris

THIS STUDENT	NEEDS			
	Eng. Usage	Math	Vocabulary	Reading Compr.
Colbert, Ann C.		X	X	
Cooper, Sandra M.	X	X	X	X
Dumas, Fred	X		X	X
Ford, Reuben	X			X
Foster, Barbara		X		X
Harvey, William	X	X	X	
Heggs, Joe, Jr.	X		X	X
Johnson, Elizabeth J.				X
Johnson, Roselyn		X		
Lockett, Inez	X		X	
Madison, Milton C.	X			X
Mason, Geraldine	X		X	X
Mathew, Pearlie M.	X		X	X
Mitcham, Samaria				X
Norwood, Sandra C.		X	X	
Oliver, Maggie		X	X	X
Pitts, Vernon S., Jr.			X	
Shines, Isadore			X	X
Stewart, Vivian				X
Worthy	X	X	X	X
	10	8	13	14

TEST RESULTS

Requested by: Special Group

COLBERT Ann C.

Last Name First Middle

Date:

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	31	90		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		40	289	62	
	Quantitative		24	282	29	
	Total		64	288	51	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		19	147	34	
	Comprehension		17	154	58	
	Rate		23	151	50	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		15	4		
	Restraint		23	8		
	Sociability		20	5		
	Emotional Stability		20	6		
	Friendliness		15	5		
	Cooperativeness		16	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	385		
			Math:	300		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary developed

Math training

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

COOPER, Sandra M. June 17, 1964

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	30	90		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		23	270	21	
	Quantitative		19	273	13	
	Total		42	273	14	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		16	143	22	
	Comprehension		10	136	12	
	Rate		11	135	07	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		20	6		
	Restraint		18	6		
	Sociability		26	7		
	Emotional Stability		20	6		
	Friendliness		13	4		
	Cooperativeness		13	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	285		
			Math:	270		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary, math and reading development as well as English usage.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

DUMAS, Fred

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	22	80		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		12	253	03	
	Quantitative		30	293	49	
	Total		42	273	14	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		4	128	01	
	Comprehension		13	120	01	
	Rate		7	130	03	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		6	1		
	Restraint		19	6		
	Sociability		18	4		
	Emotional Stability		22	6		
	Friendliness		22	8		
	Cooperativeness		14	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal: 230			
			Math: 380			

Recommendation:

Very weak student. Needs English usage, vocabulary and reading development.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

FOSTER, Barbara A.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	39	99		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		39	288	62	
	Quantitative		22	279	23	
	Total		61	286	46	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		23	152	52	
	Comprehension		17	154	58	
	Rate		17	142	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		14	4		
	Restraint		18	6		
	Sociability		25	7		
	Emotional Stability		17	5		
	Friendliness		16	5		
	Cooperativeness		15	4		

College Board Prediction: Verbal: 375

Math: 275

Recommendation:

Needs math development

Speed in reading

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

HARVEY, William

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	30	90		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		24	271	21	
	Quantitative		22	279	23	
	Total		46	276	21	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		14	140	17	
	Comprehension		17	154	58	
	Rate		17	142	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		19	5		
	Restraint		23	8		
	Sociability		27	8		
	Emotional Stability		16	4		
	Friendliness		11	3		
	Cooperativeness		9	2		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	295		
			Math:	275		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary, math and English usage.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

HEGGS, Joe Jr.

Last Name First Middle Date:

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	36	96		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		23	270	21	
	Quantitative		33	299	60	
	Total		56	282	35	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		17	144	29	
	Comprehension		14	147	32	
	Rate		14	139	15	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		26	9		
	Restraint		22	7		
	Sociability		30	10		
	Emotional Stability		21	6		
	Friendliness		14	4		
	Cooperativeness		15	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	288		
			Math:	430		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary and reading development as well as English usage.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

JOHNSON, Elizabeth J.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	51	111		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		50	300	87	
	Quantitative		29	291	45	
	Total		79	298	76	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		30	159	71	
	Comprehension		17	154	58	
	Rate		29	159	73	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		18	5		
	Restraint		22	7		
	Sociability		17	4		
	Emotional Stability		15	5		
	Friendliness		16	5		
	Cooperativeness		10	2		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	450		
			Math:	400		

Recommendation:

A good risk

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

JOHNSON, Roselyn

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	37	96		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		47	296	80	
	Quantitative		27	288	40	
	Total		74	294	67	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		34	162	82	
	Comprehension		17	154	58	
	Rate		17	142	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		17	5		
	Restraint		22	7		
	Sociability		20	5		
	Emotional Stability		14	4		
	Friendliness		18	6		
	Cooperativeness		20	6		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	440		
			Math:	375		

Recommendation:

A good risk

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

LOCKETT, Inez

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	37	96		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		34	283	49	
	Quantitative		35	303	68	
	Total		69	291	57	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		19	147	34	
	Comprehension		18	155	58	
	Rate		18	143	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		20	6		
	Restraint		16	5		
	Sociability		27	8		
	Emotional Stability		21	6		
	Friendliness		14	4		
	Cooperativeness		12	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	350		
			Math:	430		

Recommendation:

Borderline student. Needs English usage and vocabulary development

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

MADISON, Milton C.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	38	98		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		24	271	21	
	Quantitative		39	311	82	
	Total		63	287	46	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		29	158	71	
	Comprehension		10	136	12	
	Rate		20	147	40	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		21	6		
	Restraint		17	5		
	Sociability		28	8		
	Emotional Stability		15	4		
	Friendliness		13	3		
	Cooperativeness		12	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	290		
			Math:	500		

Recommendation:

Very weak in English and in reading comprehension

There is good potential, however.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

MASON, Geraldine

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	28	88		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		28	276	35	
	Quantitative		25	284	33	
	Total		53	280	30	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		17	144	29	
	Comprehension		11	139	15	
	Rate		11	135	07	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		20	6		
	Restraint		17	5		
	Sociability		27	8		
	Emotional Stability		21	6		
	Friendliness		18	6		
	Cooperativeness		10	2		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	340		
			Math:	340		

Recommendation:

Needs English usage, vocabulary and reading development

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

MATHEW, Pearlie M

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	25	84		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		25	273	25	
	Quantitative		27	288	40	
	Total		52	280	30	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		15	141	17	
	Comprehension		12	142	23	
	Rate		12	136	12	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		18	5		
	Restraint		23	8		
	Sociability		23	6		
	Emotional Stability		20	6		
	Friendliness		12	4		
	Cooperativeness		13	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	300		
			Math:	375		

Recommendation:

Needs English usage, vocabulary and reading development

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name . First Middle Date:

MITCHAM, Samaria R.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	38	98		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		33	282	49	
	Quantitative		33	299	60	
	Total		66	289	51	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		25	155	60	
	Comprehension		14	147	32	
	Rate		14	139	15	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		20	6		
	Restraint		17	5		
	Sociability		25	7		
	Emotional Stability		14	4		
	Friendliness		12	4		
	Cooperativeness		13	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	375		
			Math:	430		

Recommendation:

Needs reading development but is a good risk

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name . First Middle Date:

NORWOOD, Sandra C.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	32	91		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		30	278	40	
	Quantitative		21	277	19	
	Total		51	279	25	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		15	141	17	
	Comprehension		18	155	58	
	Rate		18	143	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		9	2		
	Restraint		16	5		
	Sociability		24	6		
	Emotional Stability		11	3		
	Friendliness		9	3		
	Cooperativeness		7	1		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	325		
			Math:	285		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary and math development

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

OLIVER, Maggie E.
Last Name First Middle Date:

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	36	96		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		31	279	40	
	Quantitative		20	275	16	
	Total		51	279	25	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		12	137	09	
	Comprehension		14	147	32	
	Rate		17	142	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		19	5		
	Restraint		23	8		
	Sociability		12	3		
	Emotional Stability		5	1		
	Friendliness		21	7		
	Cooperativeness		14	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	335		
			Math:	275		

Recommendation:

Needs vocabulary and math development

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS

Requested by:

Last Name First Middle

Date:

PITTS, Vernon S., Jr.

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	40	100		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		46	295	76	
	Quantitative		35	303	68	
	Total		81	299	76	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		24	153	52	
	Comprehension		19	157	64	
	Rate		21	148	46	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		14	4		
	Restraint		18	6		
	Sociability		24	6		
	Emotional Stability		12	3		
	Friendliness		9	3		
	Cooperativeness		14	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	425		
			Math:	437		

Recommendation:

A good risk

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

REUBEN, Ford

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	47	107		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		36	285	53	
	Quantitative		38	309	79	
	Total		74	294	67	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		30	159	71	
	Comprehension		16	152	52	
	Rate		32	161	78	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		15	4		
	Restraint		24	8		
	Sociability		27	8		
	Emotional Stability		21	6		
	Friendliness		14	4		
	Cooperativeness		10	2		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	375		
			Math:	475		

Recommendation:

A good risk

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

SHINES, Isadore

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	28	87		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		28	276	35	
	Quantitative		28	290	45	
	Total		56	282	35	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		18	146	34	
	Comprehension		12	142	23	
	Rate		12	136	12	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		19	5		
	Restraint		23	8		
	Sociability		27	8		
	Emotional Stability		21	6		
	Friendliness		16	6		
	Cooperativeness		14	4		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	340		
			Math:	375		

Recommendation:

Borderline risk. Can use reading development and vocabulary building

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

STEWART, Vivian

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	41	100		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		35	284	53	
	Quantitative		40	313	84	
	Total		70	295	67	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		18	146	34	
	Comprehension		15	150	45	
	Rate		17	142	27	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		8	2		
	Restraint		20	6		
	Sociability		21	5		
	Emotional Stability		13	4		
	Friendliness		8	2		
	Cooperativeness		12	3		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	360		
			Math:	510		

Recommendation:

A good risk. Vocabulary development will be helpful

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

TEST RESULTS Requested by:

Last Name First Middle Date:

WORTHY, Cynthia

Test No.	Name of Test	Norm	Raw Score	Standard Score	Percentile	Interpretation
1.	Mental Ability	H.S. Coll.	16	76		
2.	College Ability	12th gr.				
	Verbal		17	262	10	
	Quantitative		20	275	16	
	Total		37	270	11	
3.	Nelson-Denny Reading	12th gr.				
	Vocabulary		18	146	34	
	Comprehension		13	145	27	
	Rate		13	137	12	
4.	Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey	H.S.				
	Active		19	5		
	Restraint		11	3		
	Sociability		12	3		
	Emotional Stability		14	4		
	Friendliness		20	6		
	Cooperativeness		8	6		
	College Board Prediction:		Verbal:	250		
			Math:	275		

Recommendation:

Generally weak. Needs English usage, math and reading development.

MERCER UNIVERSITY GUIDANCE CENTER
MACON, GEORGIA

Test Administrator: P.E. Maffeo

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

June 19, 1964

file

Mike folder: Mercer Univ + file in Universities

JUN 19 1964

Dr. Rufus C. Harris
Mercer University
Local Mail

Dear Dr. Harris:

During a recent conference with you, I said that I would like to share a few thoughts concerning the culturally deprived in our region and possible ways of dealing with their educational problems.

Of course, Negroes are the largest group of culturally deprived in our area, and this discussion is concerned primarily with these persons. However, any approach that is chosen for dealing with this problem should include the culturally deprived of other races as well.

You know, only too well, the general tragic condition which exists in Negro educational institutions, but they are only a part of the situation which has systematically denied opportunities to the Negro. It has become clear that educational institutions can abide by the law and still not deal substantially with the Negro's educational problem. During the past year, we have encouraged several Negroes to apply for admission to Mercer. Only two have been admitted. Even though one of them was the valedictorian of her class, both are considered borderline cases by the admissions committee and were required to take remedial courses as a condition for admission.

It is true that the standard tests do not adequately measure the academic ability of the Negro.

Lawrence E. Dennis summarizes this problem in a recent issue of the PHI DELTA KAPPAN: "the college prospects of Negro youth have been limited to some degree by the ever-widening use of standard testing materials, materials which do not, it is generally hypothesized, recognize cultural differences. Whatever the precise effect of standard tests have been, one thing is clear: they have been effective devices for screening out Negroes, but not for finding Negro talent." (May 1964, Vol. XLV, Number 8, "Equalizing Opportunity in Colleges and Universities.") Integrated institutions such as Mercer face something of a dilemma. We must not lower our admission standards, for that would be discrimination in reverse; but, on the other hand, we have no proven way of determining whether a Negro student can be successful prior to actual performance in our program. With some difficulty we have opened our doors without regard to race only to find that the vast majority of Negroes are not qualified for admission.

Consequently, for a long time the burden will continue to fall upon Negro colleges and universities, and while a few of these may be strengthened, it is not likely that the majority will be sufficient to meet the challenge of culturally deprived students. Indeed, these Negro colleges are one of the central features of the problem.

Mercer could break new ground and provide educational leadership by inaugurating a program for the culturally deprived in this region. However, if Mercer is to make more than a symbolic gesture toward the problem, we must face squarely the necessity of compensatory education for these people.

The best suggestion for such a program of compensatory education is that it be conducted in a summer institute. It would be necessary for the student to enter the program well before he graduates from high school. At the outset, perhaps, rising seniors could be admitted. They could return the following

summer for more advanced college preparatory work, and a new group of seniors could also be admitted. In addition to college preparatory work, the institute could help the student who plans to transfer to a better secondary school.

Expert counsel would be readily available concerning the curriculum of the institute. The curriculum would probably include reading development, English usage, vocabulary development, mathematics, and, perhaps, foreign language.

Records of the participants' achievement in the institute and follow-up studies of their subsequent achievement in high school and college would provide excellent data for developing accurate tests for the culturally deprived.

Such a venture would require substantial financial resources. If the participants were charged more than a nominal fee, those among the culturally deprived needing most assistance would be excluded. It would be necessary to seek support from foundations or other sources which may be interested in a venture of this kind.

I have discussed the idea at length with Dr. Cable. With your permission, we would like to submit a proposal for a summer institute for the culturally deprived.

Respectfully submitted,

Joseph M. Hendricks

js

cc: Dr. Paul Cable

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

File: Universities - Mercer

August 16, 1964

Mr. Joseph M. Hendricks
Office of the Dean of Men
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Joe:

I think the proposal is fine, and am strongly curious to learn what happens to it with (a) President Harris and (b) beyond.

I detect a spreading conviction among those to whom you may be submitting this that the secondary level is too late. You might consider either (a) putting in some words that note your limitations and that suggest that you would if you could start with lower grades; or (b) justify on its merits starting at the 10th grade.

On the technical side, given your five year program and given Macon's grade-a-year descent, I keep sensing some snarl with the 10th grade start, but I can't quite think it out so maybe there isn't one.

I hope you'll keep me informed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PROPOSAL

In the decade since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Brown v. Topeka in 1954, many educational institutions in the South have opened their doors to Negroes. The most significant aspect of this development is not that it has afforded a few Negroes better educational opportunity, but that it has helped uncover a critical problem of cultural deprivation which cannot adequately be dealt with by removing barriers of legality and custom.

The "separate but equal" doctrine long proclaimed by southern apologists is false on its face, for the educational program in Negro schools has never been comparable to that of white schools. The doctrine is all the more ridiculous because it refuses to acknowledge that the Negro is automatically and systematically denied educational opportunity by the very culture of which he is a part. Education is often held forth as the best solution to the economic, political, social, and religious conditions in the Negro community, but these conditions are not static awaiting the application of the educational process. They work dynamically to hamper and impede the education of the Negro; they deny the Negro learning experiences others can take for granted; they dull motivation and sense of purpose, they dampen ambition and limit vision. Education cannot be an effective solution to the problems imposed upon the Negro by a segregated society, unless it includes compensation for the deprivation caused by conditions it eventually aims to reform.

As it has been implemented in the South, desegregation has touched only the surface not the core of the Negro's educational problem. In the elementary and secondary schools, the process has moved at such slow pace that few Negroes have actually benefited, and few schools in rural areas have desegregated at all. In many instances Negroes must hurdle a series of obstacles which include a battery of examinations in order to transfer to a desegregated school. Most of the desegregated colleges and universities will admit only the ablest Negro students, and only a few of these institutions have experimented with methods to identify Negro students who are able to succeed in college despite low scores on standardized tests.

Seldom do programs of desegregation include compensatory education for Negro students at any educational level. Thus, desegregation has worked primarily to benefit those Negroes who already have advantages and have managed to attain academic preparation despite,or because of, the segregated society, and it has made little impact on the rank and file, the vast majority of the Negro community. Segregation on the basis of academic ability, preparation, and other qualifications has been almost as effective in excluding Negroes as segregation by race.

Those who would seek a solution by simply intensifying the current process of desegregation, rather than implementing substantial changes in the process which would include compensatory measures, should be aware that such an approach will be hard pressed to maintain relevance to the Negro's educational problems which are rapidly growing in complexity and intricacy. As the South becomes more industrialized, and industry more automated, job opportunities for those with average academic

preparation, not to mention the illiterate and unskilled, will radically decrease in number. With the rise in unemployment, social unrest will increase, and the South can expect the future to bring continuation, not termination, of racial turmoil and conflict.

Mercer University feels a responsibility to take a forward step in dealing with these problems in our region. The University was founded in 1833,and is sponsored by the Georgia Baptist Convention. It is located in Macon, Georgia, near the center of the State. Macon is a city of approximately 125,000, about one-third of whom are Negroes. The surrounding area is predominantly rural with the exception of Warner Robins, near which is located a Strategic Air Command base. Mercer is the only desegregated institution of higher education in the area.

The twelfth grade of the secondary schools in Macon will be integrated under court order in September. The proposal of the Board of Education accepted by the Court calls for desegregation of an additional grade each year. The two Negro high schools in the city do not receive adequate financial support and are not administered effectively. The plight of Negro schools in surrounding rural counties is even more serious,and Negroes in these areas will be hesitant to press for desegregation of white schools.

In the summer of 1964, Mercer faculty and students undertook a tutorial program for Negro students who had been approved for transfer to previously all white high schools. The transfers were given a series of tests in the Mercer Testing and Guidance Center to determine areas of weakness. Classes in reading development, English usage, and

foreign language training were held from six to nine o'clock each Tuesday and Thursday evening for eight weeks. Although a full evaluation of the venture will depend on the performance of the students in their senior year, the program operated efficiently, and the students responded diligently and enthusiastically.

This experience has encouraged us to consider a program wider in scope which would deal more directly with the problems of the culturally deprived. While Negroes compose the largest group of culturally deprived in the South, people of other races are also affected by pockets of poverty and other adverse conditions. This proposal has been prepared primarily with Negroes in mind, but the program would be open to the culturally deprived of all races in the area. Therefore, we submit this proposal for a program of compensatory education for culturally deprived secondary school students in the middle-Georgia area.

Purpose

The Institute will provide culturally deprived secondary students in the middle-Georgia area with remedial and enrichment educational experiences designed to help them to reach self understanding concerning their problems and undeveloped capacities and give them added preparation for entrance into quality institutions of higher education. The Institute will provide an opportunity to study culturally deprived students which will enlarge understanding of their peculiar problems and contribute to the development of instructional techniques and methods for these students.

Description of Program

The Institute will be a residential program for one hundred secondary school students who have capacities to achieve successfully in higher education but have been deprived of adequate educational preparation by their cultural situation. Students will enroll for two summers following completion of the tenth year and the eleventh year of secondary school.

Courses will be offered in reading development, English usage, mathematics, speech correction, music, and art. Students will not be graded for course work, nor will they receive credit. The program will include directed reading, discussion of contemporary history, performances by outstanding musicians, instrumental groups, artists, and lecturers. Physical education and recreation will also be scheduled.

Location

The Institute will operate on the Mercer University campus in Macon, Georgia.

Dates

The Institute will be scheduled for eight weeks during the summer for a period of five years.

Expenses

Tuition, room, board, travel, spending money, and instructional supplies will be provided for each student.

Identification and Selection

Principals of secondary schools in the middle-Georgia area will be asked to nominate a specific number of students. Students will be selected from rural as well as urban areas. Evidence that the student has been deprived by his cultural situation must be submitted. The students must have completed grade ten in secondary school and meet the criteria outlined below:

1. An I.Q. score on standardized tests of approximately 100 or higher
2. Rank in the upper thirty percent of his class
3. Over-all grade average of "B"
4. Recommendations from teacher, principal, and counselor
5. Evidence of emotional and social maturity
6. Evidence of good physical health

Students nominated will be brought together at the Mercer University Testing and Guidance Center for tests to determine final selection. Final selections will be made by the Director of the Institute.

Staff

The Director of the Institute will be an expert in the field of education for the culturally deprived. He will be equipped by academic preparation and professional experience to refine the educational program of the Institute and to develop a program of research on the problems of the culturally deprived which will be implemented during the Institute. He will assume this responsibility each summer for the five-year period and will be free to devote what time is needed before and after the

Institute is in session.

The Consultant will also be a specialist in education for the culturally deprived. He will assist the implementation of the research program and will be available for consultation concerning the general program of the Institute and special problems as they arise.

Approximately ten teachers and one counselor will compose the instruction and counseling staff. Teachers will be selected on the basis of scholarship, professional background, and knowledge of the nature and needs of culturally deprived students. Professional background, experience, and knowledge of the nature and needs of culturally deprived students will be major factors considered in selection of a counselor.

Research and Evaluation

The Director will develop a research design and ways and means of evaluating the Institute.

BUDGET

Item	One Year	Five Years
Development and Refinement of the Program		$ 5,000
Room, Board, Fees ($188.70 per student)	$ 18,870	94,350
Travel and Spending money ($45 per student)	450	2,250
Salaries		
Director (1)	2,500	12,500
Consultant (1)	1,500	7,500
Instructors (10)($1200 per instructor)	12,000 ~~18,000~~	60,000 ~~90,000~~
Counselor (1)	1,200	6,000
Dormitory counselors (2) ($400 each)	800	4,000
Secretary (1)	750	3,750
Administrative Expense and Supplies		
Office Equipment and Supplies	2,000	5,000
Travel (Director)	1,000	5,000
Miscellaneous	500	2,500
Testing		
Examination Materials and Services	250	1,250
Instructional Expense		
Art		
Texts and Materials	1,700	8,500
English Usage		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Mathematics		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Music		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Reading Development		
Materials and Supplies	190	575
Speech		
Texts, Instruments, Supplies	1,000	3,500
Directed Activity		
Physical Education & Recreation	200	1,000
Lecturers	400	2,000
Films	400	2,000
Socials	200	1,000
Research	~~49,410~~ 47,410	~~219,775~~ 229,775

Les: LWD ✓

Being something of a NON-expert on these matters, I doubt I can be of much positive help.

'Fraid I let my pedagogical proclivities get the better of me - I treated the writing as I would that of a student's paper (see scribbling all over.)

But -- don't you think their presentation needs to be dressed up, if they hope to get some foundation

(over)

money?
Overall, the idea is a good one, in my opinion.

LJE

File Universities - Mercer

PROPOSAL

Actually, wasn't case Brown vs Board of Ed'n of Topeka?

In the decade since the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of Brown v. Topeka in 1954, many educational institutions in the South have opened their doors to Negroes. The most significant aspect of this development is not that it has afforded a few Negroes better educational opportunity, but that it has helped uncover a critical problem of cultural deprivation which cannot adequately be dealt with by removing barriers of legality and custom.

Since event is general knowledge, would this be better?: ....Court in the 1954 school segregation cases, many editorial....

The "separate but equal" doctrine long proclaimed by southern apologists is false on its face, for the educational program in Negro schools has never been comparable to that of white schools. This doctrine precludes acknowledging ~~is all the more ridiculous because it refuses to acknowledge~~ that the Negro is automatically and systematically denied educational opportunity by the very culture of which he is a part. Education is often held forth as the best solution to the economic, political, social, and religious conditions in the Negro community, but these conditions are not static awaiting the application of the educational process. They work dynamically to hamper and impede the education of the Negro; they deny the Negro learning experiences others can take for granted; they dull motivation and sense of purpose; they dampen ambition and limit vision. Education cannot be an effective solution to the problems imposed upon the Negro by a segregated society, unless it includes compensation for the deprivation caused by conditions it eventually aims to reform.

Not a good idea to call "opposition" ridiculous even if it's true.

compound infinitive, redundant - just one verb?

As it has been implemented in the South, desegregation has touched only the surface, not the core of, the Negro's educational problem. In the elementary and secondary schools, the process has moved at such slow pace that few Negroes have actually benefited; ~~and~~ few schools in rural areas have desegregated at all. In many instances Negroes must hurdle a series of obstacles which include a battery of examinations in order to transfer to a desegregated school. Most of the desegregated colleges and universities will admit only the ablest Negro students, and only a few of these institutions have experimented with methods to identify Negro students who are able to succeed in college despite low scores on standardized tests.

Seldom do programs of desegregation include compensatory education for Negro students at any educational level. Thus, desegregation has worked primarily to benefit those Negroes who already have advantages and have managed to attain academic preparation despite, or because of, the segregated society, and it has made little impact on the rank and file, the vast majority of ~~the~~ Negro ~~community.~~ students Segregation on the basis of academic ability, preparation, and other qualifications has been almost as effective in excluding Negroes as segregation by race.

Summer prep school program as reported in Ed. section of recent Time or Newsweek!

good point - ought to be placed at the beginning of a paragraph

Those who would seek a solution by simply intensifying the current process of desegregation, rather than implementing substantial changes in the process which would include compensatory measures, should be aware that such an approach will be hard-pressed to maintain relevance to the Negro's educational problems which are rapidly growing in complexity and intricacy. As the South becomes more industrialized, and industry more automated, job opportunities for those with average academic

preparation, not to mention the illiterate and unskilled, will radically decrease in number. With the rise in unemployment, social unrest will increase, and the South can expect the future to bring continuation, not termination, of racial turmoil and conflict.

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foreign language training were held from six to nine o'clock each Tuesday and Thursday evening for eight weeks. Although a full evaluation of the venture will ~~depend on~~ ?await? the performance of the students in their senior year, the program operated efficiently, and the students responded diligently and enthusiastically.

Is this sentence somewhat self-contradictory?

This experience has encouraged us to consider a program wider in scope which would deal more directly with the problems of the culturally deprived. While Negroes compose the largest group of culturally deprived in the South, people of other races are also affected by pockets of poverty and other adverse conditions. This proposal has been prepared primarily with Negroes in mind, but the program would be open to the culturally deprived of all races in the area. Therefore, we submit this proposal for a program of compensatory education for culturally deprived secondary school students in the middle-Georgia area.

What other minority groups in Macon area? Would reinforce case, I think, if specific - even just mentioning names.

?Full name?

Purpose

The Institute will provide culturally deprived secondary students in the middle-Georgia area with remedial and enrichment educational experiences designed to help them ? to reach self understanding concerning their problems and undeveloped capacities ? and give them added preparation for entrance into quality institutions of higher education. The Institute will provide an opportunity to study culturally deprived students which will enlarge understanding of their peculiar problems and contribute to the development of instructional techniques and methods for these students.

FUZZY.. means what?

name problem again!

Description of Program

The Institute will be a residential program for one hundred secondary school students who have capacities to achieve successfully in higher education but have been deprived of adequate educational preparation by their cultural situation. Students will enroll for two summers following completion of the tenth year and the eleventh year of secondary school.

Courses will be offered in reading development, English usage, mathematics, speech correction, music, and art. Students will not be graded for course work, nor will they receive credit. The program will include directed reading, discussion of contemporary history, performances by outstanding musicians, instrumental groups, artists, and lecturers. Physical education and recreation will also be scheduled.

Location

The Institute will operate on the Mercer University campus in Macon, Georgia.

Dates

The Institute will be scheduled for eight weeks during the summer for a period of five years.

Expenses

Tuition, room, board, travel, spending money, and instructional supplies will be provided for each student.

Identification and Selection

Principals of secondary schools in the middle-Georgia area will be asked to nominate a specific number of students. Students will be selected from rural as well as urban areas. Evidence that the student has been deprived by his cultural situation must be submitted. The students must have completed grade ten in secondary school and meet the criteria outlined below:

1. An I.Q. score on standardized tests of approximately 100 or higher
2. Rank in the upper thirty percent of his class
3. Over-all grade average of "B"
4. Recommendations from teacher, principal, and counselor
5. Evidence of emotional and social maturity
6. Evidence of good physical health

Students nominated will be brought together at the Mercer University Testing and Guidance Center for tests to determine final selection. Final selections will be made by the Director of the Institute.

Staff

Perhaps clearer if opening sentence listed staff, by titles & numbers. Then be specific about each.

a word used much too often, overworked until it has become weak.

The Director of the Institute will be an expert in the field of education for the culturally deprived. He will be equipped by academic preparation and professional experience to refine the educational program of the Institute and to develop a program of research on the problems of the culturally deprived which will be implemented during the Institute. He will assume this responsibility each summer for the five-year period and will be free to devote what time is needed before and after the

Institute is in session.

The Consultant will also be a specialist in education for the culturally deprived. He will assist the implementation of the research program and will be available for consultation concerning the general program of the Institute and special problems as they arise.

Approximately ten teachers and one counselor will compose the instruction and counseling staff. Teachers will be selected on the basis of scholarship, professional background, and knowledge of the nature and needs of culturally deprived students. Professional background, experience, and knowledge of the nature and needs of culturally deprived students will be major factors considered in selection of a counselor.

Research and Evaluation

The Director will develop a research design and ways and means of evaluating the Institute.

BUDGET

Item	One Year	Five Years
Development and Refinement of the Program		$ 5,000
Room, Board, Fees ($188.70 per student)	$ 18,870	94,350
Travel and Spending money ($45 per student)	450	2,250
Salaries		
Director (1)	2,500	12,500
Consultant (1)	1,500	7,500
Instructors (10)($1200 per instructor)	12,000 ~~10,000~~	60,000 ~~50,000~~
Counselor (1)	1,200	6,000
Dormitory counselors (2) ($400 each)	800	4,000
Secretary (1)	750	3,750
Administrative Expense and Supplies		
Office Equipment and Supplies	2,000	5,000
Travel (Director)	1,000	5,000
Miscellaneous	500	2,500
Testing		
Examination Materials and Services	250	1,250
Instructional Expense		
Art		
Texts and Materials	1,700	8,500
English Usage		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Mathematics		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Music		
Texts and Materials	500	1,500
Reading Development		
Materials and Supplies	190	575
Speech		
Texts, Instruments, Supplies	1,000	3,500
Directed Activity		
Physical Education & Recreation	200	1,000
Lecturers	400	2,000
Films	400	2,000
Socials	200	1,000
Research	~~49,410~~ 47,410	219,775 229,775

File: Universities: Mercer

July 8, 1964

Mr. Joseph M. Hendricks
Office of the Dean of Men
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Joe:

I think your proposed letter is good. The only question I have to offer, if there is still time for one, has to do with the middle paragraph of the last page which, I think, might be made more explicit. As I understood you, you would plan a program which would be beneficial to a student participating in it for only one summer, but also designed for students who would come back for more than one summer; that you would, in fact, encourage this. If this is the intention, I think it should be said clearly. Specifically, would you want to say "students would need to participate, etc."?

Vernon Eagle passed on a strong suggestion from Frank Jennings that you go over to New Orleans and talk with Miss (Mrs.?) Lou Brant at Dillard; there is a middle name also, but I didn't get it. Miss Brant, according to Jennings, knows the Dillard program up and down, its achievements, and its short-comings.

Incidentally, I would be grateful, in case you decide to send the letter to New World, if you would send it in such a way as to be for information and not necessarily for action. I think the response would be the same, but I would be appreciative if you would handle it that way. If you have already written to New World, it's all right.

Best of luck, and let me know what I can do to help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF LWD

Rec'd 7/1/64

for Brant

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

June 30, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Posey and I enjoyed our visit with you last week, and we appreciate your very helpful counsel.

President Harris was willing to follow an approach much as you suggested. Enclosed is a rough draft of a letter we have drafted for him. He will not return to his office until next week; so, if you have any suggestions about the letter, I might be able to work them in as he composes the final draft.

I shall also try to let you know to which foundations he sends the letter. I learn that he is well-acquainted with a member of the Stern family. His former secretary (Catherine Davis visited here this week) also believes that Dr. Harris is acquainted with David Hunter. She also has corresponded with Flora Rhind. I hope these contacts will prove to be helpful.

We shall begin formulating a detailed proposal very soon so that it will be ready if any of the foundations express interest. Please drop me a note if you think of anything else that I can do.

Cordially,

Joe Hendricks

Joseph M. Hendricks

JMH/js

Enclosure

Mercer University is interested in offering a program of compensatory education for culturally deprived high school students in the middle-Georgia area. Negroes are the largest group of culturally deprived in our area, and such a program would be planned primarily with these persons in mind. However, the program would be open to culturally deprived of other races as well.

In September, 1963, the first Negro students were admitted to Mercer. Although we have actively searched for Negro students, only three have met the requirements for admission to the freshman class in 1964. Even though these students ranked high in their classes and one was valedictorian, all are considered borderline cases by the Committee on Admissions and will be required to take remedial courses.

Negroes in the South have lived in a cultural situation which has systematically denied them opportunity. Unfortunately, integration has not made substantial impact upon the Negro's educational problem. The majority of the integrated schools will admit only the ablest Negro students, and segregation on the basis of academic qualification can be almost as effective in excluding Negores as segregation by race. It does not appear likely that public institutions in the deep South will do more to meet the Negro's educational problem than is required by law. For this reason, it may be the private college motivated by a sense of responsibility for the culturally deprived which can be of

greatest service in meeting the educational need of the Negro realistically and effectively.

Mercer was founded in 1833 and is supported by the Georgia Baptist Convention. It is located in Macon, Georgia, near the center of the State. Macon is a city of approximately 125,000, about one-third of whom are Negroes. Mercer is the only desegregated institution of higher education in the area.

The long-standing concern for social justice at Mercer has enabled the institution to achieve the respect of the Negro community. For two decades Mercer professors and students have provided leadership in the Macon Council on Human Relations, until recently the only integrated organization in the city. During the administration of Mayor Edgar Wilson, a Mercer law professor, Macon integrated the lunch counters, the public library, the golf course, ballpark, parks and playgrounds, city busses, and made great progress in employment of Negroes in business establishments. This was accomplished without serious incident, and few demonstrations were required except in the desegregation of the city transit company which is owned by a recalcitrant segregationist. Throughout this process, the Negro leadership has consistently sought the counsel of Mercer professors, and the University can claim some credit for the peace and order which has marked this transition.

The twelfth grade of the Bibb County School System will be integrated

under court order in September. The proposal of the Board of Education accepted by the Court calls for desegregation of an additional grade each year. The case has been appealed to a higher court which may require the process to be speeded up. The two Negro high schools in the city do not receive adequate financial support and are not administered effectively. The plight of Negro schools in surrounding counties of the middle Georgia area is even more critical. These are predominantly rural areas, and Negro inhabitants will be more hesitant to press for integration of the schools.

This summer Mercer faculty and students have undertaken a tutorial program for Negro students who will transfer to previously all white high schools in the fall. The transfers were given a series of tests in the Mercer Testing Center to determine areas of weakness. Classes in reading development, English usage, and foreign language training are held from six to nine o'clock each Tuesday and Thursday evening. The program will be continued through the summer. Although it is too early to determine the effectiveness of the venture, the program is functioning orderly and efficiently, and the students have responded diligently and enthusiastically.

The summer institute we propose would have a much broader program and would be designed to deal more directly with the problems of the culturally deprived. It would be conducted over a period of six to eight weeks; and, in addition to reading development, English usage,

vocabulary development, mathematics, and language study, it would include enrichment activities such as directed reading, speech development, and music and art appreciation. The Pre-Freshman Program at Dillard University (Saturday Review) should provide excellent guidance in the development of the enrichment part of the program. Such a program would require most of the student's time, and it would be necessary to house the participants on the campus.

Since there are so few programs of this kind, the venture would necessarily be experimental in nature. In order for the program to be effective, students would need to participate in the program possibly several summers. We hope that the institute could be continued for at least five years. Careful records of the participants' achievement in the institute and follow-up studies of their subsequent achievement in high school and college would provide needed information about the culturally deprived and possibly data for developing better measurements of their ability than is afforded by standard tests.

Such an undertaking will, of course, require substantial financial support. If the Foundation is interested in a venture of this kind, we should like to submit a formal proposal for a program which would include detailed curriculum and arrangements and an estimate of cost. We should also be pleased to entertain a representative who could ascertain the possibilities for a successful program of this kind in the middle Georgia area.

Rec'd 11/6/64

MERCER UNIVERSITY

MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

November 5, 1964

LE
PA
BW
SW. Final

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sending along a final draft of the Proposal for Compensatory Education. President Harris has circulated it to some of his friends in Washington, and I am conferring with Mr. Teasley of the Economic Opportunities Program about possible assistance.

Hope to see you soon.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph M. Hendricks

JMH/js

Enclosure

Recd 3/19/65

MERCER UNIVERSITY

MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

March 18, 1965

✓ LE
✓ JV
✓ AV
PAV
SW-file

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Sorry for the delay in sending these proposals. I had to make some more copies. Will bring you up to date at the Athens meeting.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph M. Hendricks

JMH/s

enclosures

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

Universities

file

April 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am enclosing a couple of replies from Foundations, which I thought you would find interesting. The response from the Rockefeller Foundation is to a letter I wrote Mr. DeVinney after returning to Mercer.

I should very much like DeVinney to come down here. Please let me know of any ideas you may have.

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph M. Hendricks

JMH/s

enclosures

The Rockefeller Foundation
111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

April 5, 1965

Dear Dean Hendricks:

Thank you for your letter of March 31. I enjoyed the opportunity of meeting you and talking about the program at Mercer. The officers directly concerned with the Foundation's Equal Opportunity Program are continuing to think about some of the problems which you and I discussed. Whether or when we will be able to find a way within our program to be helpful in the situation you outlined I am unable to say at present.

If I am able to arrange it sometime, I would enjoy visiting you at Mercer to get a little better acquainted with the activities and problems of improving educational opportunities in the region. I will get in touch with you if this becomes possible.

Sincerely yours,

Leland DeVinney

Leland DeVinney
Associate Director

Dean Joseph M. Hendricks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

LCD:jw

ALFRED P. SLOAN FOUNDATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020

ARNOLD J. ZURCHER
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 2, 1965

Dean Joseph M. Hendricks
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dean Hendricks:

I have read with a great deal of interest the statement which you recently sent to the Foundation concerning your plan for a remediation institute for Negro and other culturally deprived students in your area who might be admitted to your institution. Having had some experience with this problem, I feel I can say that we believe your plan has merit and is a wise one.

Unfortunately it would not be possible for us to participate financially in what you and your associates are undertaking. Over the last year or two we have been developing rather extensive programs in this area ourselves in cooperation with the predominantly Negro institutions in the South. In view of the magnitude of the commitment we have already made, we do not feel that it would be possible for us to assume further obligations, such as the one you suggest we might assume in your excellent letter of the 29th.

Sincerely,

Arnold J. Zurcher

Arnold J. Zurcher
Executive Director

AJZ:mg

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF
THE DEAN OF MEN

MS-file

December 31, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I can think of no better Christmas greeting than your memorandum announcing a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation. I shall be in Atlanta on January 6 for the executive committee meeting of the Georgia Council, and I would like very much to talk to you about this and other matters if you are available. I shall call when I arrive in Atlanta.

Wishing you a very happy new year!

Cordially,

Joe

Joseph M. Hendricks

file University
Mercer University

August 2, 1967

Dr. Joseph M. Hendricks
Dean of Men
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Joe:

It occurred to me you might be interested in the enclosed copy of a speech Ed Stanfield gave recently in New Orleans on the role of human relations councils. I think it certainly a valid position and well reasoned.

I have talked this morning with Frances about our meeting on next Monday or Tuesday and I am very happy it is scheduled so soon. I only hope we can make some progress.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Send Personal Corresp.

April 24th, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have checked with the University branch of the post office concerning ~~concerning~~ your change of address.

They informed me that it is a policy of the Post Office Department not to maintain such changes for more than two years, and therefore, they no longer have any record of your current address.

Cordially yours,

Dean

Dean G. Epley
Chairman

DGE:vmg

RECEIVED JUL 29 1957

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (UNIVERSITY BRANCH) 46, FLORIDA

OFFICE OF
PUBLIC INFORMATION

July 26 , 1957

Dear Harold -

So now it is " The authoritative Southern Regional Council " , yet , which speaks in TIME !

That is something you and I have been working on for years -- and I take the credit for laying the ground work. I'm glad tthat my successful successors have seized the roch .

I was indeed glad to hear from you .I miss our lunchings and lynchings and so on .

When , as and if you are down this way , lemme know .We 'll sample the quaint native drinks and I'll take you wawter skiing .Yes, I can do that .

I miss TIME 's sense of urgengy , but I am learning to like the academic life.

Give my best to all my friends, white and black, and especially to your more handsome half .

Bill H

You and Jane might get a guffaw of the following odd twist to Bobbie Burns ' poem- " The best planned lays of mice and men gae aft aglee " . Tis true . this pity .

Check by Minnie

August 30, 1957

Mr. Francis M. Wilhoit
Box 424
Carthage, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

I am happy to send you the information you requested about the Southern Regional Council.

Enclosed are several pieces of material generally descriptive of the Council and its activities, but for the sake of clarity here are brief answers to the questions you raised:

(a) The Council has taken a clear-cut stand in favor of the Supreme Court school decision and its implementation. The Council has been on record as favoring the elimination of segregation in general for some years prior to the Supreme Court decision.

(b) The Council's affiliate in Georgia is the Georgia Council on Human Relations (formerly the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation). This organization, as part of its program, is working for orderly compliance with the Supreme Court school decision. It has received financial assistance from the Southern Regional Council and carries on a professionally staffed program under the direction of Dr. Guy H. Wells. Its headquarters are also in this building at 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

(c) Within the last year, the Council has carried out a large scale survey of Negro registration and voting in the South. The findings figured largely in the recent debate in congress on ~~under~~ civil rights legislation. I am enclosing a mimeographed

preliminary report which will shortly be supplanted by a longer printed publication.

(d) We have nothing in print that gives a detailed description of the ways in which the Council sees its role and seeks to achieve its purposes. However, the enclosed material will give you at least a general idea.

If after looking over this letter and the enclosed material you have specific questions that I may answer, do not hesitate to write me again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

Box 424
Carthage, North Carolina
August 26, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am now completing a Ph.D. dissertation for Harvard on the subject of "The Politics of Desegregation in Georgia," and was wondering if you might be able to assist me in my researches. While the chief focus of interest is on Georgia politics, I am also keenly interested in the activities of such inter-racial groups as yours and their attitude toward the present segregation controversy. When I was a professor at Mercer, I collected as much data as possible; but since leaving Georgia, I am somewhat out of touch with affairs there.

I would, therefore, be deeply indebted to you if you could furnish me with a brief prospectus of the Southern Regional Council (any mimeographed sheet you might have available would be fine), and answers to the following queries:

a. Has the Council taken a direct stand either for or against segregation in the public schools?

b. Does the Council have a program for the long-range desegregation of Georgia schools?

c. Has the Council ever made a study of the extent of Negro vote deprivation in rural areas of Georgia?

d. What are the chief means through which the Council seeks to implement its purposes?

Any information you can furnish me will be of inestimable value in the completion of my dissertation and will be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you in advance for any help you can be to me, I remain

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit

Francis M. Wilhoit

October 2, 1957

Mr. Francis M. Wilhoit
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

Your request for a copy of "The Southern Resistance Movement and Implications for SRC" creates a slight problem for me. Actually, this is not a pamphlet or even a mimeographed document prepared for general distribution. It is an informal analysis prepared for internal use in our staff and board discussions. I am rather surprised that you heard of this obscure and transitory staff memo.

I am enclosing a copy, with the request that you not quote directly from it. If you wish to paraphrase or summarize some of the points made, that will be perfectly all right. This may sound rather odd, but such a procedure would relieve us of any "public relations" difficulty that might arise from the use of specific language that was not intended for public use.

On the off-chance that this is the case of mistaken identity, I am enclosing a special report on pro-segregation groups, which was prepared for general distribution some time ago.

If your dissertation is published, or if you have copies for circulation, I should appreciate a chance to read it.

I am sure it will be a useful contribution to the limited amount of analysis of this kind that has been done.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - "The Southern Resistance Movement..."
"Pro-Segregation Groups..."

RECEIVED OCT 1 1957

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

September 29, 1957

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The various materials you have sent me about the Council have been extremely valuable to me in winding up my dissertation. I would, however, like to impose upon your good nature to ask one more favor.

Specifically, I was wondering if you might have available a copy of your pamphlet, "The Southern Resistance Movement and Implications for SRC." In various places I have seen this referred to; and it sounds like the type of material that would be most valuable for my purposes.

Thank you again for your kind help and rest assured of my continued high regards for your group and your work.

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit

Francis M. Wilhoit

FMW/cj

Frances
Please
Send again
Return

RECEIVED OCT 7 1957

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

October 4, 1957

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 2 and for the material which you enclosed. I found both enclosures extremely interesting, brilliantly analytical, and just the type of data I need to fill in the interstices of my dissertation. I shall, of course, respect the confidence.

As for the confidential memorandum on resistance movements, I think I first saw that referred to in an article, perhaps in Phylon. I was particularly interested in the last two pages of it, for they coincide exactly with my thinking on the matter of tactics and strategy.

The dissertation should be completed and in the hands of Harvard officials by Christmas. There is a good chance of its being published next year. If, however, there is a delay, I shall try at least to loan you a manuscript copy. I have put my best efforts into the work, and its completion has consumed roughly two years. It is based on two years' residence in Georgia, discussions with students and old people (I taught at Mercer from 1955 till September of this year), personal observations, extensive interviews, and a perusal of a vast amount of documentary and manuscript data. I am sure that it is at least the best work of scholarship I have ever turned out.

Sent !!! 10/10/57 F.C.

Again let me thank you for your most generous cooperation and assure you of my continued best wishes in your vital and crucial work.

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit

Francis M. Wilhoit

P.S. I apologize for bringing the matter up again, but I have still not received the issues of your magazine which I wrote for. Did you perchance mail them to my Carthage address?

NCF: New South was mailed twice to Mr. Wilhoit - 9/9/57 and again to Univ of Miami - 9/27/57 - This was checked with Frances Mf.

October 10, 1957

Mr. Francis M. Wilhoit
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

Thanks for your recent letter and for your assurance that I will have an opportunity to read your dissertation.

I am sorry about the failure of the New South mailing to reach you. According to our records, the order was mailed twice, most recently to the University of Miami on September 27. We are trying again, I trust successfully this time.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

December 31, 1957

Mr. Francis M. Wilhoit
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

Unfortunately, the entire printing of Integration North and South has been exhausted, and we have only a couple of office copies. Though I haven't a copy I can give you, I am sending one separately with the request that you return it as soon as it has served your purpose.

I greatly enjoyed our conversation the other day and hope that we will have other opportunities to exchange views.

All the best to you in the new year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: 2 - Integration North and South
N. Y. Times Reprint - 12/25/57

Penn Terminal Hotel
New York
December 25, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is just a note to thank you for talking with me the other day and to request an additional favor of you.

Specifically, I would like a copy of your booklet on "Integration North and South," if you have one still available. I have seen it praised in many articles recently, and I believe it would be quite useful to me.

I thoroughly enjoyed exchanging views with you on Monday afternoon, and I feel that I benefited enormously from the talk. We in the South, I think, need to get together more often to exchange ideas and clash opinions.

Christmas greetings and best wishes for a creative and significant New Year.

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit

Francis M. Wilhoit

P.S. Please send the booklet, if available, to my Coral Gables address.

rec 2/13

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT

FRANCIS M. WILHOIT
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

February 10, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am returning today under separate cover your office copy of Integration North and South, which you were kind enough to loan me back in December. It was most interesting for my purposes, and I quoted from it several times. You did an excellent job of compilation in this work.

Your Progressive article was stimulating to read, although too brief. The prose was lambent and the thoughts luminous. One day I hope that you will do a longer appraisal of the situation ad interim.

As for myself, I am winding up the dissertation (up to page 340) and am now daily anticipating the delight of typing out END! It is certainly the best piece of research and analysis that I have ever done; and I hope to be able to get it published in the not too distant future.

Again many thanks for the loan and best wishes for the new year.

Very sincerely,

Francis M. Wilhoit

Francis M. Wilhoit

FMW/cj

Enc (separate cover): Integration North and South
N. Y. Times reprint

July 16, 1958

Professor Francis M. Wilhoit
Department of Government
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Mr. Wilhoit:

Thanks ever so much for sending me a copy of your stimulating chapter from your thesis on "The Puritan Ethos and the Status Quo." I have read it with great absorption and benefit. I agree with you entirely that this is a regrettably neglected cultural aspect of the deep South. Aside from Lillian Smith's impressionistic writings on the subject, I can think of no one else who has dealt with it meaningfully.

If you had had more space and attention to give to this subject, I would have suggested another dimension - namely, the increasing conflicts within Southern Protestantism, occasioned by the pressures of a changing world. Even the Southern Baptists have not been immune to the new moral stirrings within religious groups the world over. It is interesting to see how this contest between the old and the new manifests itself within Southern churches and religious bodies.

In any case, I appreciate your sharing this provocative material with me, and I hope you will send me any further portions of your thesis which you may produce.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

(Letter written on FBR's memo pads)

October 15, 1958

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice-President, University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Franklin:

First, a word of praise for your speech on the role of the moderate which we are publishing in New South under the title, "The Moderate." All of us here are much impressed with the thoughtful approach evidenced in this paper. We believe it will have meaning to many people throughout the South.

Second, I want to raise with you, unofficially, the possibilities of your serving on the Board of the Southern Regional Council. Several members of our nominating committee knew of your good reputation and dedicated interest in this field. Our professional staff - and I in particular - were pleased with their thinking of placing your name before our Board for election.

Florida is under represented on our Board at the present time. This is to ask, informally, if we may proceed to place your name before the Board. I am enclosing a list of current Board members, our semi-annual report, and a reprint from the Congressional Record.

Would you please let me hear from you regarding this matter. It is my sincere hope that your answer will be affirmative.

Cordially,

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta

Sent 11/10/58 WJ

✓ Send him a dozen copies + return this to me for later reply. HCF

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE

University News Bureau

WILLIAM S. HOWLAND, Director of Public Information
NEDRA McNAMARA, News Editor

Answered 11-10-58 H.

Nov 4, 1958

Dear Harold -

I have just read wih greatx interest the piece on the position of the moderate by my associate and your fellow son of old Harvahd, Dr. H Franklin Williams, in the October New South.

His views xx impress me as so sound that I'd like to have a few extra copies of the issue to send to some of my more prejudiced friends, north and south. Could you spare me a few?

Since I am now a grandpaw-- Annesley had a son two weeks ago --I aim to be in Atlanta over the Thxnxkx Thanksguving xxx holiday. I hope we can have a chat -- too long no talk.

All best, Bell H

P.S. How is George getting on with the Scotch Croplers?

November 7, 1958

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice-President
University of Miami
Coral Gables 46, Florida

Dear Franklin:

Many thanks for your note of November 3rd. I can understand that you would want to talk with the President of the University before accepting Board membership.

It is my sincere hope that you will be able to accept. We need your counsel and good advice. I believe you have a list of our Board members. Bill Howland, Director of Public Relations for the University, is an old friend of the Council. Harold Fleming just received a note from him praising your article and asking for additional copies of the New South in which it appeared.

Regards to Florence and to my other friends in university circles.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

H. FRANKLIN WILLIAMS
P. O. BOX 8182, UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

Nov. 3, 1958

Dear Fred,

Thanks you for your kind note, which I have been too slow in answering. I am glad that you liked what I had to say.

As for the matter of board membership, I am deeply honored by the suggestion. In all probability I shall say yes, but I believe that it would be more meaningful for the Council and for me if I talked first with Dr. Pearson about it. He will be back in a day or two and I will let you know promptly thereafter.

Cordially,

H. Franklin Williams

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE
University News Bureau
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND, Director of Public Information
NEDRA McNAMARA, Assistant Director

Januar y 31 , 1961

Dear Harol d -

As I told your associate , Mr. Dunbar , this afternoon , I did not think our Board had the impetus to do this , but here is the text of what they did .

I regard it as a great forward step for our universoty .

It has been too long since we foregathered .

All best

Bell Humphrey

Note from Hoff Michael 2/8/61 mt

February 6, 1961

Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Vice President
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Dr. Williams:

At a meeting of our Executive Committee the other day, the newly announced policy of the University of Miami was noted with the deepest satisfaction. This is an act of enlightened leadership that will not only distinguish the University of Miami, but will surely set the example for other private institutions of higher learning that have not yet opened their doors to students of all races. (Emory University here is a good example.)

While we don't know the immediate circumstances that produced the new policy, we do know that your fine character and commitment have made themselves felt within the University for a long time. This is to express our congratulations and our warmest greetings.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Atl. Const.
Feb 1, 1961

Integration Accepted at Miami U.

MIAMI, Fla. (AP)—Trustees of the University of Miami Monday ordered classes integrated at the privately endowed school.

A resolution adopted by the trustees for the school, which describes itself as the largest in the Southeast, said it would be the future policy to accept "any qualified student in any of the schools or colleges or universities regardless of race, creed or color."

After the meeting, Dr. Jay F. W. Pearson, University president, said, "The action speaks for itself. It defines the policy of the University with regard to the acceptance of students."

Pearson called the action "in line with accepted American educational practice."

All applications for second semester classes, which began Monday, have been accepted and registration is now underway. A University spokesman said the school had received no application from a Negro.

Last semester, the University had 14,000 students registered.

K
HARDWA

LWDV
MF

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE
University News Bureau
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND, Director of Public Information
NEDRA McNAMARA, Assistant Director

Feb 8 , 1961

Dear Harold -

My next door neighbor (in office) Franklin "illiams showed me your good letter of February 6 . I am delighted that your Exeutuve Board viewed our action as " enlightened leadership " , which is what I think it is .

I am enclosing copy of a story I wrote for the locals about action of the local chapter of AAUP yesterday . filed in Research

One of these days I hope to be in Atlanta the same day you are there and to have a talk about what has happened since my Luce embilical cord was cut . I still miss the frantic march of TIME , but I find the academic world puzzling and interesting. The politics are less direct but no less deadly .

All best ,

Bill H.

P.S. As you may have heard, I have remarried. My new wife is a Philadelphian, ex Sorbonne + Dep Po.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES 46, FLORIDA

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE
University News Bureau
WILLIAM S. HOWLAND, Director of Public Information
NEDRA McNAMARA, Assistant Director

Dec 18, 1961

Air Mail
FR5-9211

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Director,
Southern Regional Council.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar -

While in Atlanta last Monday and Tuesday for meetings of the Southern Regional Education Board's public relations committee I had hoped to come to your office for a visit, but the terrible weather and more meetings than I expected prevented it.

What I particularly wanted to discuss was the action of the Southern Associatipn of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the accrediting body, as described in the enclosed story. It seemed to me that the association took an important step forward by the action described (I might explain that I was handling the news of the association as a service from the University of Miami).

In addition to this acyion by the association, Dr. Wm Hugh McEniry, dean of Stetson University, and new president of the Associtaion, made a very fine speech to the Negro association the night of Dec 7. I am sure he would furnish a copy if you would like to see it. All good wishes, Bill Howland

note

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

THE CENTER FOR URBAN STUDIES
P. O. BOX 8002

file

March 20, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear J. P.:

Thank you for your letter of March 11, 1969. We are just getting our Center for Urban Studies established here at Miami. One of our major problems is in determining exactly what a "successful do-gooder," as you put it, is expected to do.

I must say that my personal observations to date of "do good" operations have been somewhat disappointing.

In any event now that I have your letterhead, complete with telephone number, I will give you a call when I am next in Atlanta, which will be Thursday and Friday, March 27 and 28 for a Conference of the Citizens Committee on State Legislatures at the Marriott Hotel. Perhaps we can get together for lunch or a drink or both and talk about "do gooding" in general as well as old times.

Sincerely,

Carl

Carl E. B. McKenry
Director
THE CENTER FOR URBAN STUDIES

CEBM:mw

file
Universities -
Miami, Univ. of

October 12, 1966

Mr. John Bethea
Division of Social Sciences
University College
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear John:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in answering your letter of last month.

While I don't know quite how or how much, we might be able to support your pilot project with disadvantaged children. And, we might be able to suggest sources of more substantial support. For consideration, however, we would have to have some more detail on how you would operate and the costs you anticipate.

Could you provide us with that?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Dear John:

Please forgive me this inexcusable delay in answering your letter of last month.

While I don't know quite how much, we might be able to support your pilot project with disadvantaged children. And, we might be able to suggest sources of more substantial support. For consideration, however, we would have to have some more detail on how you would operate & the costs you anticipate.

Could you provide us with that?

Best

Sincerely

P.A.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I received your letter written July 1 in which you suggested that I send an outline of one of the three topics we talked about. During the past two months I have been deeply involved in a new Community Action Board that was set up to prevent a crisis from developing over the Summer. Labor Day weekend was our big event as there had been numerous rumors of riots etc. To counter this possibility we organized games, dancing & sport events at four of five very recreation parks in the Negro neighborhoods. We distributed about 1,500 hot dogs and some 2,000 soft drinks in an attempt to let the teenagers and sub teens know there are people who are willing to take action. Another example will show what we are trying to do with the Action Committee. It was mentioned at a meeting that the kids around Dixie Park (in the Central Negro District of Miami) would very much like a juke box for music and dancing. Within a week they had the juke box even though the young people admitted that they had broken another such box at Dixie Park some months before. Two gang leaders came forward with the suggestion that we might provide arm bands for them and sort of put them in charge of supervising Dixie Park. We are doing this and are making it

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

clear that they are responsible for the upkeep. We have made great effort to contact those who can communicate with the negro and white youth. One young man has been in jail on numerous occasions - (a three time loser & thing is the expression). He is willing to use himself as an example of what can happen. I find myself as Chairman of the Youth Committee so you can imagine how my time has been occupied.

At this point I don't see myself with the time to do any real research before the first of the year. Sometime before then I will send in outlines on all three topics we discussed. Also I don't want to take on a commitment when I'm not in a position to get right to work on the project.

Now, I would like to present this idea for your consideration. Mrs Athalie M. Range first suggested the idea and I told her I would write to you. Mrs Range is a member of the City Commission of Miami and is also on the Board of the Miami Florida Council On Human Relations Chapter. This would be a pilot project. The purpose would be to remove as completely as possible certain poverty children from the environment of poverty. The project would draw from families that had already pretty much broken down i.e. no father, the mother is never home & it is pretty well documented that these children are pretty much on their own. As Mrs Range said, upper middle class people send their children to boarding school & it might be good to try this with the poverty child. The child's parent or relatives could visit and keep what contact would be desirable. In this atmosphere the child might

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

even develop a better relationship with his family unit. The child might start in the first grade and stay for several years depending on the child.
Thus I am talking about school on a small scale to be established in Miami.
The goal would be to completely remove the child from the poverty environment.
This would involve a large foundation grant or Federal assistance.

Could the SRC assist in such a program? Do you know of foundations that are geared to this kind of idea? Is this the kind of project the Florida Council state organization might adopt.
Mr Range has the influence to get local people interested if you feel it has possibilities.

I just saw Dr. Williams. He said to tell you he received your letter and that he ~~may~~ would see you on the 27th of this month.

Very Best Regards
John Bethea

See Universities: Miami, Univ of or Univ, general

July 1, 1966

Mr. John R. Bethea
Instructor
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida 33124

Dear John:

The news that you will not be able to attend F.S.U. this Fall is disappointing.

By all means, do send an outline of one of the three suggestions; the one you are most interested in. I would also appreciate having any suggestions you have on the communities that would be most applicable for this research.

I look forward to hearing from you and hope we can still work out something.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33124

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

(2)

June 27, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director of
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I have not written you before now because I was reluctant to come to Atlanta and make definite plans and then find that I could not raise enough money to attend Florida State University this September.

As matters have developed, that is what actually has happened. So at least my caution has saved S.R.C. a round trip ticket from Miami to Atlanta. I have written to F.S.U. that the money for very good reasons will probably be available for September, 1967.

However, my interest in doing the kind of work that we discussed remains as high as ever. The recent events in Pompano, Florida make me wonder if I could not be of some service to you in this part of the state. The Sunshine Expressway makes transportation very fast and easy all over South Florida. If you wish, I could send an outline on one of the three suggestions we discussed and then you could think in terms of applying this research to community in this area.

In any event, I want to express my very sincere appreciation for the chance to do research and I am looking forward to meeting you again.

Very sincerely yours,

John R. Bethea

John R. Bethea
Instructor

JRB:hs

9th August

April 11, 1955

Dr. Alvin D. Loving
Principal
Northrup School
Melvin & Frazier Streets
River Rouge 18, Michigan

Dear Dr. Loving:

That was most gracious of the University of Michigan Summer Workshop to invite me to appear August 3rd. I would have been delighted but, unfortunately, I have promised the days of August 2-4, to a seminar which the Methodist Church women are having in New York.

So I am sunk. I am pretty sure I would have contrived to be with you had the dates been free.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Dr. Fred Walcott

NORTHRUP SCHOOL
MELVIN & FRAZIER STREETS
RIVER ROUGE 18, MICHIGAN

April 8, 1955

ALVIN D. LOVING
PRINCIPAL
WILSON B. HUGHES
ASS'T. PRINCIPAL

VINEWOOD 1-6767

Dr. George Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 11 1955

Dear George,

I am still remembering the happy experience of working with you at ASCD in Chicago. Your point of view has given me much hope and with men like you working in the South I'll have to go along with your ten year prediction.

Now, to the point of this letter. University of Michigan offers with the National Conference of Christians and Jews an annual summer workshop. As a part of their two week program, they invite in each morning a speaker to discuss some particular phase of human relations.

I met with the summer staff a week ago and offered your name as one of the morning speakers. It seems that funds for the speakers are limited. However, the staff is in position to offer you $100.00; $50.00 of which would be considered a stipend and the other $50.00 toward expenses. This I am sure is not a sufficient amount to bring you from Atlanta. However, it is my hope that you would be planning an itinerary that would bring you into this section of the country at that time. The specific date that we would like to have you talk to the workshop is Wednesday, August 3 at 9:00 A.M. The procedure generally is this: You would talk for forty-five minutes to an hour and after a brief break there would be a question and discussion period. That would be your sole responsibility. The area that we would like to have you discuss if it is possible for you to come is the problem of desegregation.

65 m in New York for mtg. of Methodist Women. Aug 2 - * see attached

If you find it possible in your very busy schedule to make this engagement, please write Dr. Fred Walcott, University High School, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and let him know.

Dr. Walcott is director of the workshop.

Yours for a very pleasant summer and with hopes of your being with us in August.

Sincerely,

Dr. Alvin D. Loving
Principal

P. S. Enclosed is an announcement of the workshop.

April 21, 1955

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director
University of Michigan
School of Education
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Walcott:

August 9th is perfectly workable, and I can be there. Let me know what time of day I should show, and I will begin to plan the travel.

I will be holding you to Dr. Loving's original statement that a hundred dollars would be available, and I think the hundred dollars would about be eaten up with getting up and back, and that is all right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: Dr. Alvin D. Loving

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

75th Anniversary Year of Professional Education
1879 - 1880
1954 - 1955

April 19, 1955

APR 21 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was a disappointment to learn that you could not be with us on August 3. Before giving up, I thought that I would try you on another possible date. We have planned a field trip for Tuesday, August 9. It is possible that we could shift this plan and have you here on that date. One other date is fairly possible: Mr. Stanley Dimond of our own School of Education is scheduled for Thursday, August 11. I should be able to shift his appearance to another day if it were possible for you to come then. Let me know how these suggestions strike you.

Sincerely yours,

Fred G. Walcott

Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director

FGW:al

cc Alvin Loving

meeting there Aug 2-4 Open year Clear date

Previous course attended

May 5, 1955

9th

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director
University of Michigan
School of Education
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Walcott:

All straight about my being at your service at Ann Arbor, Tuesday, August 9th. Too soon as yet to plan the trip, but I observe and will expect to follow your suggestion of getting in at Willow Run Monday, August 8th, and leaning on your kindness for transportation to Ann Arbor and for a room at the Michigan Union for the night of August 8th. I will pay the bill at the Union.

As to the title of my contribution: I can't improve on "Constructive Approaches to Desegregation." That is it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

75th Anniversary Year of Professional Education
1879 - 1880
1954 - 1955

April 26, 1955

APR 28 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I am delighted to learn of your willingness to come on Tuesday, August 9. I have set aside an item of $100 for you in our speakers' budget.

It was the intention of our staff to have you discuss some aspects of desegregation, particularly those of social method within local communities. I should like to have you phrase your title in the way that best suits you. I should like to have this title as soon as convenient for you so that I may use it for publicity purposes. Something like "Constructive Approaches to Desegregation" is the idea we have in mind, but undoubtedly you can sharpen it a bit by your own phraseology.

Inasmuch as we will begin your session at 9:00 Eastern Standard Time it will be necessary for you to arrive on Monday, August 8, I should think. If you come by air I should like to know the time of your arrival at Willow Run (Detroit) so that I can meet you. It is somewhat difficult getting from the airport to Ann Arbor unless you are met. I think also that I should make a room reservation for you at the Michigan Union for the night of August 8. You will expect to bear the expense yourself, but I can just as well make the reservation for you. Let me know if these details satisfy you. We shall be looking forward to your visit with great anticipation.

Sincerely yours,

Fred G. Walcott

Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director

FGW:al

cc Alvin D. Loving

EDUCATION B272, WORKSHOP IN HUMAN RELATIONS
University of Michigan

JUN 30 1955

Schedule of Speakers and Discussion Leaders

1. Monday, August 1

D. J. Martin Klotsche, President of Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee. "The Challenge of Intergroup Education."

2. Tuesday, August 2

Earl C. Kelley, Professor of Education, Wayne University, Detroit. "The Rationale of the Group Approach to Learning."

3. Wednesday, August 3

Howard Y. McClusky, Professor of Educational Psychology and Consultant in Community Adult Education, University of Michigan. "Community Dynamics and Prejudice."

4. Thursday, August 4

Field trip to Detroit.

5. Friday, August 5

Herman Weil, Professor of Education, Wisconsin State College, Milwaukee. "The Psychological Foundations of Prejudice."

6. Monday, August 8

Mrs. June Adams, Greenfield Center on Human Relations, University of Pennsylvania. "An Anthropologist Looks at Human Relations."

7. Tuesday, August 9

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia. "Constructive Approaches to Desegregation."

8. Wednesday, August 10

Rev. Mr. Jesse Jai McNeil, Tabernacle Baptist Church, Detroit. "Human Relations: Old and New Patterns of Cooperation."

9. Thursday, August 11

Stanley E. Dimond, Professor of Education, University of Michigan. "The Element of Prejudice in the Teaching of Controversial Issues."

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	PAID		SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	9/8/55

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR. FRED G. WALCOTT
WORKSHOP CO-DIRECTOR
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

ARRIVE WILLOW RUN 10:30 P.M. TONIGHT, EASTERN AIR LINES 702.

GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Georgia Project

Aug. 4

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

December 28, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted to hear of your willingness to come back to us. In your acceptance you express the philosophy that my father always uttered concerning a coming appointment: "We'll be there if the Lord is willing." Well, we are going to be looking for you.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director

FGW:MW

December 22, 1955

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director
School of Education
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Walcott:

That is most kind of the workshop and I would love to come. Anything as far ahead as August 14 is subject to the hazards of this world, but assuming health and wind, I will come.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

December 19, 1955

RECEIVED DEC 22 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Last Saturday we had a planning session for the Workshop in Human Relations to be held again next summer. It was the unanimous judgment of the staff that you should be invited to return to speak upon "Constructive Approaches to Desegregation." Your date would be Tuesday, August 14, with a session scheduled the evening before at the Pretzel Bell or the Old German Restaurant. You would be expected to speak at nine a.m., and then after a coffee break to conduct a discussion period just as you did last year.

We realize the enormous expense involved in your getting to and from Ann Arbor. We are limited, of course, in our speakers' budget, but we decided that we would set your stipend at $125, out of which you would be expected to pay your own expenses. I certainly hope that you can come even though the compensation is miserably low. We felt that your presentation last summer was one of the most enlightening features of the workshop. Let me know whether you can come.

Sincerely yours,

Fred G. Walcott

Fred G. Walcott
Workshop Co-Director

FGW:MW

July 30, 1956

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Co-Director of the Workshop in
Human Relations
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Walcott:

All is in good order. I will leave Atlanta on Eastern's Flight 702 at 6:00 p.m., Monday, August 13th. This baby puts down at the Detroit airport at 10:32 p.m. on the 13th, and I will be craning my neck to find you or somebody at the Willow Run Airport that will haul me over to Ann Arbor.

Do swing on to the room at the Michigan Union for the evening of Monday, August 13th. I thought the charge too high. But I was comfortable and I must learn not to complain.

My plans for leaving are to catch, on Tuesday, August 14th, Eastern's Flight 777 which leaves Willow Run at 5:30 in the afternoon Southbound for Atlanta.

So pour me on in the morning and early p.m. hours Tuesday, August 14th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

July 26, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 28 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

FI 702 FI 777
5.30 PM
11.35 P.M.

Dear George:

I imagine that you will be getting into Ann Arbor sometime on Monday, August 13, for your speech on Tuesday, the 14th. If you will let me know your flight number and arrival time, I shall try to meet you at the Willow Run Airport. I thought that I had better make a reservation for you at the Michigan Union for the evening of Monday, August 13. If you don't want this, let me know and I shall cancel it. I am certainly looking forward to your visit.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred G. Walcott
Co-Director of the Workshop in
Human Relations

FGW:jin

Check rec'd 18 Aug

July 31, 1956

A I R M A I L

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Co-Director of the Workshop in
Human Relations
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Walcott:

I got to buying an airplane ticket and I found out that Eastern continues to run clear around by Charlotte to get to Detroit. Capitol goes straight. So I bought Capitol.

I now leave Atlanta at 4:15 p.m., August 13th via Capitol's Flight 84, which puts down at Detroit at 7:53 p.m. on the 13th. On the afternoon of the 14th I leave Willow Run Airport at 4:35 p.m. and get into Atlanta at a pleasant 8:40 in time to go to sleep.

Cal 85

I will not be at ease that you have received this news until you put a scribble on this enclosed postcard which says, "I got the dope."

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Aug. 1, 1956

Dear George,

I will meet you at 7:53 at Willow Run. Thanks for the message.

Fred

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

August 17, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 20 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am always reminded by your visits of the old myth of Antaeus whose strength doubled every time he touched his Mother Earth. It seems to me when you speak that I am getting close to the people and the genuine folk knowledge. You have conveyed a spirit to our workshop that can come from no one else in these United States. I always feel that we have cheated you because of the meager stipend we are able to pay. I hope that you get some values out of your trip to Michigan beyond the monetary one.

If you do go to Scotland, write me a note giving your new location. I shall certainly be eager to look you up if I come that way. If you don't go go Scotland, please be on call for another assignment with us.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred G. Walcott
Co-Director of the Workshop
in Human Relations

FGW:jin

cc & incoming of 9/25/56 to FBR

September 28, 1956

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
School of Education
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Fred:

Now that is a really pleasing letter, and I am grateful to all the group and to you.

I am satisfied that thus helped we can send somebody, and you may count on it.

As soon as you can, send me the prospective dates for next year's Workshop, and we will begin with deliberate speed to make a promotion for the person.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 28, 1956

FBR:

It seems to me that this ought to be your business. How about taking over?

Somebody Southern would be quite an addition to that mainly Michigany school.

GSM/eab
Encl. Incoming (and outgoing cc re) corres with Fred G. Walcott, 9/25/56

October 9, 1956

FBR:

Here is a further letter from Fred Walcott. Total now in the scholarship fund is $89.75.

What would you think of your opening correspondence with Walcott to see how much the ordinary fees for the Institute are? Then you would need to establish the cost of the travel to Ann Arbor from various southerly points.

In any case, the smart thing to do would be to ask Kentucky or Tennessee to pick a mugg to go. What say?

eab/
Encl.

October 9, 1956

Mr. Fred G. Walcott
Co-Director of the Workshop
in Human Relations
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Fred:

We are full of appreciation for the magnificent total of $89.75 waiting with the cashier of the University for someone to come up to next year's Institute.

Fred Routh will work out all the details, and will be in touch with you soon and later.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: FBR + incoming dtd 10/4/56

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

June 3, 1957

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As you may recall, a scholarship of $89.75 for the University of Michigan Workshop in Human Relations in School and Community this summer, August 5-16, is awaiting a person of your selection.

I am enclosing some brochures (which if you can get into the hands of some interested people, we'd appreciate), an information sheet, an application blank, and Form 7314 for your delegate's use.

I'm awfully sorry to have waited so long on this and hope that asking you to find someone at this late date will not be an inconvenience.

Many thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Allen Menlo

Allen Menlo
Workshop Co-Director

AM:jn

Enclosures

Mr. Allen Menlo
Workshop Co-Director
School of Education
University of Michigan

31404

Your letter to Dr. Mitchell concerning the August Workshop at Ann Arbor was turned over to me a few days ago.

We are nominating Miss Verbenna Scott presently working for the Kentucky Council on Human Relations 208 West Main St. Frankfort Ky. ~~D~~ have sent the enclosures to her and she will communicate with you shortly.

P.S. Dr. Mitchell retired as ~~Dean~~ of Exc Dir of SRC + Harold C. Fleming is now

June 21, 1957

Air Mail - Special Delivery

Mr. Allen Menlo
Workshop Co-Director
School of Education
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Menlo:

Your letter to Dr. Mitchell concerning the August Workshop at Ann Arbor was turned over to me a few days ago.

We are nominating Miss Verbenna Scott, presently working for the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, 208 West Main Street, Frankfort, Kentucky. I have sent the enclosures to her and she will communicate with you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:mm

P.S. Dr. Mitchell retired as Executive Director of SRC on January 15th of this year, and was replaced by Harold C. Fleming.

June 21, 1957

Air Mail Special

Miss Verbenna Scott
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
208 West Main Street
Frankfort, Kentucky

Dear Miss Scott:

I am rushing this material to you so that you in turn may send it as quickly as possible to Mr. Allen Menlo. We have written Mr. Menlo apprising him of your nomination.

I hope the Workshop will be a pleasant experience for you.

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:mm

Enclosures

KENTUCKY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, INC.

Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

208 WEST MAIN STREET — PHONE CAPITAL 3-1409 — FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY

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Air Mail Special Delivery

June 20, 1957

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Parrish:

Thank you for your telephone call of June 18 regarding the scholarship for the human relations workshop at the University of Michigan, August 5 through 16.

I talked with Dr. Brimm who spoke to Miss Ruthenburg about it, and it was his feelings that Kentucky Council could take care of some of the expenses.

August 5th to August 16th can be arranged as my vacation period.

I shall be happy to receive more information on the workshop.

Sincerely,

Verbenna Scott

Verbenna Scott

File: Thick, dup. of (of no feeder, pls. make one)

April 27, 1964

Professor Otis Dudley Duncan
Population Studies Center
The University of Michigan
Room 203, Michigan Theatre Building
527 East Liberty Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Professor Duncan:

Enclosed are two old pamphlets regarding Negro voting in the South, together with a tabulation of our current estimates. This is all we have right now.

We are deeply engaged in field activities and research, through our Voter Education Project, that should lead to a substantial publication late next year or thereabouts.

In the meantime, the most interesting work is being done by Professors Donald Matthews and James Prothro of the Political Science Department at the University of North Carolina. You might write to them for reprints of the several articles they have already done. They will have a book out in about a year, I think.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: The Negro & the Ballot
a Negro voter in the South
Dep Voting Estimates

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
POPULATION STUDIES CENTER
ROOM 203, MICHIGAN THEATRE BUILDING
527 EAST LIBERTY STREET
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

23 April 1964

Mr. W. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Professor Thomas Pettigrew told me that you have been making studies of trends in voting that bear upon the question of Negro political participation. I do not know anything about this question, but am trying to inform myself about the matter of what information is available on it and is likely to become available in the next few years.

If you have some publications that you can send me or refer me to, I should very much appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Otis Dudley Duncan

Otis Dudley Duncan
Professor

File
~~Univ~~ Universities - Michigan

September 16, 1964

Professor Jack Walker
Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Jack:

My embarassment was obvious, and altogether deserved. Actually, I had read when it appeared your Phylon piece on voting, but my discomfiture jolted memory of it out of me. I have now read them both (discovering in the process that you were kind enough to take a remark of mine seriously), and found them both interesting and well done. The voting one in particular.

Incidentally, in last week's primary, to the surprise of all, only some 40% plus of the voters turned out; of Negro voters, only a rough 50%. And that with the Pye-Webb-Hollowell race! Nor did all of the 50% choose to vote in that particular race.

Come down and explain this one.

I suppose part of the explanation is that VEP, etc., has yielded a lot of registrants who will have to be persuaded to vote, just as they were to register. We are wondering how much more of this may show up around the South.

We enjoyed greatly your visit, and the opportunity to meet your wife. I hope that you will always look in on us when you are home. God luck on the new job; give my regards to Pierce.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WB
BW
VI
SB
LD

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 725 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS

April 4, 1964

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Received file

Here are a couple more articles based on material I gathered during my stay in Atlanta back in the Spring of 1962. There will be one more publication, a case study of the sit-in demonstrations of 1960-61 in the Eagleton Case Studies in Practical Politics series put out by McGraw Hill. I think it will appear next month or in June.

Let me thank you once again for your help in those anxious days when I was trying to make some sense out of my findings. I gather from your comment on the other article I sent you last fall that you feel I made a little too much sense of a very complicated situation.

My wife and I are coming to Atlanta this summer in either July or August. I hope you will be around so we could get together. I'll give you a ring.

Sincerely,

Jack L. Walker

Jack L. Walker
Dept of Government

March 22, 1966

Professor Robert J. Harris
School of Law
The University of Michigan
Hutchins Hall
Ann Arbor, Michigan

file

Dear Bob:

Up to a point I think we can be of help to Mr. Paasche. While we do not have complete county-by-county information on school desegregation in Virginia or Georgia, we do have newspaper clippings collected over a ten-year period on this subject, and other information. Also, there are others in the city who could be of help. I think it would make good sense for Mr. Paasche to come to Atlanta and spend at least several days with our Research staff. We can provide him with desk space and a typewriter, expose him to news clips, published and unpublished studies on the subject, and be of at least some assistance to him.

Incidentally, the Race Relations Department at Fisk University has just published a pamphlet, "The Negotiation of Desegregation in Ten Southern

Cities," written by Lewis Jones and Herman Long. I haven't had a chance to read it yet, but it looks interesting.

Hope you, too, will have a chance to come visit us some day.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/21/66

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
LAW SCHOOL
HUTCHINS HALL
ANN ARBOR

March 18, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

A friend of mine at this University, Gottfried Paasche, is working on his doctors thesis in the Sociology Department. He is a very bright fellow and is dealing with the relationship between court ordered desegregation and voluntary desegregation of public schools in Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia between 1954 and 1964. He is interested in the ways court ordered desegregation and voluntary desegregation affect one another and how both are affected by political maneuvers on the state level and the quantity and quality of local demands for desegregation.

He is having trouble getting information on the Negro demand for school desegregation in Virginia and Georgia in this decade. What he really needs is county-by-county information on this matter.

Files that have been maintained on a county-by-county basis or individuals who were familiar with the scene in Virginia and Georgia during this period would be of immense value to him. If you have such files or such information, or know someone else who has either such files or such first-hand information, would you let me know at your earliest convenience so that I can pass this information on to him? He can travel to you or to a person whose name you give me. He has worked with the information in Jack Greenberg's office but that leaves a good bit to be desired.

Warm regards,

Bob H.

Bob Harris

RJH:lkj

Rec'd 7/29/66 file - Universities Univ. of Michigan

313
~~764-1817~~
764-2552

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

July 28, 1966

MJ - file

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to follow-up on a series of letters we exchanged during March and April. Since that time the U.S. Office of Education has agreed to finance the study of "Negro desegregation attending all-white public schools".

We are almost finished with data collection activities. The interviews seem to be very rich and detailed, they should be most interesting when complete and analyzed. I am enclosing a copy of an interview schedule for your interest. This form is for use with youngsters who desegregated the schools. A somewhat similar form is used for one of his or her parents. Furthermore, similar interviews are being conducted with a control population of non-desegregating Negro adolescents, and their parents.

I think some preliminary results should be available by the late fall; but more complete results will be forthcoming in the spring. I have been quite moved by the cooperation and interest local Negro educators have shown in this project, and am therefore hopeful that the findings can achieve wide distribution.

If there are parts of the interviews that seem especially interesting to you, let me know. By the way, apropos of your comment in an earlier letter, it does appear that most "desegregators" trust white people less now. The confrontation with the realities of white fear, hypocrisy and "two-facedness" seem to be the relevant experiences here.

Cordially,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

Department of Social Science Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Student Interview # 1. (Desegregator)

Name : _____

Address : _____

_____

Phone : _____

Interviewer's name : _____

Date : _____

Return to Mark A. Chesler

5. _____ _____

6. _____ _____

7. _____ _____

8. _____ _____

9. _____ _____

10. _____ _____

WE ARE GOING TO START OFF WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOURSELF AND YOUR FAMILY.

1. How old are you? _____

2. Do you have any brothers or sisters? Yes_____ No_____

   If YES: How old are they, and what are they doing now?

   1. _____ _____

   2. _____ _____

   3. _____ _____

   4. _____ _____

   (If more, use the back of the preseeding page)

3. What grade are you in in school? _____

4. What school do you attend? _____

   a. About how long does it take you to get to school in the morning?

   _____

   b. How do you get there? _____

5. How long have you been going to that school? _____

6. What school did you go to before that? _____

   a. How long did it take you to get to that school in the morning?

   _____

   b. And how did you get there? _____

7. What is the name of your homeroom teacher? _____

8. What was your grade average when you were attending your old school?

   _____

   a. Has that changed any in the school you've been attending this year?

   Yes_____ No_____

   If YES: Has it gone up, or down, and how much?

   Why has it changed?

9. Do you plan to remain in school until you complete high school, or do you plan to leave school before then?

_____

a. What would you like to do when you're through with high school? (If JOB, go to question 10. If COLLEGE or TRADE SCHOOL, ask below and question 10.)

If COLLEGE or TRADE SCHOOL:

What school would you like to go to?

_____

_____

What subject (s) would you take mostly?

_____

_____

Will you need scholarship help?

Yes _____ No _____

10. What kind of a job would you like to have? _____

_____

a. What would you like to be doing in ten years?

b. Are there any problems or difficulties in doing that?

11. What kind of a job do you think you probably will have? _____

_____

a. About how much money would you make per year at that?

_____

12. Would you rather live in the North or in the South? No _____ So _____

Why?

a. Where (specifically by state or city) would you like to live?

_____

If NORTH : Do you think you would ever return to the South to live?

Yes _____ No _____

Why?

13. Have you ever traveled out of the state? Yes _____ No _____

a. To where?

b. Have you ever traveled to the North?

14. Here are several statements people sometimes make. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them. There are no right or wrong answers, just give me your opinion.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is only when a person devotes himself to a purpose that life becomes meaningful.		
b. To compromise with our opponents is dangerous.		
c. A lot of people I know don't really understand the nation's problems.		
d. Any good leader should be strict with the people under him in order to gain their respect.		
e. There are two kinds of people in the world; the strong and the weak.		
f. The most important thing to teach to children is absolute obedience to their parents.		
g. More and more I feel helpless because of what is happening in the world today.		
h. It is not possible for me to really influence what happens in society at large.		
i. My family really doesn't have any say about what the government does.		
j. Things are so confused nowadays I hardly know what is right or wrong any more.		

15. Now I am going to read you several statements that do not have an ending. As soon as I read them I want you to fill in an ending. Just tell me the first thing that comes to your mind.

a. Compared with most families mine _____

b. I am best when _____

c. Sometimes I think I am _____

d. I am not good when _____

e. Mothers should learn that _____

f. I wish my father _____

g. A nice thing about my family _____

16. How close would you say you are to your parents?

_____Very close _____Pretty close _____Not too close

a. Are you closer to one parent than to the other?

Yes _____ No _____

If YES, which one ? _____

Why?

b. Are there things about which you and your parents disagree?

Yes _____ No _____

If YES, what sorts of things? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

17. What three most important things would you like to be or to have as an adult?

1.

2.

3.

18. Have you thought about getting married? Yes _____ No _____

    a. When do you think you might get married?

    b. How many children would you like to have? _____

    Why that number?

19. If you could choose, which of the people I will describe would you most like to be?

    a. a person who is a leader, and who is able to influence others

    b. a person who is friendly, and who has many friends

    c. a person who is able to make or do things well

    WHY did you choose as you did?

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT THE SCHOOL YOU GO TO, AND HOW YOU DECIDED TO GO THERE. WE WANT TO KNOW AS MUCH ABOUT THIS AS POSSIBLE, SO BE SURE TO ADD YOUR IDEAS AND LOTS OF DETAILS IF YOU THINK I'VE LEFT OUT ANYTHING IMPORTANT. (Interviewer remember to fill in the name of the new, desegregated school in the following questions.)

20. What made you decide to change schools and attend _____?
    (If someone else, such as parent, decided, what made then decide?)

    a. Was that the most important reason?

    b. What else was important to you?

21. Here is a list of some people who may be important to you. Please tell me how each of them felt about the decision to go to a different school, and whether or not they influenced, or helped or hindered, you in your decision.

a. First, how about yourself - how did you feel?

b. Now here are some others:

	Felt	Helped or hindered
Mother	_____	_____
		_____
Father	_____	_____
		_____
Friends	_____	_____
		_____
Minister	_____	_____
		_____
Teachers	_____	_____
		_____
Others (whom)	_____	_____

c. If any of these people were against your going to the new school, can you tell me more about why they were against it?

22. Did anyone from any civil rights organization try to help you?

Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> In what ways did they try, and were they helpful?

23. How many Negro students from around here are going to school with you?

_____

A. Did you know any of them before school started? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> How many of them did you know, how well?

24. When did you start going to _____school?
(September, February, etc.)

a. How did you get there the first day?

(If by bus, was the bus integrated?)

b. Did anyone go with you?

c. Were the police around when you got to school?

25. How did you feel the first day? (GET DETAILS)
(If nervous, what about)

a. What did you expect would happen?

b. Were you worried abput what night happen? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> What were you worried about?

26. How did the other Negro students who went with you feel?

27. Did anything special happen on the way to school?

a. Were you stopped by anyone or any group?

28. Did the teacher pay any special attention to you on the first day?

Yes _____ No _____

If YES: In what ways?

29. Did the principal call you aside and talk with you? Yes___ No___

If YES: What did he have to say?

If he told you about school rules, what did he say?

30. Did you attend regular classes the first days? Yes_____ No_____

If NO: Why not? What did you do instead?

a. Did you leave school at the same time as everyone else? Yes___ No___

If NO: Whose idea was that?

What did you think about it?

31. Is there anything you can remember about how the white students reacted to you on the first day?

a. Did they do anything out of the ordinary?

b. Did they call you any names? Yes_____ No_____

If YES: What did they say?

c. Can you think of anything else any of the white students did (DETAILS)?

32. How do you think the white students felt on that first day when they saw you coming into the school?

a. Were any of them friendly to you? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If Yes:</u> What did they do?

What happened then?

33. Are the white students acting any differently now? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> In what ways?

a. Have any of the white students started friendly conversations with you?

Yes_____ NO_____

<u>If Yes:</u> How often does this happen?

How does this make you feel?

b. How do the other white students seem to feel about it when one of them is friendly with you?

c. Do the white students tease you? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If Yes:</u> About what (DETAILS)

What do you do when they do this?

<u>If No:</u> Do they tease other Negro students? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> Why do you think they tease others but not you?

34. Some Negro students who have gone to mostly white schools said that they had some trouble "being themselves". Can you tell me what they might have meant by this?

a. Did anything of this sort bother you? In what ways?

35. Have you ever invited any of the white students to your home?

Yes_____ NO_____

a. Why or why not? (DETAILS)
(If parents wouldn't let them, ask why parents wouldn't)
($ame with friends)

b. If YES: did he or she come, why or why not?

36. Have any of the white students ever invited you to their homes?

Yes_____ No_____

a. Why did they? Or, why didn't they?

b. If YES: did you go? why or why not?

37. Did you, this past year, have any other contacts with the white students outside of school?

Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> In what ways?

a. Do you have any white friends?

b. Would you like to have more of the white students as friends?

c. How do you think the white students feel about this; would more of them like to be fr iends with you? (continue on next page)

37. (Continued)

If some white students would (like to be friends with you), what do you think is holding them back?
(If parents or friends, ask how?)

38. As a result of going to school with white students, do you feel any differently toward them?

Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> In what ways?

a. One student said that he saw how the whites talk behind his back and don't mean what they say. He says that he doesn't trust them as much now as he did before. Another student said that he knew them better and as a result would trust them more. Do you trust them more or less now? Why?

39. Before you changed schools, did you think that most of the white students would be smarter than you? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> Why did you think that?

40. What about now, are the white students as smart as you thought they'd be?

Yes_____ No_____

In what ways?

a. Are they as quiet and well behaved? Yes_____ No_____

Did you expect that?

41. In what ways are the white students different from you?

Any other ways?

a. In what ways are they similar to you?

b. Are many of them planning to go on to college?

42. How do your white teachers compare with teachers you have had in Negro schools in the past?

_____better _____worse _____same _____different

a. Please explain why you said what you did? In what ways are they _____?

b. Do they seem to be fair?

c. Has any of them ever called you names, been unfair, or made you feel unwelcome in class? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If Yes:</u> Please tell me some more about it? (GET DETAILS)

d. Do you usually express yourself in class? Yes_____ No_____

Are there things you don't feel free to talk about in class?

Do the white students talk about these things?

43. Here are some other types of questions about your classroom and classmates. They are fill-in types without endings such as we had before; just give me your quick ending to each statement.

a. If I could change one thing about the classroom I would _____

_____.

b. In a social situation with white students I feel _____

_____.

c. In a social situation with Negro students I feel _____

_____.

d. In the classroom the white students _____.

e. When the white students meet me they _____.

44. Are you active in any clubs or sports at school? Yes_____ No_____

If NO: Are you allowed to be?

If YES: Which ones	Leadership positions	White students in it too?
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

a. Were you as active, more active, or less active in your old school?

_____ as active _____more active _____less active

45. Are you still friendly with your old classmates in the Negro school?

Yes_____ No_____

If YES: Do you still see them as often as before you changed schools?

If NO: Why not?

(Continued)

45. (Continued)
a. Have any of their opinions of you changed? In whatways?

Do any of them ask you questions about what's going on?

Are any of them less friendly?

b. Will some of them change their schools in the fall?

46. How did your old teachers react when you first told them you were transferring schools?

a. Did any of them tell you not too, or that it wouldn't be a good idea? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> What did they say?

b. Did any of them tell you what to do and how to behave?

Were they helpful suggestions?

c. What else did they say or feel?

d. Do you ever go back and see any of these teachers? Which ones?

47. Some Negro students who are going to white schools say they have learned a great deal and gained a lot. Others say they have not learned much and have made many sacrifices. How do you feel about this?

a. What have you gained?

b. What sacrifices have you made; or, what have you missed out on?

48A. Are there any services that the white students get that you don't? For Instance;

Do they get		Do you get
_____	bus rides to school	_____
_____	hot lunches	_____
_____	free lunches	_____
_____	OTHER THINGS	_____
_____		_____

48B. Suppose there were three times as many Negro students in the school than there are now. What difference would that make in what goes on? Why would it make a difference?

48C. Have you ever advised another person your age to transfer to the white school? Yes_____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> What did you tell him (her) to prepare for?

<u>If NO:</u> If you were going to, what things would you tell him to be prepared for?

48D. If you had the decision to make over again, would you still choose to attend the white school?

Yes_____ No_____

And why?

49. Now here are a few short statements sometimes made about school and education. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.

	Agree	Disagree
a. It is good to take part in classroom work as much as possible.		
b. Getting along with your classmates is as important as schoolwork.		
c. I work hard on what's being taught at school.		
d. The teacher is fair.		
e. The white children in class do better than me.		
f. Since I changed schools I like white people better.		
g. Since I changed schools I trust white people more.		
h. The new school is better than my old one.		

Please explain why you feel this way (h).

_____

_____

NOW I WANT TO ASK YOU SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT SOME OTHER THINGS.

50. What three things, in order of their importance, do you think are important for a person to show he is a good citizen.

a. He obeys the laws. _____

b. He goes to church. _____

c. He minds his own business. _____

d. He dislikes communists. _____

e. He doesn't think he is better than people of other races or religions. _____

f. He votes in elections. _____

g. He pays taxes. _____

h. He is proud of his country. _____

i. He believes that free enterprise is better than socialism. _____

j. Other _____

51. In your opinion, who are three very good leaders around here?

	Name?	What is it about him or her that makes him (her) so good?
a.	_____	_____
B.	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____

52. The Constitution of the United States guarantees certain rights for everyone. In your opinion, are any rights being violated in the United States today? Yes _____ No_____

<u>If YES:</u> Please explain which rights are being violated by whom, where?

53. What is the purpose of government in your opinion?

54. Sometimes white persons will say that they are against school desegregation because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

a. What do they mean by that?

b. Will desegregation lead to a lowering of standards?

54A. Sometimes white persons will say that they are opposed to school desegregation because it will lead to intermarraige between the races. What are they afraid of when they say that?

a. Will it lead to that?

55. Suppose you got on a bus and there was only one empty seat left. A white woman was sitting in the seat next to it and she had some packages lying on the seat that was empty. Which of the following things do you think you would do?

a. move to the back of the bus

b. Stand somewhere else

c. Ask her to remove her packages

d. Stand near her, say nothing, and hope she will notice you and pick up her packages.

56. What will it take for the Negro to get full rights and privileges due to a citizen in the South?

a. Do you think it will take violence? Why or why not?

b. And how long do you think it will take?

57. Here are a few more statements I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with.

	Agree	Disagree
a. I don't see much sense in Negroes sticking their necks out and getting into trouble trying to change things in the South.		
b. Negroes who are not treated as first class citizens here in the U.S. should not go and fight for the U.S. in some foreign country.		
c. When you come right down to it, you can never really know a white person.		
d. White people will almost always try to take advantage of you if you give them a chance.		
e. All Negroes should stick together in order to get fair treatment.		
f. Basically, almost all white people are prejudiced against Negroes in one way or the other.		
g. Whites are not going to change by themselves, unless we give them a good push.		
h. I feel I should be one of the first Negroes working actively to change things in the South.		
i. Some people say they are citizens of the world, but I am first, last and always an American.		
j. The problems of other minority groups, such as Jews and Puerto Ricans, are no concern of mine.		

57A. Some people feel it was a good idea for the Unites States to join the United Nations. Others feel that the U.N. hasn't really been very useful. How do you feel about that?

a. Do you think we should stay in the United Nations?

b. Should we stay in, or get out, if Communist China should be admitted to the United Nations?

_____stay in _____get out

Why do you feel this way?

57B. Do you think that the differences between the Soviet Union and Communist China are:

_____very great

_____not too great

_____small

_____very small

57C. There has been much talk about Communists operating within this nation. Do you think there are many communists in the government?

_____many _____some _____a few

a. Do they represent a danger to us?

_____great danger _____some danger

_____little danger _____no danger

57D. What kinds of people are most likely to be Communists in America?

58. Did you follow the recent primary election for Governor in the Democratic party in Alabama? Yes _____ No _____

a. If you had been able to vote, who would you have voted for?

Why?

b. Did your parents talk about the political race? What did they say to you about it?

c. Who would you have voted for for sherrif?

59. Do you ordinarily pay much attention to public affairs and current events ? Yes _____ No _____

a. What issues especially interest you?

b. How often do you read the newspapers for information about current affairs?

c. What paper do you usually read?

d. What other papers or magazines do you get here?

60. Can you give me the name of another student your age near here?

a. Where does he or she live?

b. What school does he or she go to?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

THUMBNAIL: TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY AFTER LEAVING HOUSE

1. Condition of the building (by observation).

_____sound _____deteriorating _____dilapidated

2. Condition of the furniture and furnishings (by observation).

___excellent ___good ___average ___poor ___deteriorated

3. Housekeeping style (by observation)

___ everything orderly, nothing out of place

___ average neatness and order

___ things in disarray

4. How close is the nearest house?

___ 10 yards or less

___ between 10 and 100 yards

___ further than 100 yards

5. Are the streets outside the house paved? ___Yes ___No

6. How was rapport with the respondent?

___Excellent throughout ___poor throughout

___average ___started poor, got good

___ started good, got poor

7. What is the respondent's color - complexion?

_____dark _____medium _____light

8. Length of interview: _____hours _____minutes

9. ADD ANY NOTES THAT WOULD HELP US INTERPRET THIS INTERVIEW
(Use the back of the preceeding pages or add a page if necessary)

August 15, 1966

Mr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mark:

I have read the transcript with great interest, It makes very good reading. I think the idea of an article based on and quoting from these transcripts would be of considerable value, and I think it would have a bearing on the concerns we share. We would either plan to use it in the fall or winter issue of New South, or, if it were of sufficient length, we would consider putting it into pamphlet form. We would probably prefer the latter, but don't want to press you to take on any more of a job than you feel you can reasonably handle.

I gather we will have no trouble in getting together on the financial arrangements about this, and I'm sure that that can be worked out.

We very much appreciate your willingness to consider doing this, and look forward to much cooperation in the future.

I will be out of the office all of the week of the 15th, but will be here the remainder of the month if you feel we need to discuss this further.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

(5)

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

August 8, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks for your phone call. I am enclosing a transcript of a tape-recorded session I had with eight youngsters in mid-Alabama. I hope to have, by the end of the month, similar tapes from two or three other communities where things were rough.

I have thought some more about your suggestion, and I am frankly quite ambivalent. I don't think it would be much of a problem to prepare an article based upon, and liberally quoting from, these transcripts by the end of September. But it would be impossible to do anything with the interviews by then. The particular beauty of the interviews is that they are representative of an entire state. As such they have a potential power that I would not want to jeopardize with premature selections or partial commentaries.

The tapes, as I say, are a different matter. They are from several "hot spots" and although they are exciting, they do not necessarily represent what's happening in general. Are you sure a report of them would be useful? They would be one more, perhaps more "dramatic" or "real", report of what's happening to a few youngsters. Would it be so different from things that have been published before? Niel Maxwell, for instance, is one recent example of "on the spot reports" of what's going on (Wall Street Journal, 5/26/66).

Please don't misunderstand; it would be my pleasure to prepare a brief report, that highlighted and pulled together several tape sessions. I just want us to be sure that this deals effectively with the concerns you expressed over the telephone. Well, you'll read the tape and let me know what you think.

I share your other concern regarding the growth of private schools. This has certainly been the Northern trend over the past decade. Do you think one could locate the names and addresses of white youngsters and their families who transfer to these schools? I have some good working relations at Auburn and could probably get Southern white interviewers to do a job similar in scope to the one on "desegregators". All our data on Southern Negroes could well be supplemented by some things like this on the white communities. Who transfers? Why? What community pressures are on them? Can they afford it? If you think it would be feasible to do such a study and get funding support for it, I'd be willing to take a crack at writing a proposal.

Best regards,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

MAC/col
ENCLOSURE

Taped and Edited by:
Mark Chesler
Center for Research on the
Utilization of Scientific
Knowledge
The University of Michigan

Reflections on School Integration

(This is a transcript of a three-hour session with eight Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the deep south. All students are in the tenth through twelfth grades. 5/66)

QUESTION: Who made the decision for you to go to a white school and how was it made? What were the first days like?

Girl #1: The first year my parents didn't decide whether they wanted me to go or not. In fact, they didn't want me to go. While on our vacation in Texas, we heard on the news that fourteen teachers were petitioning the county board of education for desegregating the schools in the county. I decided that I wanted to go down. When _____found out that I wanted to go, she gave me an application. I took it down to the superintendent's office. In about two days they called and asked that some kids come down and take a test in the school library. It took about a half day. Two or three days later we heard on the news that thirteen students had been accepted. They told the number of boys and the number of girls but didn't give any names. The first day we went down in a block, for they wouldn't let us go to the school at first. They passed out papers from the governor stating that we couldn't come. We went back to the superintendent's office and had a little conference with him. We also had a conference with the principal to get our schedules worked out. As soon as we did get in school some of the kids started checking out and some of the teachers approached some of the students and asked them if they had made their phone calls yet. So there were only us left. About the second semester the school closed. We went to the superintendent's office to get things straight. We asked the superintendent if we could apply to go to other schools in the county. He said it was possible; so, we had a conference with the families involved and six decided to go to _____ and six decided to go to_____. One boy didn't go because he was expelled for insubordination. My mother decided I would go to _____ because she was afraid something might happen at _____. That's really where all the excitement was. When we went to _____, we had people constantly following us from the Justice Department. They would escort us back and forth. When we got there we had a nice reception with the confederate flag and state troopers standing

all around. The first day we went to____ they stopped the bus. They had each of us to stand up as they called our names so they could count us. As soon as we got off the bus at school, the students inside started calling us names. The first two or three days we stayed in the library and didn't go to class. The principal had to give us a conference one by one. He gave us the rules we had to go by. The first thing he asked us was why we wanted to come there. We all said basically the same thing; that we thought it was our constitutional right to go to any school we wanted to, and that we wanted to further our education. He then told us the regulations of the school. He said there would be no corn chunking (throwing corn kernels in the class) and no smoking. He said that any day he might ask a girl to let him see her pocketbook and if he found any cigarettes or liquor, he would throw her out of school. Then he told that we were to get cups for the water fountain and we had a separate restroom for the girls. I asked him why we were to drink out of cups and he said that students were leaving the school and that he wanted to keep them there; so he suggested that we drink out of paper cups for the time being. Nobody drank water out of the cups and nobody went to the bathrooms. When we went to the other bathrooms, to see what separate booth we had, we saw that on the first day they had written "Private." The next day they had written on a big white sign "Nigger" in red lipstick. They tore up the snack machines and everything. Soon everybody left and there were about ten teachers and six students. The lunch program was cut out so we had to bring out lunches. The teachers taught at two schools and they would leave anytime they wanted to. They went back to _____ to teach at the elementary school and when we had a class they would come down there. They didn't want to stay in class with us but they felt they had an obligation and, of course, they wanted to get paid. Soon we were subpoenaed to go to court. My teacher approached me and asked me to ask my lawyer not to do anything that would hinder the income of the teachers. I told her I didn't have anything to do with that; but still she told me to be sure to tell him. We went to court and the principal told us that he couldn't excuse us because we didn't have a legal excuse from the school. He said we would have to get an excuse from our lawyer. We had a verbal subpoena, and so did the principal. We all went down to court that Friday morning. All the people who were to appear in court stood around in a circle. Judge_____ and one of the associate judges and I forgot the other two. I forgot the issues involved but I think they were suspecting the private white school of receiving state funds. They put the schoolmaster on the stand. The band director of_____School left and went over to another school in _____County. The captain of the football team left also and others. Some of us told how it was at our two schools. The next day the principal told us that it was good we told the truth, but he couldn't excuse us for that day from school. We brought an excuse from our lawyer and finally he accepted it.

When school was out the principal came to each of our houses individually. He was working on a paper on "Desegregation in Southern Schools," and he wanted some information on the subject. During this time we had received some threats so we told him about them. He told us that one of

the teachers at the school was also threatened. He said he had notified the police; but the police didn't do anything. The sheriff came down to the school and he interviewed us and told us that he knew all of our parents and they were nice and everything.

Girl #2: I went to school in _____. My experiences were somewhat different from Girl #1's. The first day a news reporter rode the bus with us. All around us were state troopers. In front of them were Federal marshals. When we got to town there were lines of people and cars all along the road. They stopped the bus and I don't know how the sheriff of _____ County got there, but he was there. A man without a badge or anything got on the bus and started beating up the newspaper reporter. You could tell he was hurt because he was crying. They threw the camera all over the bus and broke it, and they threw the reporter all over the floor. Then they picked him up by the feet and took him to the door and threw him out on the ground. He was crying and bleeding. When we got to the school the students were all around looking through the windows and everything. The mayor of _____ made a little speech about fire hazards and all that. He said we couldn't come there because the school was already filled to capacity. He indicated that if six of us came in it would be a fire hazard. He told us to turn around and go back. We turned around and the student started yelling and clapping and everything. We went back to the office of the board of education. When I got home, my parents were at work and I got this call from my lawyer saying I was not to go back. It was quite a while before we went back because we had to go to court. After we got there we were called to the stand. At first it was kind of frightening; they asked us what happened. After court they told us that the decision was that we could go back. When we went back there were no students there at all. There were only two teachers left. One was an agriculture teacher and the other was an eighth grade science teacher. The rest of the teachers left so they had to bring a couple of teachers from other places to teach. They were very nice considering what had happened. Very often when we came to school we would see things written all over the front of the building and pictures were drawn all over the walls. They would always draw a little black man with a lynch around his head. As you go up the stairs you would see stuff written like, "get rid of Robert Kennedy." Our lawyer had told us to take note of these things that went on but the agriculture teacher would tell us to come in and not bother about it. He said the people on the other side of the street were taking note of how we acted and we wouldn't want to make it difficult. The principal was pretty nice. He would let us go about things casually. He wouldn't distrust us. They didn't have a milk machine and he would go out of his way to go to the store to buy cookies and things and would just bring them out and tell us to get them and put our money in the box. He didn't stand around and watch us or anything. One day in April we got a call that said the school would be burned and that there would be no school. We had to go back to court. We decided after court to go back to school. Since nothing was burned but the high school department, we had school in

the auditorium. We had classes on each side of the stage, in dressing rooms and wings. The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice. They told us that they had gotten threats during the last part of the year saying that if they gave diplomas to the three seniors that they would kill them or something. They decided to let us get out of school a day early and give the diplomas to us then. The shocking thing was during the graduation ceremonies. All six of the students got together to make a speech. After we finished, I looked around and saw three teachers crying. The principal had tears in his eyes and he got up to make a little speech about us. He told the truth for he said at first he didn't think he would enjoy being around us. You could see in his face that he was really touched. We said something like we really enjoyed school together and that we were glad they stuck it out and all that kind of stuff. There was one boy who constantly bothered our bus driver. We always got out one period early. He would wait for school to get out and get up on his truck and wait for us and when the light turned green he would just sit there and wouldn't move. The police station was right down the street but they wouldn't do anything about it. This continued until our bus driver told him off. Several times when we would come through town in the morning they would have guns out in the hobby shop. One girl on the bus, ____, would always get upset and start crying. They were really BB guns and they would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them. The first day at school here there were not many students but there were some. The principal was not very nice. I'm sure everybody had something to say about him. The students in class were having fake reactions, but I guess everybody had those at first. But later in the year we got to know each other pretty well and got into good discussions with teachers.

Girl #1: Last year, maybe because of the principal, wasn't a good year at all. Maybe, because we didn't have many activities like we had this year. The principal was just teaching there because he couldn't find a better job somewhere else, for he didn't do very much for the school. The first day there was marching and cameramen taking pictures. The teachers were pretty good for most of them were young graduates of _____ University. I guess they were pretty nice and everything. It was just that we didn't have any activities and that made it a sorry year. The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

Girl #3: In our biology class we had this strange teacher. In the first part of the year he didn't say anything to us about our grades. Some of us had pretty good grades on tests and everything. I had the feeling that he didn't want us to do that; he wanted them to do better than we did. He seemed to make the tests harder for he figured that if

we failed, it actually was difficult. He never wanted us to say that what he said was wrong. In one case he got made at _____ because he was wrong and she said he was wrong. It was a case concerning the male part of the flower and he said they were the pistil. On the chart the name of the thing was stamen. A couple of the white students agreed with him. As far as he was concerned he was right and there was nothing else to say about it. He felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight as far as biology was concerned. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much biology done. It was kind of difficult.

Girl #4: This year seemed to be entirely different for me, for it was my first year. It was actually almost like any other first day at a new school. We didn't know anybody and couldn't expect for everybody to come up and kiss us and all of that. The teachers seemed to accept me as well as the rest of the students. Although I didn't have any close friends, I never found anybody who acted like they would die if I got close to them. It has been almost a normal year for me.

Girl #1: The atmosphere this year is very different than last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year and the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another. Most of the students are afraid of their parents.

Girl #3: In economics I had this teacher named _____ who is from _____. The class was sort of divided up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone," their freedom the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

Girl #1: When I first came down from _____, she compelled me to say, "yes, maam." I realize that it is a way of showing respect and adults like children to show respect. But when somebody compels you to say that, and my parents don't require me to say that to them, it kind of gets on me. If you didn't say it she would take off points from your grades. I also notices that she didn't like people from the east, west, and north. She doesn't like redheads, for they give her the impression that they are mean. Don't let a person have green eyes because to her they are fierce. _____ was going to Pennsylvania and she told her not to

go there and get a yankee accent and if she did, not to come back down here. When she did come back, _____ asked me if she had an accent and I told her no. So she saw _____ and she said, "Well you can come back then." If there is anything she wants to know about the race problem, she will call you. She used to call me to see what was going on during the summer. I forgot I was supposed to say "yes maam" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, _____, have you forgotten about saying "yes maam?" I said, "no,_____, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

Boy #1: Concerning answering, "yes maam" and "no maam," I find that this is the way almost any teacher will expect their students to address them. If you think about it, if you were someplace else, you would probably address the teachers the same. In our situation, being Negro, I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noam." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes maam" and "no maam" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

Girl #2: I remember the first year one teacher threatened to have _____ put out of school because he wouldn't say "yes maam" and "no maam" to her. We were not accustomed to saying it and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah", she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to give this to ____ and have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yeah" so she could make a big thing out of it. It's actually not that much if they want it. It seems like if you say yes one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes maam." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes maam" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying "maam," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

Girl #1: When I first went there, I ran sort of a little test on all of my teachers to see how many wanted me to say "yes maam." I found that _____ was the only one who tried to compel me to say it. She asked me, "Don't you say "yes maam" to your mother and father?" I said, "No, sometimes I might say, "yes mother" or "yes father," or something like that. She thought it was just terrible. That's the reason she thought I was a bad girl.

Boy #2: The first day at school, _____ made it a point that we would say "yes maam" and "no maam" to her. One day she asked me something and I said, "yes." She told me that the correct way to speak to her was to say "yes maam" and "no maam." About three or four days after school had started, a white student, _____, who was also taking economics, came into our class. _____ has this complex against yankees and _____was from the north and she has an accent to prove it. _____ just couldn't understand it. She had to drop the course because _____ was very partial toward her. She would stick with us instead of the white kids and ____ didn't appreciate that. When we were in class doing something, she would ask the white kids questions and if they couldn't answer them she would ask us, "What do you all have to say?" She could not teach. She would ask us to read certain things in economics and the next day she would come and say the very same thing that was in the book. We didn't need to take that over again because we read it that night. What was the use of reading the same thing over again? Actually we didn't learn anything except what was in the book.

Boy #1: Speaking of the inability of the teachers to teach, what do you think about the teachers down there, do you think they are any better or what?

Girl #1: Personally, I like the teachers in the white school better than any of the teachers I have ever had. From the sixth grade down, my teachers always called me by my first name; from the seventh grade on they called me by my last name. I feel that it is very impersonal. Maybe it is because my classes were very crowded and my teachers didn't have time to help us as it is in a smaller classroom. When I got to the white school, the teachers were much more personal. None of them have ever called me by my last name. They take, or some take, more time with you; therefore, I feel that they are better.

Girl #3: I don't think they are any better or any worse than any other teacher I have had. People are people and some teachers are good and some are bad. I find that some of the teachers there are better and some are worse. You can't put the teachers together and say, "These teachers are better," or "These teachers are worse."

Boy #1: What I had reference to was, I found at the Negro school there is much more strictness of discipline or many more strict teachers. The teachers are more experienced and their teaching techniques are different and their presentation of the lesson plan is better.

Girl #2: It's not necessarily that they are more experienced in teaching techniques, it's just that they have techniques of their own. You are used to their techniques and you have just got to get used to other teachers' techniques. You can't just say that this teacher's techniques is better because he has a better teaching technique because you are used to his. Maybe, after and if, you get used to the teaching techniques that are unfamiliar to you, you might like them.

Girl #1: The impression that I got of the Negro teachers, maybe because so many students that go there, is that they try to build up some sort of big impression for themselves. When I went to the white school it didn't seem that way. I guess because the classes were so small. Everybody has a pretty good impression and the teachers wouldn't go out of their way to help you just to make an impression or practice some discipline just to get back at you.

Girl #3: I kind of think the way you do. At the Negro school some of the teachers seem to have a complex. They seem to want to show you that they are just as good as the white teachers at any other place. I want to show you I'm great too. They go all out of their way to do little things that really don't help you learn anything; but they think they are making an impression on you. That didn't help me any; I just wanted someone who could teach, who could help me without putting on an act.

Girl #1: I found this too. When I was in the seventh grade, my mother told me that she wanted me to apply for the eighth grade at the white school. I was happy and I told two of my teachers. One teacher constantly reminded me that I am a member of the Negro race and that since I was going to school with white children, I would have to change because they are different. She said that if I am going to school down there, I would have to stop being bad. Every time I'd do something she'd tell me I better change because that is why the whites didn't want us down there now because we are so bad. Things like this lead Negro children to think that they are actually in a minority and are different.

QUESTION: Why do you think she did that?

Girl #1: I really don't know. I kind of think she really thought that. That they didn't want us because we're noisy. After I got over there I found out differently. They're as bad as we are. You just can't say that because we are Negroes and they are whites that we are different. Everything that my instructor told me to look out for was just the opposite of what she had lead me to believe.

Girl #3: The same thing happened to me. Whenever you tell somebody you want to do something different you get this. I told one of my teachers that I planned to apply to the white school and she told me what to do and what not to do. People really make you believe that you are different, you know, little black girl is stupid, and that we have to act differently around white children. When you get into the situation children are children, they are going to do what they want to do anyway. It kind of makes you feel funny because you don't like to feel that you have to act in a different way because you want to make a good impression on the white kids. I want to be me.

Girl #1: It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

QUESTION: Have you lost any friends as a result?

Girl #1: The people that I had in mind were not my friends in the first place.

Girl #2: I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

Boy #2: The first year that I went down there, we had this friend who lived sort of out in the country. My father went and picked her up for dinner one day. After we finished eating dinner, she asked me how I was getting along at my new school. I told her. She asked my father if she could use the telephone and he said, "yes." She had known us for the six years that we have lived here and before. She was talking with one of her friends on the phone and she didn't know we were listening. She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't. Actually my father didn't want me to go down there at first. Considering my going to school down town, I said that actually any Negro child can do this because all he has to do is fill out an application. She still couldn't get rid of the idea that we were "big Niggers." I just can't understand how they can say that. I said I'm no different than you are. Every time we would go over to her house, she would call some of her friends over and introduce them to the "big Niggers." I just stopped going over there. It's not only the children who are that way but it is the grownups also. A few neighbors around my house think it's a crime for me to rake or cut the lawn cause they think I'm so important. Once they learn that we are no different from them, and white people are no different from colored people, the situation will be much better. I'll be glad when that day comes.

Girl #2: That's the way a lady in our neighborhood is. She doesn't think that we are any better than she is but she thinks that we think we are. She will do anything to get us out of the neighborhood. She talks about me when I come down the street. You can tell when someone is talking about you because they look at you from the side and talk out of the corner of their mouth. Our house is the only brick house on the street but that doesn't mean that we think we are big. The house has been there for almost eight years now. She told some of the neighbors that we think we are rich just because I was one of the first Negroes who integrated the school, and because my father was asked to be on one of the little groups broken out from the city council. Our street used to be a dirty street and my father got up a petition and took it around the neighborhood. In order to get the street cleaned you have to have so many houses on it who want it. She was one of the last ones to sign it because she said that we though we were so big that we thought we were the only people who could handle that sort of job. She felt she could do it just as well. Maybe she could have but she didn't think of it. She looked at me and watched me walk down the street and the lady she was talking with told me that she said, "You ought to see her when she gets off the bus, she throws her head up like she is so big." It used to hurt me and I talked with my mother about it and she and I decided to ignore it because you find people like that in every group. It's going to be hard, just as I'm reading a book by Sammy Davis Jr. "Yes I Can." He didn't know anything about the difference between a Negro and a white because his father protected him. And that was wrong. When he got in the Army the men painted him white and rubbed him with turpentine. They said, "See the white paint comes off but your brown don't." They did awful things to him. He had the talent and wanted to make it big. When he did, the whites got mad at him because he did and the Negroes got mad at him because there weren't any Negroes at his party. That's the way it is here. The whites got mad at us for going to that school and the Negroes got mad too.

Girl #1: I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

Girl #3: If you really look at it, I don't know if jealousy is the right word, but it seems as if they want to be a part of it too, and they are angry because you are in it. It doesn't make very much sense because they can do the same thing but nobody has the initiative to do it.

Girl #1: What I have noticed is that many of the kids say they want to change schools or they want to participate in the activities, but their parents say they can't. Some say they are scared or something like that. I believe that a lot of them wanted to but they feel that they don't have the opportunities we had. It was easy for us because we had help.

Girl #3: I was talking to one boy and I want someone to explain to me what he meant. He said he was thinking about applying to the white school but that he changed his mind because he said he thinks he will be intimidated for the school belongs to me now. I didn't understand him but I never got the chance to ask him what he meant. It just didn't make sense to me; I couldn't understand it.

Boy #1: He probably felt that since you were among the first who integrated the school and since there was only a few of us that maybe he felt that he would be intruding on something that you had started, that you had begun.

Girl #3: Maybe that is how he felt, but I wish that we or that somebody could make people see that we were not just going there to get our names in the papers. Somebody had to start it sometime. We were not just going to say that we are the only ones that go to the white school. We were going, or rather we were doing this to help everybody. Why can't they see that it's their school too? If they want to go, why don't they just go?

Girl #1: The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extra-curricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

Boy #1: Going back to what you said about representing everyone. A person really can represent no one but himself. When I went, I didn't go for what you might call the Negro cause...

Girl #3: I didn't mean like that. If I had been one of the first to go, maybe I would have felt different. I am glad I didn't go that first year because I don't think I would have been able to stand up the way you all did. I think that more people should go.

QUESTION: Talk a little about you association with white students.

Girl #1: Sometimes when we are sitting in assembly we have a few students who don't want to sit by us and they make insinuating remarks like, "I had better not get too close to you," or something like that. You go to the bathroom and you see little notes and everything. Like when _____ (a civil-rights worker,ed.) got killed you might hear someone say something like, "Man have you heard that _____ is dead?" The person he is talking to might answer, "Yea man ain't that a good thing?" A whole lot of people can't take that. I tried to ignore it but I just couldn't.

Girl #3: The day it happened I said to myself, "I can't go to school today because I know what's going to happen."

Boy #2: The day it happened, I went into _____ room and a few more boys came in and they started talking about _____death. One of them said that he didn't believe that the man killed him. I told him that I couldn't voice my opinion on it because I didn't know exactly what happened and I didn't want to say anything that wasn't true. It turned out with us talking about the governor and his administration. They all said that _____ is doing a good thing. I said, "You are dang right. He is doing a good thing. Had it not been for him, the university wouldn't be as integrated as it is; if he hadn't stood in the school door and made a fool of himself trying to defy the Federal Government." He is always talking about this sovereign state so I asked them what did "sovereign state" mean, and would they refer to our state as being sovereign. They said yes. I asked them how they could possibly think this when we are getting money from the Federal Government; we are getting food from the Federal Government; the Federal Government is practically supporting you. If it were not for the Federal Government, we really couldn't have anything, schools or anything.

Girl #3: When I first decided to come to the white school I got a lot of suggestions from teachers and friends; but the best suggestion I got was to be open minded. I had no idea how it would be; I could only come and find out. You tend to form impressions or ideas of what it's going to be like. They are going to think you are going to be a certain way so don't try to be that way. They are going to think you are like this because all Negroes are like this so you have got to try to be different. Negroes can be prejudiced too and can have ideas about whites too. It's just as simple as not knowing what it's going to be like so you got to be open minded. If you are not going to be open minded and try to learn together you can't want to progress. Not being open minded is going to hinder you.

Girl #2: In our eleventh grade-English class we were discussing Huckleberry Finn and we had to try out for all kinds of parts in the play. We got upset at first because our English teacher didn't try out the two Negro boys for anything but the part of Jim. She didn't try any of the white boys out for that part either. We got upset because even though they were Negroes, and they have to be in the part, she could have thought of making us feel a little better by letting the white boys try for the part.

QUESTION: Well, what did you do about it?

Boy #1: We went to the principal and asked him about it. He said that the part did call for a Negro. Well, I agree with this. The part called for a Negro and there were two Negro boys in the class so both of us tried out for the part. However, she might have let us try out for some other parts also. The principal said that if we did let a white person play the part of Jim, then the thing would become a comedy and everyone would sit up and laugh and the actual meaning of the play wouldn't come out. The play is supposed to build up a better relationship between the whites and the Negroes, as Jim was Huck's best friend. The principal suggested that we go on and do it. We never said anything to the instructor about it.

Girl #2: After the two Negro boys tried out for Jim, I began to think that the Negro girls could only play the parts of colored women and Negro slaves. I sort of got a little frustrated. But she had all of the girls both white and Negro to try out for the other parts. It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

QUESTION: Would you have done it?

Girl #2: Well, yeah. I don't think I would have been any less embarrassed than they, but I would have done it. You see I don't really care about what anybody is going to say if they see me hug him. They just gave me the impression that it was more what would happen when their friends saw them do this. They just have to maintain their relationship with their white friends. Now they have us shaking hands. At first they didn't want us to do anything but just wave at each other. One of

the boys was making a big scene knocking down chairs and everything and saying, "No, no, I can't do that." One of them was supposed to rub his sister's hair. "No I can't do that." Then he changed his mind and said he might be able to rub her hair but I can't hug her. The other one wouldn't say anything. He said it didn't make any difference with him.

Girl #1: After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

Girl #2: In the play I was the daughter and I was the only Negro in the whole family. They go around and call everybody brother and sister and mom and dad and they get to me and call me sister. When we sat around the table, I was expecting them to move their chairs over but they didn't do that. I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said if I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you and Boy #1 last. I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you all because you know how to cope with our white jokes." I asked him what he meant and he said that when he tells us jokes we just laugh about them and don't get upset. I didn't know whether to take it as a compliment or not.

Boy #1: During athletic season, I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it.

QUESTION: Why did you go along with them earlier?

Boy #1: When I first came into the situation, I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay but I just got tired of it.

Girl #4: What about the junior and senior banquet?

Girl #2: We had a meeting and the instructor asked how many of us thought we were coming. All of the Negroes' hands went up. There was one white girl whose hand went up. After she looked around and saw all of the other white students who didn't raise their hands, hers went down again. She was the main one who wanted to have it. Just when she saw their reactions, I think she was afraid she might lose her friends if she came. She keeps avoiding the principal so he won't ask her if she's coming. She keeps saying that she is not sure. The instructor said, "Well why don't you want to come?" She said, "I am not sure now." She's not sure but she might be out of town. She's the student council president and she wants to be the leader all the time. I felt that this was the time she should have been the leader. Maybe even though she feels some of her friends will not like it. I can see how she feels but this is the time she cannot help them but help the school. The junior and senior banquet is good but I have the feeling that there is not going to be anybody there but Negroes.

Girl #1: You talk about the reason they don't want to come is maybe because they didn't want to sit next to us. One day we were sitting around talking and I asked some white girls just why they didn't want Negroes to sit next to them or touch them or anything. They came up with the reason that they don't believe in intermarriage. Now, what does marriage have to do with sitting by somebody?

Boy #1: Maybe they feel that if they get friendly with us and sit beside us and talk that might lead to. . .

Girl #1: Well it takes two to marry somebody. This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

Boy #1: They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

Girl #2: No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

Girl #1: I think they get many of these ideas from their parents. Most of the adults feel that integration results in intermarriage especially in the elementary school. Getting back to _____, I think the reason she backed out was she felt she couldn't afford to lose her image with her friends and that they have to continue to think the same way. How is she in class with you?

Girl #4: Well in the first place, there are only five of us in there and we are the only girls in there. She'd rather talk to a girl than a boy. The girls have more in common. But she just changes completely when she gets out of that class and is around with her other friends.

Girl #3: Don't you think you'd do the same thing? If you were in a class with nothing but white girls and you didn't have anybody to talk to except them, you'd talk to them. And then when you got where you were an equal number you'd talk to us more than them.

Girl #2: There was one girl in my homeroom, _____, who is okay. She would talk to us and when we are in some kind of trouble, she will help us out. I found that she likes a lot of things that _____ and I like. She doesn't sit around and keep it to herself and her white friends. Like when we are doing something and you have to pick someone to be on your team, a lot of white students will pick some white students first because they are white. She is different, she will pick you because she thinks you are good.

Girl #3: As part of being somebody you aren't, I have trouble, because you don't want to be over nice, yet you want to be nice. In one class I have, there are only five of us in there. There are two white boys, two white girls, and myself. Usually, I don't sit with anyone. If we are going to talk or anything our teacher tells us to be quiet. They will start their conversation about anything. It is just boring to me. Someone might say, "Why don't you come and sit with us?" I can't tell them that I don't want to sit with you because I don't enjoy talking with them . I have to laugh at their stupid jokes or they'll think I'm square. It's just that you can't act yourself around them. You want to be with your friends, the Negroes. I can be me more then. If it were a place where whites and Negroes lived together and did things together it'd be different. I guess it's just the situation in _____ that makes it that way.

Girl #2: Like when we had our first party, everybody started running all over the building. It ended up with all of the Negroes having a party in one room and all of the whites having a party in another. Everybody enjoyed this because we wanted our music and they wanted theirs. We just couldn't all be together and enjoy the same music. I like to do the "Dog" but to their music all you can do is jump around. Their music has a louder and faster beat than ours. We would end up playing one record that they liked and they would end up playing one record that we liked. I only like one record out of their collection and that was "Hang on Snoopy" and that wasn't too much. So we just ended up having two parties. We all enjoyed it.

Girl #3: Something else concerning the divided society. There is a girl whose name is _____ that goes to choir practice with me. We have something to talk about together sometimes away from school. She is a friend of mine but not that close. If the town were arranged differently, the situation would probably be different.

Girl #1: We need more activities together so we'll have more in common. Maybe gradually in two or three years we'll do more things together like proms and dances.

Girl #2: It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.

Girl #1: Those who say that always break the rules anyway, like smoking. Last year they got away with some of it, but this year it's different. If you get caught, you got to pay the consequences.

Girl #2: _____, the student council president, hasn't gotten into any trouble, and he doesn't do anything to her. But behind his back she'll say how she doesn't like him. She wants to be an individual, and she wants to be a leader, and he's letting her. Because her friends don't like him, so she doesn't too.

Girl #1: What got me mad was when the student council fails to do something. She'll work hard to get something, but once she gets a position she won't do a good job afterwards.

QUESTION: Tell us some more about the kids in your classes. Are they friendly...are they as smart as you thought they were?

All: No! (LAUGHTER)

Girl #3: In our English class one of the white boys decided that he is not going to do anything. He isn't going to cooperate. The teacher asked him to read a poem and he said he would rather not. She would just call on somebody else.

Girl #1: There's a lot of white students who act like they think they are doing you a favor if they let you be their friends. It's like it is a privilege for you to be their friend. Well, that's not the kind of friend I need. If you are going to be my friend I don't care what you are or what you claim to be. This is where ____ comes in.

I hate to talk about that girl. She acts as if it is a privilege, and that you ought to be glad that she is going to be your friend. She acts like a counselor over you. There's a lot more like this too. They will talk to their friends about you, then they will come and get your opinion about something, then they will turn what you said to just the opposite and start something.

Girl #3: What makes me feel sort of bad is when you go to a place out of the south; where there is integration and it is so perfect. People seem wonderful and you just forget about what you are, about your color and everything. Then when you come back to _____ you see that it is just the opposite. It makes you sick. You realize how perfect society can be but people just don't care enough to try to start it. It just makes you think. You see a way that you would like for things to be but it just can't be.

Girl #2: I'm so used to white people objecting to many of the things that I do that I think I'll leave ____. I kind of question myself: "Here is a friend but does she really mean it?" I don't want to be that kind of person. I want to accept someone to be my friend without this kind of doubt. I think it's just being here. I get somewhere else and find white people being very nice and kind and I say to myself: "look what they're doing." I don't want to feel that, I want to accept it.

Girl #1: Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

QUESTIONS: Are you girls saying that you are more distrustful of white people now than you were a few years ago? Is that the common reaction or not?

Girl #2: If I had been around them all of my days and know how they react with me in school is different from the way that they react with me out, I could go along with it. When I was in the north I went to an integrated group and I didn't think anything about it. Now when some of them are being nice to me I find myself saying: "look what they are doing for me, going out of their way to do it."

Boy #1: I don't know if this is representative of everyone, but I find that in our schools, the white kids will turn on each other. They will be friends and then when something happens, they always point the thing to the other. Even though they are friends, they can't seem to trust each other. Just last night, for instance, a group of boys was supposed to go to _____ together. One boy got stuck and they left him behind and told him they were coming back for him. He asked them to call his mother and let her know where he was. They didn't call his mother and they didn't come back for him. They were supposed to be three good friends.

QUESTION: That doesn't happen among Negro friends?

Boy #1: I would say it was not as prevalent.

QUESTION: What other things do you see down there among the white kids?

Boy #1: They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence in _____, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "somebody might shoot me," "take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over to _____ to some of the activities. But they think that the Negroes just hate white people, they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that there are so many white people over here now that it is a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us here are what they refer to as "nigger lovers."

Girl #1: I noticed that the students here act differently from the white ones at _____ and _____. There was a girl who worked as a cashier at one of the campus stores, and one of the white college students came to the store with a Negro. She saw this good-looking white boy but she couldn't talk to him because they were from the _____. I asked her what difference does that make. She didn't know what difference it made, she thought that they were different or something. She couldn't explain her reason for acting as she did.

Boy #1: I find that this is not only at the school but is characteristic of the entire white population at _____. All of them are afraid of what the others will think. I don't know very much about the city council but I think this exists in the city council.

Girl #2: _____ told me that the school was an example of how good the whites and the Negroes could mix. We were talking about the junior-senior banquet, and he asked whether the whites and the Negroes would want to avoid each other at the banquet. I said, "why don't you sit next to me and we'll set an example." He said to me later, "Do you really want to sit by me?" I'm always joking around so I said, "Oh yes, sure, you know I want to sit by you." I was only joking, but maybe he took it seriously. He said to me later, "Do you want to sit next to me because I can't do that--my friends wouldn't like it?" I said, "Oh, that's all right. I will bring my date and we can sit on the other side of you." I was just joking around. I didn't know whether he was taking me serious or not but he asked me again and I said, "No, that's all right."

Boy #1: He was serious--because he asked me. (LAUGHTER) I want to say something about this... What do you think about this desegregation for next year? How will it work? That's between Negroes and whites.

Girl #1: All kids coming down here, they are going to be this, on that and on the other thing. If the whites hear all this half of them will drop out. Many of them have left already. But you can't just turn down the Negroes because parents say, you picked the best kids, you didn't pick my son or daughter and they start this rejection toward the school. Then next year you beg them to come down and they won't. They say you said you picked the best ones and you didn't pick my son or daughter then. I don't know what we are going to do about it. We got problems here.

QUESTION: What kind of reactions do you think white teachers would get from predominately all Negro schools?

Girl #2: I know of one teacher at _____ and she left, but she wasn't a good teacher that's why.

Girl #3: They have one now, from the _____. They said he was accepted fairly well. You just have to think about personality. I don't know--can't be much worse.

Girl #2: From what I've heard from students about the white teacher that was just the excuse she gave for leaving, that Negro kids don't know how to respect white teachers. Wherever you go kids are going to act like this. Maybe she felt funny teaching a class of all Negroes and not any whites.

Girl #4: Well I think I would have felt the same way had I been in her place. At least some will try to show her we're bad, we don't need you. Negroes are prejudiced too, at least some are. Make her feel different. Nobody wants to feel that way, you know. She is going to think she is different, and she <u>is</u> different. She <u>would</u> think she had a special reason for leaving. I think I would have left too.

Girl #1: Why did she come? She should have gone. Children are going to be children, and they will act like this! I guess it's just the way the teacher has to handle the class. Maybe the way she presents her work. If you send down a Negro teacher at an all-white school, an integrated school, you send your best Negro teacher and if you send a white teacher to an all Negro school, you send your best white teacher. I don't think that she was their best. If she couldn't cope with the students like the Negro teacher can, she wasn't that good. I heard that she sat around in her chair all of the time. You know most teachers walk around in a classroom. She would still have to discipline her class. If she just didn't make it seem like "I'm white." She wasn't their best teacher. They should have sent one of their better white teachers and it would have worked out.

Boy #1: Well I would imagine...In any classroom, you would still have kids who would steal...Haven't found any in our school. There is much less stealing than at the _____ or any other school. The kids don't use locks on their lockers. They never did.

Girl #1: I see that, maybe because of the small number of children who are here.... I don't care who you are, where you come from, anybody will steal. No matter what race they are. It might be because of the small population of our school. You know the Negro school is a large school, maybe they can get away with it better...

Girl #3: There is just one thing I would like to say... We have a lot of dumb people in our class... you know, dumb, white people. (LAUGHTER) It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything. I noticed this before. I was absent a lot and I was behind, had a lot of back work to do in order to catch up. There was one time I didn't finish my short stories. I had seventeen and I turned in sixteen. I noticed that she didn't give me credit but for the sixteen. I know that there are some white kids...well this one boy, he never does his homework, he doesn't even bring books to class. He could get an "I" and he can make it up. It should be the same for all. The teacher would always say, "Did you understand it?" and he would say, "No, I didn't." She would say, "Well, see me after class and bring it in later at the sixth period." He is just far behind and yet, he is going to graduate. It's the same way with another girl.

Girl #1: I guess they expect a lot from you. The white kids went to the _____ last year and they didn't learn much of anything. I kind of noticed that when they are in class they don't recite and can't answer questions right. The majority of the white kids in our classroom have a don't-carish attitude. They say I don't care about school. Maybe they feel that they are going to graduate without much trouble anyway, they'll get a passing grade and it seems that they aren't going to college. Probably they are going to get married so it doesn't really matter just so long as "I get my degree."

Boy #1: Last night after the baseball game, the superintendent, myself, and the coach were discussing this attitude that was in the school and it seems to be the problem with the baseball team. These kids seem to have the idea that if they can't win, they don't care. Coach was saying that actually they don't care and that in home games, this attitude was prevalent in the parents and it rubs off on the kids. He asked _____'s mother and she said it's been like this since she has been here, the white people act like they don't care. They have never been together and they just have an "I don't care" attitude.

Boy #2: What about the boy who comes to class unprepared and has no excuse, does exactly nothing and the teacher asks him why he doesn't have his work? And he answers, "I was sick," "I had to work," or "go to band practice." And she says bring it in tomorrow. Tomorrow comes, then the next tomorrow--all day--and then he still doesn't turn it in. And actually he doesn't do anything in class but yet, he could be making good grades. She is actually giving him grades. She is just doing it, just to pass him. _____ just doesn't care. He thinks, I am doing you a favor just by coming to school when he actually isn't doing anyone any good because the time she takes up with him trying to explain things to him, he is actually hindering everybody instead of trying to help them because he actually does nothing in the classroom. He just sits there occupying space. That's all he is doing.

Girl #1: If he doesn't graduate I think maybe, he will go into the armed services. If he doesn't graduate he is not coming back to school another year. He just doesn't care.

QUESTION: What are you people going to do after you finish classes, when you finsih high school?

Boy #1: Our plans after we graduate from school... I think all of us plan to go to college.

Boy #2: The white kids always talk about getting married or joining the armed services, so I asked ____ what is he going to do when he gets out of the armed services. He tells me he is going to get a job somewhere. I say get a job doing what? I try to tell him that the world is becoming more mechanized day by day; some can't even find--I mean it's going to be hard to make a living. He tells me that he is going to do this and he is going to do that. I say he's going to be lost. But he says he can find something and I try to tell him that it's not going to work. Then he thinks I am being uppity and all this, so he gets mad and walks off.

Girl #1: Oh, I think most kids feel that college isn't for everyone--which is true, and that some people are better off in trade school, better off married, some are better off lost.

Girl #4: In our English class, I believe it was at the end of the semester, our teacher divided the class into two groups--the group that was planning to go to college and the group that was not. And it seems to me that the majority of the kids, well, the kids in college preparatory groups are the ones that have a closer relationship than the ones in the other group. I feel that, they don't have anything to say to the other group. I mean, this was before the division was made as well as now. There is only one girl in the non-college group and the other girls are in the college prep group. This seems to have some relationship to the atmosphere in our class.

QUESTION: Do you spend much time together?

Boy #1: All of us have gym classes together. Outside of school, no. You mean outside of school?

QUESTION: You said not many of you were friendly with the white kids after school, so I'm wondering if you are friendly with each other?

Boy #1: Yes!! That's all we can do. We have to talk to somebody, so we just have to talk to each other.

Girl #1: One thing we have different from the white school, they don't have dances. Their main activity should be the high school. They have to go to _____ and maybe that's why they are not more together. Maybe if the high school had more activities, maybe if we could all go you see, we can go to the other school.

QUESTION: Are you treated like outsiders at the Negro high school?

Girl #1: Well, there are certain groups, I mean my girl friends--well my friends aren't like that. Just friends, well not friends, but people that you want to call friends. There are hundreds of kids up there and all of them are not the same way.

QUESTION: Suppose you were approached and asked for suggestions about going to a white school? What would you tell them?

Girl #1: I would say that there are really no activities, you should be willing to take the insults they sometimes make, and you won't really be accepted as best friends all the time because sometimes that's not true. But I realize that myself.

Boy #2: I would tell them to be prepared for a change because it's a great change from the other school to this high school and don't form any opinions about the school. Just come and more or less observe. One thing is the change in social atmosphere. I mean that you can joke around, just more freedom. But down here, sometimes you can say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult but--you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it. Really, there's a strain. There also seems to be more homework here.

Girl #1: You see, there, there seems to be more activities to take up school periods and I find I talked to one of my old friends and they say that they are way behind in their books. We may have passed that section but they didn't understand what they were on. It's just that we don't have so many activities.

Boy #1: Once before we did mention teachers being better or worse and everybody else said that you could not compare the teachers actually because every teacher has his own teaching technique. But I would disagree; I would say our teachers at the Negro high school are better. The teachers here are unexperienced--most of them are just out of college and they are not, just do not have the technique. Wait, let me! No, let me finish. At the Negro school, there are teachers who have more class activities, the teacher explains things and we have more class discussions, whereas at our high school, we read the book and have a test. That's about all there is to it. Some people may say that is the teacher's technique, his own technique. You can't say he is worse or better, that's just his technique, but I would say there is a difference.

Girl #1: Now, mainly he was speaking about just one teacher who is an individual. Yes,

Boy #1: No, I'm not talking of just one individual...

Girl #1: Yes, you are too! She is the best teacher in the school.

Boy #1: She is the best teacher in the school but that doesn't make her good.

Girl #2: She explains things and doesn't leave until you understand and if you don't understand, you just don't stand there and look dumb. If you do, then that's your fault.

Boy #1: Do you think that she is as good a teacher as _____?

Girl #1: Yes, I do.

Boy #1: Well, that's just your opinion, your personal opinion.

Girl #1: Then again, you can't compare science with English; you will always give illustrations with slides and visual aids and things like that. I feel that English is usually a most boring subject until I got to _____. Both are individuals.

Boy #1: But both as far as teaching techniques and what goes on in the classroom, and how the teacher gets lessons over to the students that's how you tell a good teacher.

Girl #1: Maybe she is better to you because she was teaching a difficult subject. Take for instance, science, you can always give movies, any visual aid--anything is interesting in science. Those things will always be more interesting to most people. But English is usually boring. Grammar, and how to punctuate, verbs and things like that. And it's usually nothing to worry about too much. Then if the teacher can make him interested, then she is a good teacher.

Boy #1: What I'm saying is that you said you have never been to any other school except the high school and you cannot compare other means and ways of teaching techniques. What I'm saying is that you haven't been a student at the high school so you couldn't compare...

Girl #1: I was telling you about these rules. I haven't been to the high school, that's true, but I've been to an English teacher before and I didn't like his technique.

Girl #4: Now, during the time I was at the Negro high school, in my ninth grade classroom, we used to go to one man and the classrooms were over crowded and I'm not saying that the teachers were bad, but we didn't do anything that was not customary. And when I changed schools that was when I found that the work was harder. I guess because classes were smaller and it's according to how the teacher lectures--whether it's boring or whether it's interesting. My physics teacher and my geometry teacher are two teachers that seem to know the materials but can't teach it. Both of them have engineering degrees but you can't say they can present it in an interesting way because they don't.

Boy #2: I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up to date. Two or three years ago, when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they are sure they will know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the students at the Negro school are sort of ... like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

Girl #3: I didn't come from the Negro school here as you know. I'm from _____, but the Negro college there is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference, not just in _____.

Boy #1: Well, what would you rather have; an "A" student with a "B" character or a "B" student with an "A" character? The teachers at the Negro school have more experience well, they've done it every year. They learn by experience. Each time they make a mistake, they're warned that that's one they've made. Even though these teachers in the white school are new they have just gotten out of college--that doesn't mean too much.

Girl #1: They have to learn by experience also. So, you've got to give them time to learn too. We just can't say A character or B character and teachers with an A character are better teachers than those with B character. You also have to grade B character over a period of time. You just have to give them time too.

Girl #1: I knew a lot of teachers at the Negro school before I came here. It seemed to me they were trying to maintain a reputation they had for being tough and for putting students out of class and sending them to the office and all of that. Now my general science teacher, well we didn't have general science, we had biology--and some of the words she couldn't pronounce herself. Most of the time _____ pronounced the words. Most of the time the way ____ pronounced the words is the way the class accepted them because the teacher didn't know the words. She would call on _____ or someone else in the class to explain them and she would go along. In English in the ninth grade, our English class is also our homeroom class. A lot of times things we should have discussed in homeroom, we'd discuss at our English period because we didn't have enough time in homeroom. A lot of teachers at the white school go to a lot of trouble trying to figure out ways of staying out of class so late by taking long coffee breaks. One time our history teacher was out of class so late that he came in at almost the end of the class period and gave us half an hour of notes to be taken in ten minutes. I don't think this is fair.

Girl #1: I think it's up to anyone to come to make their own suggestions because like I found people gave me advice and it was different advice that they gave me even though they weren't in the situation. I don't think I can because I am in the situation and right now if I were to give advice it'd be different from others in this room. I think that the only thing I could tell them would be to make up in their minds to want to come and when they get here to be themselves and don't put on a big show. This is not to say you have to be different in order to get along with other people. It's not

that way at all. You find that people judge you by your group without getting to know you at first. The Negro group is such and such. After that they get to know you as the individual as you are.

Boy #2: Another thing about impressions, when I was down here a year ago I got the impression that they were trying to push me around and I was called a show-off. I was called this often and constantly. I got to the point where I believed it. So my first year down there I got the attitude, you know, that I don't care about this and that. Well, when I got down there I found out in a couple of months that it wasn't like this. But after I had practiced this for so long, then after I started changing myself it was difficult to change and I couldn't really start changing until this year. I lost quite a few friends that I really didn't mean to, because of my attitude last year. So far as giving people advice on what to do down there, I hardly know how to react myself in certain situations. I would tell them just don't and use your own discretion as far as possible. But I would not tell them, you know, espeically, they did this and they did that to me, because this really proves to be a handicap and it's very hard to correct the mistake that you have gotten influenced beforehand.

Girl #2: I find that you should watch out for a couple of things. My advice is for you not to do things in class that would impress the teacher or impress the students--or maybe impress yourself. And that's one of the things you find later on, just do your job and don't try to impress anybody, and you will get a little better reaction, where you wouldn't try to impress anybody.

Girl #1: Well I would like to offer a few suggestions--give them the reaction. Tell them what to expect and maybe some of the things I came in contact with may cause them to be separated and things like that. But they can use it or not.

QUESTION: Do people call you names to your face?

Girl #1: Yes, not regularly, but maybe after a person gets angry with you and they call you names every week or pass you by without speaking. This makes you angry.

Girl #2: It's not as much as it was before.

Boy #2: You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.

Girl #2: I find myself, I don't think about it now. I called girl #1 a nigger right off, y'know we joke about it. But you turn right around and a white person call me a nigger I don't know how to take it. I talked to ____ about it and he suggested that when the whites see Negroes calling each other nigger then they use it. So I catch myself and when I'm joking around in the halls I don't say it down there.

Girl #1: I had this white friend this summer. We were just talking about things, the school situation and stuff, and she asked me what did I think if she called me a nigger. I told her I'd be offended. So she said she could see this because where she went to school some of her friends call her a peck or a cracker and they laugh it off. But if I called her a name like that she'd be offended too.

Boy #1: Well, I'd like to say this. I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

Girl #2: All in all the situation is not bad. There always is a rotten apple but we expected this. Some people ask what it's like down there and they expect me to say it's tough and mean. But it's not like that at all. It's nice, considering the situation. Things are better than they were last year.

QUESTION: Have any of you had any of your white classmates to your homes, or have you gone to any of theirs?

Boy #1: I've been to the front door. (LAUGHTER) When I invited one over he was cautious about it. I had four or five over on some business to check on some studies or baseball or basketball stuff. After the first visit the ice was broken and some of them came by again. And once ____ took me home and he was cautious about going into the house. I said, "C'mon, nobody else will know." (LAUGHTER) I got him into the house and we had a good time. _____, he came by once on a friendly visit, and they stay outside sometimes and blow their horns.

Girl #2: One day ____ took me home and when we got there she just sat in the car and I said,"if you want to come in, come in." She said, "sure." She walked in through the house and looked into every room. So I took her around and told her this was the living room, and this was the kitchen, and this was the bedroom and so on. She just looked and stared. She said, "your house is really nice," in a surprised tone. I said, "thank you." There was another girl who associated with us

last year when things were pretty hot at _____. Her father was a Reverend there. The people at his church protested and she had to stop. Sometime later I saw her in school and she said she wanted to come over but it was hard. I invited her and didn't tell anybody. So she came and then she wanted me to call girl #1, and she came over and we talked and joked. She brought all her brothers and everything.

Boy #1: A lot of them were surprized to find that I lived in a better house than they did. I almost got into a fight one day over this visiting bit. I asked _____ about would he invite me over for a visit. He said, "No!" And I asked, "Why not?" He said, "going to school is okay, but that's the limit." I said, "what do you mean?" At first I was joking around because I didn't expect him to invite me to his house. But I said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll come over and pretend like I'm cutting the hedges and I'll go around the back and come in the back door." (LAUGHTER) Well we got serious about it and he said he just couldn't invite me to his house. So I said, "Well, I invite you to come to my house anytime you want." He said, "I won't do that either." And I said, "Well, why not?" He finally said, "let's face it, a spade is a spade," I tried to...I swear I did, I almost hit him. I was mad. I stopped the conversation and walked away right there. If I had said anything else I would have hit him. Ooooh! (LAUGHTER)

Girl #2: You see, a lot of things start off joking around and digging about race and stuff and then it suddenly gets serious. They sometimes do things just to see my reactions; and I try to keep them to myself. They once in a while come up behind me and say "_____, _____, I'm a segregationist."

Boy #1: I think actually some of them are trying to make fools of us. They make a joke out of race and are grinning and laughing at us. It's not a joke. But I don't get sucked in, I know what it is. I go along, because I go out of my way to make somebody happy. But I tell them, I know what's going on and nobody's pulling the wool over me.

Girl #1: We were sitting in class one day and ____ said, "white for the right." I said, "what makes you say that?" He said, "don't take me seriously. I'm only fooling." But he wasn't laughing or even smiling.

Boy #1: Sometimes we come back from a weekend and talk about girls and stuff. Then we have a regular conversation. Then sometimes it goes back to joking about race like, "Hey, nigger boy, c'mere and shine my shoes." And then I joke right back.

Girl #2: One day in the school bus we were going on a trip. Most of us got in the front and the white kids were in the back. And someone said, "Hey _____, isn't it supposed to be the other way around?"

Girl #1: Then some of them really express how they feel, and they don't hide it from us. I like them better because you know what to expect from them. Like there's one boy, he'll tell you he likes the governor and believes in the governor. He says it in a joking way but he means it. He's telling the truth and you know what to expect from him.

Girl #3: There's a problem when you talk about the society again. I have a close white friend who lives in _____. She was in camp with me, and camp is different y'know; we were tight together there. I was thinking of inviting her down here but I can't because our society wouldn't accept her here. And I can't go to her society because she lives with white folks...I guess that's right because she is white folk. (LAUGHTER) You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong with ____, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

August 26, 1966

Mr. Stephen F. Black
Lawyers Club F-13
University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mr. Black:

For whatever it will be worth I will be happy to offer some reaction to your inquiry. Needless to say, in time it will be necessary for you to come to Atlanta and meet some people and gain your own impressions of the city. When you do so we will be happy to be of any possible assistance to you.

While in some instance I am both a lay and a professional critic of Atlanta and its policies, I am nevertheless very prejudiced in favor of this city. I have been here for about fourteen years and have found it a good city in which to live. Basically the city is liberal by Southern standards. Its reputation is greatly over rated; nevertheless it has generally done the right things and continues to struggle through the problems better than most cities. The Mayor, Ivan Allen, is a good man; fairly liberal and determined to make this a decent city. Currently, for instance, he has an obsession with abolishing the slums and I think he just might be able to accomplish much of this. Like other things, the newspapers here are greatly over rated. Nevertheless they follow a generally liberal and decent policy. Certainly their editorials, which are sometimes quite weak, are far better than their news coverage. Comparisons, however, would give them a fairly decent rating.

Whatever else, there is a sizeable intellectual community here and a large liberal community. As much as in any city I know, you have an opportunity for congenial companionship of people of like mind.

Physically the Atlanta residential areas are extremely attractive. Real estate prices are about on a national average, perhaps a shade under. The same cannot be said for downtown Atlanta which is a hodgepodge of shiny new buildings, most of them pretty awful. However, whatever the esthetic value they are an indication of the city's growing economy. It has a very strong economy and a rapidly growing one. The city's unemployment rate is the lowest in the country and the economy is remarkably diversified. The city literally is the financial, commercial, transportation, and insurance capitol of therregion. The airport is the nation's fifth busiest and a characteristic of Atlanta life is long delays on take-off and landing. We have so much progress, as a matter of fact, that I am becoming very suspicious of it. We rush a little more each day, our expressways are getting as crowded as anybody's and life is too rapidly reaching the national norm, but nevertheless down here it is considered progress.

The climate is, I believe, exceptionally good. Atlanta is located on a plateau, has an elevation of approximately 800 feet which means that the summers are atypical of the region. While we can have some very hot times, summers are generally pleasant, the nights tend to become reasonably cool. Winters are mild and the occasional-usually once-a-year-ice storm or two inches of snow brings the city to a complete standstill.

The city is very new. It was nothing but a raw village when Sherman burned it and his urban renewal plan made it possible for the village to start all over again after the war. There are no historic landmarks of note, no ante-bellum mansions and no great sentimental ties with the past as you would find in New Orleans or Charleston. No one but the Yankees observe Confederate Memorial Day. (For instance, General Motors made the decision years ago that it was appropriate for their Southern plant to observe Confederate Memorial Day and they still do so.) This is awkward since all of their Southern suppliers are working that date. Native Atlantians long ago decided it was far more profitable to sell Yankees souvenir Confederate flags (made in Japan.) Yankees are tolerated with great pride. Actually, I think the natives have great affection for them because they see this as a mark of remarkable judgement that Yankees would want to come here and live.

Incidentally, a la New York, it is getting extremely difficult to find a native and there is a very high proportion of non-Southerners living in the community. This is due, in part, to the fact that so many young executives are transferred in here - at least for brief periods of time.

The city's politics in the past have been based on a minority of white liberals, mostly uptown, voting with a majority of Negroes. Until the last election, no mayor for twenty five years had served by virtue of a majority of the white vote. The same is true of Congressman Charles Weltner. This coalition is now under heavy strain and is probably breaking up. It will be interesting to see what emerges. On the state level it is very difficult to predict at this moment as we are in the midst of a very tight gubernatorial race. It is likely that Ellis Arnall will be the Democratic nominee though I don't believe this is by any means certain, and definite that Congressman Bo Callaway will be the Republican candidate. If I had to bet at this moment, I would bet that Callaway is the winner and our next governor. If this is the case Georgia is in for four years of very conservative Goldwater type leadership. Georgia is certainly not Alabama, but neither is it Tennessee or Florida and none of us quite know where it is between these examples.

Like most cities we are becoming strangled. The city of Atlanta has less than half the Metropolitan population of something over a million two hundred thousand, and the suburbs refuse to come to the city and share the responsibilities. Therefore, typically, we are rapidly becoming an inter-city with all of the inter-city problems offered by flow of the middle class to suburbia. Undoubtedly there will be a Negro majority in the city within ten years, perhaps sooner. At the present the percentage is 42%.

As you probably know better than I, Ellis Arnall's law firm is an excellent one and a very prosperous one. One of the members of that firm, Elliott Levitas, is a member of the Legislature, one of the outstanding liberal young men of the community and undoubtedly destined to become more and more one of its leaders. There are other good firms, too, of course.

I could document a number of the ills of the city but they are really rather typical and I assume you are a realist. Slums are an obvious problem but to some extent at least being worked on. Cultural life is weak but improving. We do have the Braves and an infamous eighteen million dollar stadium. Also a pro-football team.

As I warned you, these ramblings indicate I am prejudiced in favor of the city. This is, however, in part because we desperately need good citizens and I very much hope for that reason that you will choose Atlanta. Certainly from the standpoint of the economics of your profession you could not make a better choice. The economic future of this city is as bright as any I know. I have to be far more guarded about its politics and race relations but even there we have at least a fighting chance to be among the best rather than the worst.

If you would like me to be more specific or send you certain information I will be happy to do so, and again if and when you choose to visit the city please let me know ahead of time and I will arrange any appointments, tours, etc. that you might wish.

The Chamber of Commerce has promised to flood you with propaganda!

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Dr. Robert Harris
University of Michigan Law School

(3)

Lawyers Club F-13
University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, Michigan
August 23, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you on the recommendation of Professor Robert Harris who suggested that you might be able to provide me with some of the information I seek.

I am presently a second year student here at the Law School and am considering the possibility of practicing in Atlanta. I have always been a resident of New York City but for the past eight years have gone to school out of state. I do not feel New York is the kind of place I would like to spend the rest of my life, raise my family, etc. and after much deliberation have narrowed the choices down to Atlanta and one or two other cities. My main objections to New York are its incredible competitiveness, high taxes, difficult commuting problems, and high crime rate to name a few.

I have a "connection" with Ellis Arnal's law firm in Atlanta and am currently trying to get a job there for next summer. However, Professor Harris, with whom I am quite friendly, thought it might be worthwhile to write to you to see what you believe the advantages and drawbacks of an Atlanta practice might be. I'm enclosing a short autobiography so that you can have a better basis for considering the matter as it might have relevance to one in my circumstances. As you see, my "credentials" are quite good so that it really isn't a question of just getting a job but rather of getting one that could me the kind of fulfillment a person in my position

is necessarily seeking.

It may seem strange that I should write to a perfect stranger about a matter of this nature but it is very difficult for us here in the North to get any perspective about what life in a large Southern city is really like. Professor Harris spoke very highly of you and seemed to think you might be able to give me some insight into the situation as it really is. From everything I've read and heard, Atlanta is a growing, cosmopolitan, and liberal city which has a great many good things in store for it. Do you think it is the kind of place that one like myself should think seriously of settling down in?

It would be a truly great favor to me if you could give me your opinion on some of these matters.

Very sincerely yours,

Stephen F. Black

Stephen F. Black

23 August 1966

Autobiographical Sketch: Stephen F. Black

Education: After attending Hunter College Elementary School, an institution in New York City theoretically specializing in educating "gifted" children, I went to a public junior high school where I was placed in an advanced class and completed the three year program in two years. My high school education was completed at Deerfield Academy in Deerfield, Massachusetts. At Deerfield I was elected to the honor society ("Cum Laude") and was a member of the varsity track team for two years. I then entered Harvard College where I belonged to the Hasty Pudding Club, did volunteer work for Phillips Brooks House, and appeared in three theatrical productions at the Loeb Drama Center's Shakespeare-Marlowe Festival of 1964. I graduated Harvard magna cum laude in history, having written my honors thesis about a group of religious fanatics in 17th century England. In the fall of 1965 I became a freshman at the University of Michigan Law School. During my first year I participated in the moot court program (Case Clubs) and compiled a grade point average of 3.86, receiving two A+'s, an A, a B+, and a B. I was recently notified that I had been chosen to be a candidate for the Law Review and am presently competing for a position on the editorial staff.

Summer Work: After a few years of the usual camp counsellorships, I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to work in the United States Merchant Marine. During the four summers I spent in this occupation I worked on all the major American passenger ships as well as on two freighters. I held jobs varying from ordinary seaman on a twenty-year-old cargo ship to first class waiter on the S.S. United States. I travelled everywhere from Scandinavia

and Poland to Argentina and from the Caribbean to the Mediterranean. In the process I made enough money to be able to substantially defray the cost of my college education. This past summer, having decided to give up the sea, I obtained a job at Prentice-Hall, Inc. writing digests, highlights, and articles for their Labor Relations service. In my capacity as an assistant editor I learned a great deal about both labor law and writing and editing in general. On the whole it was a most rewarding experience.

File
Units -
Michigan, Univ of.

September 26, 1966

University of Michigan Press
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Gentlemen:

From time to time, the Council has arranged with publishers of books, in which some of our friends might have a particular interest, to receive a shipment on consignment to offer for sale from this office.

In this instance, we should like to inquire about the possibilities of such an arrangement with the University of Michigan Press for Leslie Dunbar's book, A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS.

If the usual trade discount is available, and if we might have the opportunity to return unsold copies within a reasonable period of time, we should like to have 100 copies of A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS on consignment.

Is this arrangement possible with you?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

L'ND:

A Republic } Equals.

Univ. } Michigan Press

Ann Arbor, Mich. - 4to

File
Thurs
Michigan, Univ of.
Cr. ref. ~~Leslie H. Dunbar~~
Feed Fd.
Dunbar's book

October 3, 1966

Miss Helen L. MacDonald
Sale & Promotion Manager
The University of Michigan Press
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Miss MacDonald:

In light of the information in your letter of September 30, the Southern Regional Council would like to order 200 copies of Dunbar's, A Republic of Equals. On receipt of your invoice we will forward our check for the full amount of this purchase.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE
UNIVERSITY
OF
MICHIGAN
PRESS

ANN ARBOR

September 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you kindly for your letter of September 26, 1966, asking about the availability of Dunbar: A REPUBLIC OF EQUALS. The book lists at $4.00 and carries a Trade discount. One hundred copies would allow you on your purchase a 42% discount plus handling.

We have no consigment accounts; however, our returns policy is liberal and would cover your purchase. I attach a copy of the policy for your information.

May I hear from you? I would be delighted to work with you in any way I could.

Sincerely,

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS

Helen L. MacDonald
Sales & Promotion Manager

HLM/kb

Enc. - Returns Policy

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Fales
Unrid
Michigan, Univ of.

November 7, 1966

Mr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mark:

Thank you for the great wealth of material and information in your letter of October 31st.

Here are our reactions.

We do want to publish the full three-part series as a pamphlet. The first portion is a good introduction and summary, and the other sections compliment it. Would you please do such editing as you wish to protect the identity of the children? (We also feel that parts 2 and 3 could have some slight elimination of duplication and literal responses -- for instance, incomplete sentences that add nothing -- that might be edited out.)

We must pay you a modest author's research fee, and will make an independent judgment on it unless we hear from you further as to your opinion of fair remuneration.

We can support your proposed research; interviewing white teachers of Negro students in newly

desegregated schools. While not essential to the grant, we would like to have an opportunity to publish these results also. Is this feasible? Let us know when you need the $825.00 and it will be sent. For internal budget purposes we would like to make the grant before the end of the year.

The idea of comparisons of ideological extremists -- North and South -- is intriguing and after the first of the year I would like to explore it further with you.

Our check for $75.00 to cover secretarial costs is enclosed. We can honor further commitments for final typing of your manuscript, if necessary.

We have just compiled welfare statistics on the southern states and will be issuing a special report shortly. The tables are being sent to you separately and the report will be sent when it is available.

Finally, we would like to get your pamphlet out as soon as possible, and will anxiously await your edited manuscript.

We, and I especially, are grateful for this cooperation and hope we can continue working together indefinitely.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure

file
Universities
Michigan, Univ of

November 28, 1966

Dr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mark:

Thank you for the admirably prompt editing of the manuscript. Pat Watters, our Director of Information, now has it and we hope to have it off to the printer at an early date. Incidentally, in addition to producing the entire material as a pamphlet we are considering the possibility of also printing your introductory summary in the Winter issue of NEW SOUTH, saying this is a commendable summary of the publication just released by SRC.

We anticipate having an introductory statement to the publication signed by me saying in effect that the material in this pamphlet has been prepared by Dr. Mark Chesler, Project Director, Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan. We would further indicate that you and your colleagues had spent considerable time in Alabama and at Tuskegee Institute during the course of this research. If you think additional identification of the project director or further comments about it should be made, we would welcome your suggestion.

Under separate cover (see copy enclosed) we are forwarding to the University our check for $825.

It's a good partnership we have going here and I hope we keep it going for a very long time.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

November 28, 1966

Mr. Ray Garlough
Business Office
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mr. Garlough:

Enclosed please find our check for $825 in support of continued research of Dr. Mark Chesler and his colleagues of the Institute for Social Research. These funds are designated specifically for Project No. 1048.

At your convenience, would you please note receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

(1)

ISR

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN / ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

November 17, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your encouraging letter. I am enclosing the entire package of the introductory article and three tape transcripts. I have edited all of it to my general satisfaction. I tried to follow your suggestions and encourage you and your staff to make any further editing you feel advisable and appropriate. I haven't yet thought of an appropriate bridge between the article and the tapes. Perhaps they can be pretty much as they are, explained by a foreward or preface. Will you need any biographical data on me? Since you said you wanted to move quickly I am sending this to you with my editing right on this copy; re-typing here would delay us even more.

I am delighted to hear the Council will be able to support our research on the teachers. You may make the grant at your convenience. The check should be payable for $825 to the University of Michigan and send it to the attention of Mr. Ray Garlough, Business Office, Institute for Social Research. Somewhere you should note that it is for Project 1048. I also appreciate the check to cover secretarial costs.

I'll be in touch with you again soon. Thanks so much for your help.

Cordially,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

MAC/col
ENC.

Univ. of Michigan

file

ISR

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN / ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

December 2, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The only addition is that I should be identified as a Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. I am enclosing a brief description of this center, a new and exciting scientific enterprise.

Good luck printing.

Cordially,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

MAC/col
ENC.

THE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

The Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge was established as a third center of the Institute for Social Research by an action of the Regents in July 1964. This followed a year of study by an all-university committee appointed by Vice President Heyns to explore the responsibility of the University in regards to the diffusion and utilization of new knowledge. The committee report said:

> There is every reason to believe that science, as manifest in ideas, personnel, and facilities, will continue to grow at a rapid rate. This growth promises to afford men unparalleled powers for shaping their world - for solving their problems. But the mere presence of relevant scientific knowledge does not guarantee the emergence of such solutions.

The new University Center should "focus on the analysis of the communication linkages and roles involved in the application and diffusion of new knowledge." It should also "develop systematic methodology and conceptual schemes to permit the identification, analysis, and evaluation of significant basic innovations emerging from the problem solving efforts of practitioners in diverse professional fields." And it should "emphasize the development of transitional research which links theoretical insights from basic research to the variety of complex situations and varied populations which must be comprehended in a theory of practice."

Floyd Mann was appointed Director of the new Center. He had been a Program Director of the work in Organizational Change in the Survey Research Center. Ronald Lippitt was appointed Program Director. He had been a Program Director of the work on children and youth in the Research Center for Group dynamics.

The new center has 38 professional staff members, organized currently into two major program areas:

1. The program of work on the utilizaton of research to improve the functioning of complex organizations, e.g., government agencies, industrial corporations, hospitals, school systems, etc.

2. The program of work on the utilization of science to improve family life, classroom process, and the socialization practices of the community.

Additional programs are being developed focused on medical practice, industrial technology, and community development.

The projects in both programs include work on retrieval of knowledge, identification and documentation of innovations, study of the dissemination process, demonstrations of diffusion of new knowledge and action-research demonstrations of feedback of diagnostic knowledge to provide opportunities for growth.

There is a continuing comparative study of the processes of use and resistance to use of new knowledge in such diverse fields as agriculture, industry, medicine, public health, education, social work, and religion. The issues of value judgment and evaluation related to the selective use of new scientific discoveries is also a focus for study in collaboration with value experts.

File
Univ. of Michigan

January 23, 1967

Dr. Frances R. Cousens
Project Director
The University of Michigan
Dearborn Campus
4901 Evergreen Road
Dearborn, Michigan

Dear Fran:

Thank you for the copy of the elaborate study.

I have about given up hope that you will ever visit Atlanta, but certainly hope your plans for Spring vacation do allow for it.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEARBORN CAMPUS
4901 EVERGREEN ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN

January 18, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Herewith enclosed is a copy of the study report which I recently promised to send for your examination and for use by the member of your staff working in community planning and organization. I trust that you will both find it interesting and informative and would particularly appreciate your comments if you have any as well as the time to communicate them.

I trust that all is well with you and hope to find out for myself because once again I am dreaming of stopping in Atlanta for a day while enroute to New Orleans for a visit with my brother during Spring vacation in April. Perhaps this time I will make it and will let you know ahead of time.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely,

Fran

Dr. Frances R. Cousens,
Project Director

FRC/ef

file - Univ. of Michigan

file cc
all correspondence to GB for handling

January 31, 1967

Mr. Eugene Feingold
Associate Professor
School of Public Health
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Dear Mr. Feingold:

I do recall our meeting in Les Dunbar's hotel room and am happy to know of your new association. Except in the most general terms, I don't have any information about the hospital HEW operation. Therefore, I am passing your inquiry on to our Research Department to determine if they can provide assistance.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

January 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Glenda Bartley

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please note attached correspondence and talk to Ed Stanfield concerning this if there are any questions.

PA/km

File
Univ. of Michigan
(Miscellaneous)

February 22, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send 20 copies of IN THEIR OWN WORDS by Dr. Mark A. Chesler to the following, label is attached.

Dr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

PA/km

February 22, 1967

Dr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mark:

Under separate cover we are sending you 20 copies of your pamphlet. As many additional copies are available as you have need of.

Have you made your trip to Washington?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File ~~Mailing lists~~
Univ. of Michigan

MEMORANDUM

March 29, A1967

To: Mail Department

From: MMJohnson

Please package up and mail 5 copies of the WINTER 1967 NEW SOUTH to Dr. Mark Chesler at the University of Michigan. (Label attached)

thanx, mmj

THE INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
Limited by Guarantee
36 Jermyn Street London SW1
TELEPHONE: REG 0774-5

14th April, 1967

Dr. Mark Chesler,
University of Michigan,
East Lansing,
Michigan 48823.

Dear Dr. Chesler,

We should be grateful to receive a copy of the 'Survey of integrated schooling in Alabama' which was prepared for the Negro Political and Educational Organisation.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Bagley

(Sheila Bagley)
ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN

Fire
Universities
Theatre U. of

June 1, 1967

Dr. Mark A. Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mark:

I am delighted to know you had a profitable visit to Washington. That is quite a feat! Since I have been away for several weeks I haven't had an opportunity to read your proposal but shall do so shortly.

We shall send copies of the study to those requesting it. If more come buck them along to us and we will take care of them promptly.

Do keep in touch. Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

June 1, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Janet Smith

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please send one copy of "In Their Own Words" to the two following persons in England, Miss Sheila Bagley and Mr. Louis A. Chass. Labels are attached.

PA/km

Enc.

ISR

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

May 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I want to thank you for the letters you wrote to various people in Washington; I was there last week and got a very positive reception. In addition to discussions about the Alabama study, I spoke to people about a teacher retraining program for the North (I am enclosing a copy of that proposal for your information). A number of the people you steered me to were very helpful.

It certainly looks as if In Their Own Words is getting around. I have received clippings from several papers here and abroad, and have seen it used with several Southern education programs. Enclosed are a couple of recent requests to be met.

I'll be in touch again as we begin to develop reports of the study.

With best regards,

Cordially,

Mark

Mark A. Chesler
Project Director

MC:esf
Enclosures

31 Pilgrim Road
Mitcham
Surrey, Eng.
CR4 3LN.

24th April 1967

Dear Sir/Madam,

Would you please send a copy of your booklet by Dr Mark A. Chesler; "In Their Own Words."

There are a number of projects which I am undertaking at the moment and perhaps you would like to hear of my work.

Yours Sincerely

Louis A Chass

CHASS

British Consulate
524-2691

File
Thus of
Mich

October 10, 1967

Mr. Mark Chesler
Project Director
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Mark:

Please forgive me this brief response to your letter and report, but I felt it must be gotten off now or it will be at least another week.

Most importantly, enclosed is a memorandum from Glenda Bartley of our research staff, who has spent some time with the material. Mrs. Bartley is the person on our staff most responsible for our interests in school desegregation, and I think you will find her comments helpful.

Assuming that the Office of Education or H.E.W. are interested, and they should be, especially for the modest amount of funds you indicate would be needed, I would hope you could do more with the material, especially along the lines of specific guidance for

classroom teachers. As Mrs. Bartley observes, most of the teachers who turn out to be helped want to do right, but there is pretty little good material available. For instance, last week I met with a group of teachers in Tulsa in a meeting sponsored by the University of Oklahoma; good people, doing a better job than most. All of these teachers were devoting their Saturdays to guidance on being better teachers in the integrated classroom. All of us experts were able to preach at them no end, but we could give all too little specific guidance or almost nothing of a sound nature since so little is available in writing.

Again, I am sorry to do this in such a rush, especially with such a good piece of work.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

ISR

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

October 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am enclosing a copy of the final report on our study of Negro desegregators in Alabama. As noted in the preface, the report represents merely an overview of the data, and we have not had an opportunity to do a more rigorous and extensive analysis.

I don't know quite how to proceed from here. It seems to me some of the findings and implications presented here are quite interesting; even without great interpretation and derivation. Certainly we have much more extensive data that has not yet been analyzed. Further, the meaning of the findings for potential attempts to help teachers and principals and to generate change designs for educators has only been touched briefly in the last chapter.

My best estimate for the completion of this analysis, the creation of feasible change designs and the preparation of a series of monographs or a book length report is about 12 months at a cost of $15,000-20,000. I can certainly provide the details on that estimate whenever and wherever needed. One of the things I'd like to include in this work would be a series of consultation sessions with people who know both the South and the problems of educational change. We should be able to develop a series of programmatic strategies for classroom teaching and for school change. A potential outcome might be a regional teacher helping program that could be submitted for large scale funding.

Do you see a potential payoff or value to further analysis, more careful writing and more attention to remedial or change programs of the type begun here? Do you see it as fundable in part or whole? Up to the present no one has wanted to touch the future of this study until this report has been done. I have talked briefly with the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights' research division in this regard; they seem interested but slow to take definitive action. Just yesterday I spoke with a woman in the new Civil Rights Office of USOE about it, but its not at all clear who she can interest and what might be available. I don't know who else might pick up the tab for something as undramatic as re-analysis, write-ups and program planning.

Mr. Paul Anthony
October 2, 1967

I'd appreciate any comments or suggestions you have Paul; hope you enjoy reading through this. Since I have some concern about arranging to publish any of it as is until I can do more analysis and conceptualization, I hope some support is available in order to get it out and potentially used. I am also including a copy of the interview form we used with teachers; that gives a taste of what remains to be analyzed.

Best regards and many thanks for your help.

Cordially,

Mark

Mark Chesler
Project Director

MC:esf
2 Enclosures

Dave
I should Dr. Cousens letter
with Bill James & he
asked that a copy be
sent to Dr. James
I sent it.

Conyers at AU.

File: Univ. of Michigan
Cr. ref: Materials file
requests for Materials
(Youth Study)

MMJ

February 1, 1968

Dr. Frances R. Cousens
Associate Professor of Sociology
The University of Michigan
Dearborn Campus
4901 Evergreen Road
Dearborn, Michigan 48124

Dear Dr. Cousens:

This is in reply to your letter of January 29th to Mr. Anthony who is away from the office because of illness. Mr. Anthony will be pleased with the contents of your letter and will be in touch with you, I'm sure, as soon after his return to the office as possible.

In the meantime, I am having sent to you six additional copies of our youth study as you have requested.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEARBORN CAMPUS
4901 EVERGREEN ROAD
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN 48124

DIVISION OF LITERATURE,
SCIENCE, AND THE ARTS

January 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the excellent service in sending us the reports of the Atlanta Youth Study. We put them to immediate use and are presently preparing a proposal for possible funding which will attempt to replicate portions of your study.

The New Detroit Committee, a group of community leaders appointed by the Mayor after last summer's "disturbance" has expressed some interest in a study of Negro and white youth in the Detroit metropolitan area. We would very much like to acquaint several members of their executive committee with the Atlanta study. Also, the director of the Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan would like a copy.

Could you therefore supply us with several additional copies at your very earliest convenience? If you can spare them, six could be very productively distributed.

Should we succeed in obtaining funds for our study, we will probably get in touch with the director of the Atlanta project for his counsel. My experience demonstrates that the best advice can come from soneone who has just completed a study inasmuch as he knows what he would do differently. We will also send you a copy of our questionnaire as soon as it has been pretested, modified, and finalized.

Thank you again for all your help; we trust that our replication will add a dimension to your study, particularly since we intend to include a sample of white high school students for comparison with the Negroes. With all best wishes,

Sincerely,

Fran

Dr. Frances R. Cousens
Associate Professor of Sociology

FRC/ms

December 2, 1968

Mr. Mark Chesler
Project Director
Center for Research on Utilization of
Scienfific Knowledge
Institute for Social Research
The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mark:

Forgive me for not responding to your invitation. I regret that I could not be with you for your conference. Keep us informed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ISR

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE / INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH / THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN 48106

November 7, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Center for Research of Utilization of Scientific Knowledge is currently working with several troubled high schools across the country. Under the aegis of a grant from the Ford Foundation, we are collaborating with six school systems in an effort to develop alternative responses to interracial and intergenerational conflict in secondary schools. The partial culmination of this work will take place in a conference on Conflict Intervention in Secondary Schools, December 13-14, 1968. We would like to invite you to attend this conference and to contribute to the plans and deliberations undertaken there.

The six high school systems with which we are collaborating include: Palm Springs, California; Los Angeles, California; East Proviso, Illinois; Dearborn Township #8, Michigan; Montclair, New Jersey; and New Haven, Connecticut. A team composed of the principal and senior administrator, several teachers, several students, perhaps some community members, and a consultant, will be coming from each of these schools. In addition, we are inviting smaller teams from other troubled schools or school systems, some key educational administrators, and a number of representatives from state and federal Civil Rights groups and educational agencies.

The major concerns of the conference are:

1. To report the innovative plans for change created and tested in our six experimental sites and/or elsewhere.

2. To share and increase our understanding of the basic causes and dynamics of disruptive conflict in high schools.

3. To develop plans for ways of meeting this challenge in new and experimental school designs and processes.

Mr. Paul Anthony
November 7, 1968

The cross racial, cross generational character of the conference should insure a diversity of views on these issues as well as an opportunity for realistic planning.

The conference will be held at the Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. We will plan to start work at 9:00 AM on Friday, the 13th and end about 5:00 PM on the 14th. Since most people will arrive Thursday night, there will be a reception at 8:00 PM that evening. We expect all persons to be accommodated at the Michigan Union.

Please let us know whether or not you can attend, and what accommodations you or your team will need. Call or write my secretary, Mrs. Evelyn Feinberg, (313-764-2552). We will be sending you some registration forms and a schedule of conference events shortly. We hope you can join us.

Sincerely,

Mark Chesler

Mark Chesler
Project Director

MC:esf

MR SB PA — what can we do?

MEMORANDUM southern student human relations project, NSA

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1963

To: Les Dunbar

From: Connie Curry

Date: March 14, 1963

file

Here are copies of the letters concerning Miles Lovelace. If you have any suggestions, please let me know.

Green is because St. Patrick's Day is Sunday, and I am Irish.

CWC

387 North Second Ave., #44
Phoenix 3, Arizona
March 12, 1963

Mr. Everett Walters
Director, Graduate Fellowship Branch
Division of College and University Assistance
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Walters:

You will recall that in letters written by me in October of 1962 I protested the handling of the registration and subsequent enrollment of Mr James Meredith by officials of the State of Mississippi and administrators of the University of Mississippi at Oxford, Mississippi. My complaints then (and now) concerned only the interference with the academic community and the normal university life by these actions. I made no mention of the broader aspects of this problem.

As of February 19, 1963, I was forced to terminate my relations with the University of Mississippi after a long series of harassments, intimidations, and insults. These unpleasantries began with my expression of disapproval of the official actions taken in the Meredith case by elected and appointed officials of the State of Mississippi.

On November 15, 1962, after six fellow students and I dined with Mr. Meredith in an unostentatious, but sincere, indication of our respect for his personal and human rights, out of consideration for our personal safety we practically had to flee the campus. As you have no doubt read, the room of two of these students was wrecked. We others underwent weeks of jeering insults from students on campus, received insulting and vulgar letters from citizens of the "sovereign state," and endured sleepless nights as a result of prank calls throughout the night. I finally had to have my phone removed. As of this date only three of the seven are enrolled.

Although most professors expressed no opinion regarding our expression of disenchantment with the generally accepted behavior, others began to act, or seemed to act, somewhat hostile towards us. This is, of course, not to say that we desired or expected their approval; but we did expect our decisions to be respected for sincere manifestations of personal conviction.

The final insult came when I was asked to file with the office of the Graduate Dean a copy of a statement that I had made in Nashville, Tennessee, during the Christmas vacation.

I have been notified that the Chairman of the History Department now proposes to deny my request to withdraw in good standing from the University, and he suggests that I should receive the grade of "F" in the courses for which I was enrolled at the time of my attempted resignation.

Perhaps it is not necessary, but I should like to point out that the National Defense Education Act Fellowship Program in the History Department has been

something less than successful. The fact that to my knowledge five of the fellows have resigned prior to the completion of their appointments indicates something is wrong with the program. Either there is something terribly wrong with the department, as I suggest; or the faculty have foolishly offered the fellowships to an unusual collection of misfits. Perhaps so.

The fact remains that due to the gross lack of coordination and supervision not one NDEA fellow has yet received the Ph.D. degree, an achievement which was the primary reason for the fellowships.

In summary I should like to make the following statements for your records:

1. I did not attempt to withdraw from the University because I have decided not to work for the Ph.D. degree. I should very much like to continue my graduate studies next year! But doctoral level study at "ole Miss," under present conditions, is impossible.

2. It would be my sincere request to be allowed to continue my final year as an NDEA fellow at some other University, where academic freedom is more respected.

3. Since it is Professor Cabaniss' intention to record failing grades on my last semester's courses, even after I requested formal withdrawal, it appears that he denies me the opportunity to withdraw in good standing, and so it is insignificant whether I formally resign now or at the end of the term. Thus it might be interpreted that I will be a student until the end of the current semester.

I believe that all of my statements will be verified by Professors Richard S. Stewart, James W. Silver, Lucy Turnbull, and Mrs. Louise Meadow of the University.

Is there any provision for an NDEA fellow using his final year at another university? I have corresponded throughout the year with Dr. C. W. Anderson, Chairman of the Department of History of the University of Kansas. He has been most sympathetic to my plight and has praised my work to date. It is my understanding that he would be agreeable to my undertaking doctoral work there next September.

Respectfully,

Miles H. Lovelace

MHL:cc

Enclosures

990 Marble Street
Memphis, Tennessee
February 19, 1963

Dr. Lewis Nobles
Dean, The Graduate School
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Dean Nobles:

Because of certain situations which have developed at the University since last September, because of certain confusions with the History Department, and because of certain personal convictions, I have decided, after much serious thought, to resign from my National Defense Education Act Fellowship, Title IV, in the Department of History; I, therefore, ask that you effect my immediate formal withdrawal from the University.

I regret that, as I am leaving today for a position in the Southwest, I will not be able to accomplish the withdrawal in person. I trust that this letter, copies of which are being sent to Dr. J. Allen Cabaniss (Chairman of the History Department), Professor Richard S. Stewart (my graduate program advisor), and the NDEA office in Washington, will serve as the necessary letter of withdrawal from the Graduate School.

May I take this opportunity of saying how very much I have appreciated your helpful suggestions, professional guidance, and sincere cooperation during the past two years. I hope that at some later date we may have the opportunity to continue our amiable relationship.

Hoping to hear from you very soon, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Miles H. Lovelace

cc: J. Allen Cabaniss
Richard S. Stewart
NDEA Fellowship Office,
Washington, D.C.

P.O. Box 2465
University, Mississippi
October 25, 1962

Mr. Everett Walters, Director
Graduate Fellowship Branch
Division of College and University Assistance

Dear Mr. Walters:

It has become nearly impossible to carry on serious graduate study at this University. The Administration has completely abdicated its responsibility for maintaining conditions conducive to study. The incident yesterday in the Student Grill was but the most recent occurrence of the failure of certain officials to enforce their announced "back to normal policy."

My fellow NDEA graduate students in the History Department share my conviction that little constructive work can be accomplished while nightly explosions of fireworks and student rioting are present on a university campus.

Mr. Henderson, a first year Title IV NDEA Fellowship holder, and I wish to record with your office our dissatisfaction with the situation here, for whatever value this may be in helping you arrive at a decision as to what should be done about renewing our fellowships.

Pending the decision of the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges concerning the University's accreditation, we shall not formally request a transfer to another school with an NDEA program in history. But if the situation does not improve appreciably within the next few weeks, I, personally, do not wish to continue graduate work toward the Ph.D. here. If some arrangement allowing me to transfer out of this unpleasant and unacademic situation (as it now exists) can not be approved, I shall, out of consideration for my future professional career, be forced to resign the appointment here and seek financial assistance elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

Miles H. Lovelace

SEAN FOAM BOND

SB
VJ
PA
MJ-file

September 6, 1963

Professor James Silver
Department of History
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

Here are some replies to the various points in your letter:

(1) Any money that you can raise in Mississippi or elsewhere, and any money which Ira Harkey will contribute, are all to the good. I think you should reimburse yourself for out-of-pocket expenses, but if there is anything left over out of what is raised we would be able to use it, if we undertake printing costs. I repeat to you my oral commitment that we stand ready to do so, although I have to condition this slightly on cost estimates we may receive, once we know the length of the manuscript. Eighty-five or 90 pages would be probably more than we could handle without substantial help. At any rate, we'll cross that bridge when we come to it.

(2) Your notion about release through colleagues in the Southern Historical Association strikes me as clumsy, but right now I have no better alternative suggestion. I have not, however, had a chance to

discuss this with others here, and will do so at the first opportunity. Whatever or whoever the sponsor is, we would prefer paying the costs to the sponsor, rather than directly to the printer.

(3) I assume you have definitely crossed out the possibility of release through the Mississippi Council on Human Relations?

(4) I think it would be fine if Frank Smith would write an introduction, or Hodding Carter.

Keep me informed, and good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

September 1, 1963

Dear Leslie:

I have a new electric typewriter, so anything can happen - I'll just do the best I can.

Since getting back to Mississippi I have been able to work much more consistently than in Atlanta and last night I got through 50 pages of the first draft of my manuscript. Long pages, too. I shall continue this at more or less breakneck speed (for me) and have set a deadline of Sept. 15 for the completion of this first run. My guess is that it will by that time have gotten up to 85 or 90 pages. Then I'll do a quick revision and realtering and put it into some sort of duplicated form. My idea is to be able to send out to at least 20 people all or part of the manusript in the expectation that I can hear from them in a week. Some I'll never hear from. By the 25th I expect to be able to have a final copy ready for the printer. This should give us plenty of time to get the thing out by November 1.

As you can imagine my plans are highly tentative, and yet I think it best to set down what's coming up as best I can see it. The final pamphlet may possibly run to 75 pages instead of the fifty that we talked about. But of course I can do whatever has to be done. I think, also, that I might be able to mortgage my own soul and body and pick up a little money from friends here in Mississippi, too. Anyway, I can't sit down and moan about the size of the work now - there just isn't time for that.

I would like very much to come over to Atlanta for two or three days, with the idea of going over the final copy with you and Maggie Long and whoever else you might suggest.

After having given it a lot of thought, and after talking with some people knowledgeable about Mississippi, I have, for the moment, concluded that this might well be offered to the public by from ten to fifteen members of the Southern Historical Association who are teachers of history, are native to Mississippi, or have taught in Mississippi. I wouldn't want them to endorse what I have to say but simply to suggest that they believe that Mississippians will find the thing worth reading- at least stimulating. (It will be that.)

I have thought a bit of having Frank Smith write an introduction, mainly to say some of the thing about me that I couldn't well say about myself. I have done a few things over the years that Mississippians approve of, and it should be brought out that I'm not just a breast beater.

There will be a job of sorts to be done in preparing these things to go out. They should be sent, it seems to me, from Oxford, Miss. on Nov. 8, the day after the talk. I can arrange that. I'm concerned mostly, of course, with the 500 I'd like to send to Mississippians - the others could be sent out at some other time, and, certainly, you have your own list.

All of this presupposes that you are still willing to go ahead with the publication. I do think that it will not only be a bombshell but that it will, in the long run at least, do a lot of good. For the short run Mississippi is down the drain, as we all well know.

What I think of at the moment will cost more money than you are I were thinking about when we last talked. I'm not too concerned about money but in this case it will have to be raised. I hesitate to approach anyone in Mississippi for money for this, but will do whatever is necessary, and if I have to, I'llborrow what is necessary from the bank - if I can.

I talked awhile ago with Ira Harkey and he had apparently just heard from you. As I was expecting, he has been thinking of a relatively small (to me a lot) contribution, and in the beginning was thinking of printing the thing himself. Anyway, he talked in terms to helping out to the extent of $500 which I'm sure he will do. Frankly, if it is at all possible, I'd like to use this money for mailing purposes and to pay for the heavy (relatively) expense I'll have in the next two or three weeks for typing, duplicating, etc. Ordinarily I could avail myself of the school's facilities which I wouldn't dare do with this. I need a typist rather desperately at the moment, for the writing and rewriting. (I write pretty damned slowly, but I can't help that.)

I realize that this is all a jumble but I'm setting down what comes off the top of my head, assuming that you will understand this and the closeness of the time business. I can get this done but there isn't a moment to waste. And while I doubt whether this is going to be any great piece of literature, it will, as Mr. Garrison once said, be heard, or at least read.

Let me know what you think and in the meantime I'll be hard at work.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

53

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

September 23, 1963

Dear Leslie:

It looks as though they have now got McDowell, although by the time you get this you'll know more about it, from the papers, than I know now. /Apparently, he was carrying a gun to class. He is now in jail. His Negro attorney is on his way up here from Jackson. Some of us tried to get to see him and coulnd't get in. He got his one call outside which I think was to Constance Motley, who probably called J,ack Young. The only rumor that I have heard that makes sense is that McDowell was being protected by the campus police, that there was a call from the governor's office in Jackson, the local protection stopped, and McDowell started carrying the gun. It makes a lot of sense but may or may not be true. As I say, you can read about it in the papers.

I'm enclosing an introduction, just a kind of trial run. I purposely put in it very little about myself. Evans Harrington, the young English prof. here who wrote that letter to the Clarion Ledger on the death of Evers is willing, in fact, he offered to write a more personal thing about the things I had accomplished here, etc. if we think it makes sense. Something else to talk about.

I'll be in your office at daybreak on Friday.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

P Ar
SBy Communicate?
LD

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

file

September 9, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Just thinking out loud. You know we talked about the American Friends setting up a Jackson office this fall. Wofford Smith has been offered the job but has turned it down. (I might be available for such, soon.) Anyway, Wofford and I were just talking and it occurred to us that perhaps, after all, the Friends might be a fine, or at least the best group to put out my noble work.

Saturday night I came close to writing you because I thought the unhypocritical thing would be to have the pamphlet come out under the auspices of the SRC. I still think so. But then friends argue that this would spoil it for Mississippians who might otherwise look at it with some objectivity. Well, I don't know - it is true, of course, that Mississippians now identify the SRC with the voter registration drive. I still think this is the honest thing to do, that is if you would sponsor the publication. But I agree that it would not be the most effective thing to do.

I have made no contact with the Friends and won't until I hear from you, and maybe not even then. I do want to come to Atlanta when I have my completed copy. As you know, it will be longer than we had anticipated. It will take all that you had in mind in the way of cash, and more. Perhaps if the Friends did this, they might also put up some more of the needed cash. The Friends are not exactly loved in Mississippi, but I suppose they have no desperate enemies, as yet. The sponsorship would have the advantage of coming from Mississippi, their Jackson office.

I sppke for a couple of days at Earlham last fall and have some contact with the Quakers. I rather think that they would jump at a chance to get involved in this publication, maybe not.

Well, this is just an idea. Now I have got to get back to the paper. I have now turned page 75 (after working 15 hrs a day for two weeks) but can see the end in sight.

Please let me know your reaction to this, at your convenience. But we do need to act fast.

Yours,

Jim Silver

In any event, I do want you to help me with the last bit of editorial work. I want to come to Atlanta for this. I have asked Frank Smith to ;write the introduction but haven't had time to hear from him. I agree that the other bit is cumbersome.

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File — Silver

October 9, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Sent today

I am enclosing a copy of a letter we have written Professor Silver. I am also enclosing the original, in an envelope bearing his name, in the hope that I can get you to address it to him at his home address. I will welcome any suggestions you have to make.

Thanks so much for calling on us last week. We appear to be producing material for Dan Pollitt's article right and left (Toby Simon in Tallahassee cited for a contempt returnable October 17; Ben Smith and Bruce Walzer arrested last Friday in New Orleans for violation of the state anti-sedition law).

Very sincerely,

Jade

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP'sk
Enclosures

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

October 9, 1963

Professor James Silver
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Professor Silver:

Leslie Dunbar, of the Southern Regional Council, has alerted us to the apprehension he has of efforts being made at retribution following the address which he anticipates you will make at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Society next month.

Although our resources are limited, the acts of retribution for an exercise of free speech in these circumstances would be of major concern to the American Civil Liberties Union. I write to inquire whether Les expresses an apprehension shared by you, and if so, whether we may be better informed of all of the anticipated circumstances in order better to arm ourselves to take necessary action.

Would you advise us of your own judgment of the matter, and of what specific courses of action, if any, you think will be available to persons offended by your speech? And, if it is available, would you share with us an advance text of the speech you are preparing?

We have imposed on Les to forward this letter to you home address, and we are taking the liberty of giving him a copy of our inquiry.

Very truly yours,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP'sk
cc: Leslie Dunbar

File
Sam Silver

October 7, 1963

Mr. Ira B. Harkey, Jr.
101 State Street
Reno, Nevada

Dear Mr. Harkey:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I acknowledge with thanks your generous contribution of $500 to the Southern Regional Council, Inc. toward its current budget.

Enclosed is the Council's official receipt for your files.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosure (Receipt for $500)

Ar

Pascagoula
Miss

PO Box
1147

For typing services rendered for Dr. James Silver:

95 ditto stencils	$57.00
98 typed pages, & carbon	44.10
paper, duplicating & assembling	35.00
	136.10

Rose Proehl

Mrs. Rose Proehl

Received payment,

Rose Proehl

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

September 30, 1963

Dear Leslie:

I am sending you this enclosed statement of expenses, secure in the knowledge that it won't be paid until I dig up the money myself principally from one Ira Harkey. Inasmuch as he is in Reno waiting for a divorce and has, I think, chance-taking proclivities, this may be wasted motion on my part. Anyway, I think that I had better send it on to you before I forget some of these items. I didd, of course, get receipted bills from the Hilton and the Americana but they had other items on them and you didn't seem to be concerned with protocol. The rents fan from 10 to 14 dollars. The other items are more or less self-explanatory and make up a rather modest accounting of what I have actually spent in the last month. They do not go back into what I shelled out in the past year.

I got a letter from Pete Sussman today and he pointed out two or three minor errors in the Tom Johnson story. Actually, I think he was trying to upgrade the activities of his organization, but even then, his letter made me more sure than ever that we had made the right decision to postpone the publication of something that has to be accurate.

You may not even see this in the papers in Georgia, but McDowell was arrested in Cleveland for not having his headlights on and for reckless driving. This is not only the closed and corrupt society but the vindictive one.

Tomorrow I'm going to work on the speech for Asheville.

Some day I'll find out how to run this electric typewriter - but not this year. Enjoyed seeing you and think that the trip to Atlanta was eminently worth while.

Sincerely,

Jim

Jim Silver

CR# 2163 10/7/63

307.25

Will not attend

file

JAMES STOKELY
405 CLIFTON HEIGHTS
NEWPORT, TENNESSEE

October 14, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Wilma and I were sorry that events worked out to prevent the article we discussed on the phone from reaching accomplishment. It was good to talk with you, however, and to learn some of the facts of the Tuskeegee situation, although later pressures seem to have lessened the surge for justice we had hoped might be breaking through.

A previous commitment will keep me from the board meeting this year. I regret this as it is always mutually helpful and stimulating to come together with many old friends and new ones, too, and learn what goes on in our many Souths.

Thank you again for the help you have given in various past research projects. I hope the Council work is moving ahead as you would wish. It seems to me you have had some especially useful reports recently.

Sincerely,

Jim

via air mail

October 17, 1963

Professor James Silver
Department of History
University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

More later, perhaps, to thank you and Dutch for hospitality and patience. I wanted to get a word off to you quickly about Hazel. You were right, and I was wrong.

Hazel bought the Durant News in, I think, 1936 and the Lexington Advertiser in 1943. She also owns, I think, two other papers, but I don't know what they are. The opposition paper is called The Holmes County Herald, and is published in Lexington. The reprisal act makes an exception to the state law requiring publication of a town's proceedings in a newspaper of that town. It provides that in Holmes County any town which has only one newspaper, but is located in a county which has another newspaper, may ~~must~~ publish its proceedings outside the municipality. The purpose was to allow the town of Durant to publish its proceedings in The Holmes County Herald. Incidentally, here is a good quote from the Commercial Appeal of April 27, 1962. Representative Bedford Waddell of Copiah County, Chairman of the House Municipalities Committee, said he understood the bill "concerned a woman editor who has been writing things which don't go along with the feelings in the community."

Also, the following is quoted from an article by Hodding Carter in the St. Louis Post Dispatch of November 26, 1961:

> "And in 1958 her enemies organized a new weekly paper at a meeting at which an officer of the local citizens council presided and asked for stock subscriptions from those present -- mostly council members. The new weekly, The Holmes County Herald, has been subsidized from the beginning by well-to-do council leaders. It couldn't have lasted three months without pressure in its behalf from county politicians and White Citizens Council leaders, generally the same persons and all of the same readily recognizable stripe."

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

October 24, 1963

Professor James Silver
University of Mississippi
Department of History
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

This confirms our telephone conversation of this afternoon.

I want you to feel no pain at all in publishing Mississippi: The Closed Society as a book and not as an SRC pamphlet. In fact, you will recall that when I was out last week I raised this possibility with you and Dutch. We are prepared to go ahead with it, and to distribute it as widely and as well as we can, but I think you are much better off, and not only financially, in publishing through either Harcourt, Brace or Harper and Row.

In your letter you asked me for advice, and here it is.

(1) Sign a contract now. There are no better publishers than Harcourt and Harper, and I don't see how you could go wrong with either one.

(2) I believe it would be in your interest as well as in the interest of what you so nobly called "us and the cause" for the book to be published as soon as possible. From your own personal standpoint, it seems to me that everything is to be gained by

getting all of this over within as compact period of time as is feasible. From November 7 on you will be in several degrees hotter water in Mississippi than you already are. And I think for your own personal composure (and Dutch's) you should get to the climax quickly. Moreover, from the standpoint of public reception and effectiveness, especially in Mississippi, I think it is better for the longer version with its greater documentation to get out as soon as possible following your Asheville address which, perforce, will contain a large proportion of generalization. From a publisher's standpoint, it would seem to me that there is an advantage in getting all this in print soon, but I don't know much about that. But I would suggest that you raise, in your discussions with the publishers, the desirability of publication very early in 1964.

(3) I think your present 130-page manuscript is a damn good short book, and I react very coolly to the prospect of your working into it any personal material; I just don't think it would belong. At any rate, I would suggest that you send this manuscript to the publisher, and then wait to hear from him as to whether he thinks additional material should be working into it, and of what kind. In other words, I am suggesting that you not initiate any additions.

(4) I think an introduction by Frank Smith or Dean Farley, or some such would be good, and you might suggest this to the publisher. Harrington would be okay for a pamphlet, but not for a book, I think. Nor would I personally warm to an introduction by some New York or Harvard type. But Vann Woodward, or David Potter, someone who could speak to the subject and the author with intimacy? Yes.

(5) I don't know just what would be gained by copyrighting your address, and I had not been aware that this was done for speeches. But if Mr. Goodman thinks it is a good thing to do, I am sure it is. Henry Fly could probably take care of it for you.

(6) I would recommend that your Asheville address get widely distributed in full, and we are prepared to do this for you if such is agreeable with the Southern Historical Association. I think the best way of doing so would be for us to order a great quantity of reprints in advance, assuming that the Journal of Southern History goes to press as soon as you seem to believe it does. The point is that you are going to get press coverage at

Asheville, and unless you are blacked out in Mississippi entirely, the press reports will be read back home; even if you are blacked out, there is the likelihood that the Memphis and New Orleans papers will carry something, and certainly (bless you) the New York Times and Newsweek will do so; from the tone of Bill Peters's voice, when he called me a couple of weeks ago, for all I know CBS may have its cameras on you. All this means that it is important that the full text of what you say in Asheville be readily and quickly available to be read. I don't want to add to your burdens, but how about dropping a note to the editor of the Journal of Southern History to pin down exactly when reprints can be available?

(6) As I informed you, the New Republic has expressed an interest in running, under your byline, excerpts from your Asheville address, and Reese has told me that he will be more than glad, himself, to prepare the copy; so you will not have to do any work. I think you should be favorably disposed to this idea, and I am also sure that, if you enter into an agreement with a publisher, you ought to get his concurrence. It would seem to me that, with proper acknowledgement, this would be a good thing to do, and good advertising for the book.

(7) I am less well disposed to advise you to follow up the suggestion from Harper's that it print your address. Though, again, you should check this out with your publisher. As I understand it, Harper's would want to publish the whole Asheville address, and that seems to me somehow awkward, when the same thing will be published in the Journal of Southern History.

(8) Please forget about Oscar Cohen. Oscar is in a position to help us with distribution of the address, if we do that. But this need not concern you.

(9) I speak now uninvited and simply as a friend. Last week I rather gingerly asked you if you were sure you wanted to go to Brandeis. I ask it again. You are in disrepute, you are going to be in worse disrepute, you are wonderfully fool enough to want to slug it out. Why give the louts Brandeis to hang on your neck? And I am not a bit impressed by your vainglorious boast

that you are going to Brandeis and tell them what they don't want to hear. Besides, I think you have to make it tough for the University administration and the Citizens Council. Don't give them something like "missing classes" to hang you on. Well, you can do with this what people usually do with unsolicited advice.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace

Mr. Edwin Barber
Harper & Row

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Rec'd 10/25

October 22, 1963

Dear Leslie:

As the enclosed letter will indicate, my life is getting more and more complicated, by far too complicated for my own good. I have no intention of doing anything for love nor money unless you are involved and think that whatever action is taken is best for us and the cause.

Last November McGraw-Hill (as I remember it) offered me a contract to write a book in conjunction with Meredith. This fell through for a number of reasons, the least of which was not the fact that I never did get very enthusiastic about the project. By the turn of the year I had just about given up any idea of a book, although I was collecting material for my SHA paper and hoped, somehow, to extend that past the actual talk and get it widely read.

At the MVHA meeting in Omaha, last May, I talked at length with Bill Goodman but I was in no position to talk about a book. As we left the matter, I would decide in November after the SHA talk whether to add my own personal experiences to the narrative with the idea that Harcourt-Brace & World might publish this. There was nothing very settled about the matter simply because I thought that my action would be determined by the reception of the speech in Mississippi. The only thing that was firm was that if I were fired or eased out, I would have no hesitancy in publishing the whole business.

In May I made a lengthy trip through Mississippi, talking with dozens of people. In Pasgagoula Ira Harkey had a dinner for about a dozen men, at the Longfellow House. There was a kind of mild committment made there that Harkey would publish my extended remarks - or an extension of my remarks at the SHA. Of course Harkey was not then thinking of giving up the paper which he did much later, in the summer. The Harkey pamphlet would have gone out to people in Mississippi, maybe a thousand or so copies.

This is about the picture when we first got together in Atlanta. I had intended on writing the whole thing at Emory but never got around to it. Then, the night before I left you came to my rescue by saying that the SRC would publish the longer work I was struggling with. Since that time you know as much as I do about what has happened.

A couple of weeks ago an editor of Harper and Row, having talked with Paige about the matter, wrote me to inquire about publication by Harper. I answered his letter and sent a copy to Bill Goodman. This must have stirred him up a bit. You now see the consequence of this in the enclosed letter. I must say, though, that Bill had written me several times during the year, and was apparently willing to go faster with the idea of publication than I could see my way to do.

For a month or more and especially since our session with Mr. Cohen, I have been a little disturbed as to what might happen in the publication of the pamphlet. I had begun to see that the damned thing might turn into something bigger than

Rec'd 10/23

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
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UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

we had anticipated, and wondered what would happen if, let's say the SRC put out 1500 or so of the pamphlets and then someone like Cohen or even Henry Fly wanted to come along with an idea of mass distribution. This distribution would mean that the pamphlet would go, in the main, outside of Mississippi. Thus in a way it would become 1) an exploitation of the Mississippi situation, and 2) a commercial proposition, at least from my standpoint.

I'm not sure as to what Bill Goodman understands about our present arrangements. If he knows about the proposed SRC distribution of the larger work, he gives little indication of it. On the other hand, he may be just trying to forestall that publication. Certainly if there were mass distribution, Harcourt Brace would have little interest in going ahead with the book.

I would sort of like to go ahead and finish the personal angle of my story of the last year or so, and I think this would be easier to write and even more entertaining to the average reader. At the same time, as you can imagine, I hate to think of starting right out on that. But it could be done by the first of the year, if I were willing to repeat what I've just been through. My feelings aren't a major concern but they are of some importance.

The timing of the whole business is more important. As you know, we 1st planned on putting out the speech and the pamphlet at the same time, November 7. I suppose that we still hope to get out the pamphlet by December 1st, certainly by Christmas. It would appear, though, that Goodman doesn't want (if he understands about it at all) to have the pamphlet published. I can see his point.

Now, I'm at an impasse, and I guess that I'm not thinking too clearly about the whole business anyway. My major concern is to set the record straight and to have some impact on Mississippi thinking. The 1st I have largely done and the second is damned unlikely.

I just don't know what to do, but I am sure that I don't intend to do anything without your concurrence and without, for that matter, your hearty endorsement. I would like for you to read all this over carefully and then call me. (I would call you but I can't tell for sure when you will even get this letter.) In the meantime I am pretty sure that I can send to you the new typed copy - it should run 130 short pages -by Friday. I hope to complete the speech itself sometime this week end and send it to you airmail for mimeographing. There is no change in our plans, as far as I'm concerned, but I would like to talk with you about the whole business, on the phone. I can come over there if you think that wise. And I don't want you to say, as I anticipate you would, that it is up to me. That isn't the point. What is the best thing to do, for all of us, under the present complicated circumstances? I'll be damned if I know.

I will not write Bill Goodman until we have had a chance to talk it over. And, above all, I want this material, in whatever form, widely distributed in Mississippi, even if it is as a sort of last will and testament.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

I wish I had more time to read it, but I have and do appreciate your arrows, reflections, interest in this business. You have helped greatly in my keeping what little sanity is left -

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

10/23

October 21, 1963

~~Brothers~~ Harper & Row

~~492.33~~

2199 SW. Naill River Rd.
Elmsford, N.Y.

Professor James W. Silver
Department of History
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

Yours of October 8 came at the right moment, for it brought to a head my growing conviction about the importance of the enterprise implicit in your SHA address. What I did was take the matter to William Jovanovich, President of Harcourt, Brace & World, to test my conviction that Mississippi: The Closed Society was more properly a Harcourt Trade book, with all that is implied in such auspices, rather than a Harbinger original publication, even though the Harbinger format would mean both hard and paperback issuance. Mr. Jovanovich read all our correspondence and he and I talked over the possibilities of your book. I am glad to report to you that Mr. Jovanovich believes as strongly in the enterprise as you and I do and that he wants to see it as a Harcourt, Brace & World book. In fact, he is prepared to sign a contract now -- with an initial advance of two thousand five hundred dollars -- because of that belief. Moreover, he proposes that the book be published initially as a Harcourt Trade book, that a Harbinger paperback reprint follow the Trade edition in due course, and that a mass paperback edition also be arranged for the book. The point to emphasize in all this, however, is that your book poses a very complex publishing question -- how to make a satisfactory continuous historical narrative out of your SHA Presidential address which, I take it, will be a capsule history of Mississippi which will endeavor to explain how it is possible for the Meredith crisis to have developed in the state, and between the state and Federal authority, in the way it did, and which may incorporate as well your personal involvement with James Meredith and perhaps your relationship to William Faulkner insofar as the latter may be germane to "the closed society." A rather tall order but by no means an impossible one.

What is needed is not talk of publishing arrangements, though we are prepared to enter such by an exchange of documents now, but rather a face to face discussion between you and Harcourt. What Mr. Jovanovich proposes is that you stop in at Harcourt in New York for such a discussion on your way home from Brandeis after your November 19 lecture in Waltham with the understanding that Harcourt shall pay your expenses involved in your visit to our offices,

from Waltham. In two sentences the suggestion is this: Mr. Jovanovich and I believe you have a big book on your hands, but a complex one, and that it would make sense for you to talk its problems through with us. Furthermore, we believe a narrative scheme can be devised that will include all the elements of the story you want to record and we want to act as your editors.

In order for this to be really useful, Jim, we believe that you must copyright in your own name the full text of the speech you are scheduled to give at the annual SHA dinner in Asheville. Beyond that we would urge that no other version but the one you give at the annual dinner be printed or circulated. In fact, the best advice to offer is that no distribution of your material take place other than the actual text you deliver in Asheville until the book itself is published. I do understand that you want to circulate some 1,000 copies to Mississippi alumni before the Asheville dinner. That's fine as long as the text is what you will deliver in Asheville and is clearly marked © James W. Silver. If after Asheville further copies of the text are to be distributed, the best suggestion we can make is to order as many reprints as you or the Southern Regional Council need from The Journal of Southern History, which will print it in the number following the Asheville meeting. If the SRC distributes the JSH reprint, we see no particular advantage in further circulation by the Anti-Defamation League.

The big thing is the book itself and to try to find out just what are the problems of its organization as an extended narrative. That's worth a good deal of exploration. We can do some of this in Asheville, though I suspect you'll have little time there for the kind of talk needed. We'll meet in Asheville, you may be sure, and hopefully have dinner and drinks if you have the time. I'll be at the Vanderbilt, arriving late on the 7th. In the meanwhile, won't you let me know what you think of all this? If I may say so, I think the best solution is to discuss the matter with us here in New York and see what kind of a book it is you have to write. You may be damn sure Harcourt will publish it and publish it well.

Let me know.

Best wishes.

look you (when) copyright circulate memos become press copy
Hew RC
my suggestion to you

Faithfully,

Bill

William B. Goodman
Senior Editor

WBG/rrc

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

October 28, 1963

Dear Leslie:

When you spoke a time or two about my ability at public relations, I took it with a grain of salt, but now that I see what you have been able to pull off, I'm begin ning to be flattered. I told Dutch when I read your magnificent four page letter that it would frighten Harcourt-Brace, or someone, into reflex action, whih of course it did. Bill Goodman called me a few minutes ago, as I am, sure he did you, and came through on every suggestion you had made in the letter. I am sure that you put the fear of God into him with your sending a copy of the letter to Harper & Row. Anyway, Goodman reitereated his offer, the same as the other, but for the smaller book. We are going to get together in Asheville. Incidentally, I don't see why you and your wife couldn't take off for the great event.

I am going to send my copy of the manuscript to Goodman (I still have the copy from which that was made). He goes along with the idea of reprints from the Journal of Southern History, which makes sense, I think.As for other reproduction, except of course for news stories, I think that he is rather against them. It makes little difference to me.

Inasmuch as there will probably be a fairly wide distribution of the reprint, it seems to me that it might well include more than I say in my speech. The last revision (this is like cutting of an arm and then a leg) got the damned thing down to 40 pages. Then I went through it and in very delicate green ink, as you will see, marked through about ten pages which I would like to leave in the speech but not read.I am sending this to you and will leave the matter up to your judgment. I think that it will take me about an hour to read what is left and I think that in the next week I can cut out another page or two. But I think it more or less safe to say that this (less the green marked passages) is what I'll read.

If you are still in the mood to mimeograph this masterpiece, I'd be more than delighted. You should get this Wednesday morning and if the thing could be done before you close up shop this week, it would be fine. In fact, if these things were sent out Monday it would be all right. But I suppose it would be just as easy for you to get them out Friday as Monday.

I am going to send you a list of people to whom I have promised copies of the speech. I would (again) appreciate it if you could send these directly from Atlanta, to save time. Then if you could dispatch about ten copies to me, I'll be not only happy but overwhelmed.

The funny thing is that I have been fooling with this idea for more than a year and now that I can see something might actually work out, I'm a little excited by it all. Sort of like planning one's execution. At least I should be there for the hanging. I realize, too, that when the time comes for the springing of the trap, I'll be able to look up to the skies and say that if hadn't been for Dunbar, I'd be playing golf back in Mississippi.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

If you decide to mimeograph it all, could the passages not to be read be marked in some way?

Yes - Think this covers most things up to the moment. Will send 1st manuscript tomorrow. Will send 2 different packages —

October 24, 1963

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

I am not exactly sure as to where you are in regard to the various plans, etc. having to do with my Asheville speech and the longer work - so I'll try to bring you up to date. Last May Ira Harkey, publisher of a newspaper in south Mississippi, agreed to print an extended version of the speech as a pamphlet, for wide distribution, mainly in Mississippi. Then Harkey sold his newspaper. I was in Atlanta for the summer and on the night I left Leslie Dunbar suggested that the Southern Regional Council would be interested in putting out the extended version. I had intended to write the paper while teaching at Emory last summer but only got about a third of it done.

On my return to Mississippi the last part of August, I went to work, about fifteen hours a day, and came up with a 95 (long) page version of what I wanted to say. This was dittoed and sent to a couple of dozen friends who made all sorts of suggestions as to improvement, factaally and in style. Then I went back to Atlana for a talk with Dunbar and we both agreed that this long version needed serious revision and that it would be folly to try to bring it out at the time of the speech (Nov. 7). I came back to Mississippi and reworked the paper, with the help of the various suggestions that had been made in writing. Les Bunbar did the same in Atlanta and then he came over here for a couple of days and we more or less agreed on what I suppose is a semi-final version. The typing of this and the proofreading will be completed by tomorrow when I am sending to Dunbar two carbons (I am keeping the original).

When your letter of October 21 came, I read it very carefully, and sent a copy at once to Dunbar. This afternoon he called me and we talked over the whole business. He very generously suggested that, in spite of all the work he had done on this (which he didn't mention), he thought the idea of book publicati superior to that of publication of a large pamphlet. I have since talked this part of the problem over with friends here, and they agree.

It seems, then, that we are coming along fine, so far. But Les thinks that the publication of Mississippi: The Closed Society should not be put off until late next spring. I am inclined to agree. We now have about 135 pages or, I would guess, about 40,000 words, almost ready to go. There is no telling what is going to happen to me after the Asheville speech, though at the moment, I would guess nothing (though they are bound to get me, sooner or later). I have also written about a six page introduction which includes a good deal of personal stuff. What I'm getting at is that Les thinks this version should come out just as soon as possible, preferably by Xmas, and that it should not be tied up with my personal story, with Faulkner, or anything else. It is a unit in itself. I could very well add, though, instead of six pages, about twenty for the

introduction, and thereby include a good deal of the personal story. Frankly, after the hectic last year and especially the last six weeks, I am hesitant to start out on a hurried-up venture such as getting together another hundred pages of manuscript. So far this fall I have completely neglected my classes and before long there might well be a legitimate reason for firing me along that line. I agree with Dunbar that it may be wrong to hold up what we have in view of the undetermined future here.

Anyway, I am sending the two carbons to Leslie tomorrow and have suggested to him that he get in touch with you. I am primarily concerned with what is going on down here and less with publication of anything, and because I am sure that Les feels the same way, I am willing to go along with whatever he thinks best.

He did suggest that the SRC might well go ahead with a kind of mass distribution of the speech itself (reprints from the Journal of Southern History) which would probably do more to advertize the book than to discourage its sale.

I suppose it is plain that at the moment it would appear to me that the soundest procedure would be to go ahead with the bird in hand. I'm sure that you can't even think of a decision on that until you have seen the manuscript. But, in the meantime, why don't you and Dunbar talk about the whole thing on the phone and then let's get down to business?

The manuscript itself was first a 95 pp. essay. Then I added 25 to 30 subheadings. And late Dunbar suggested its revision into five chapters, which has now been done. I know very well that this is going to be not only timely but enormously provocative. I don't think that we ought to wait.

Sincerely,

James W. Silver

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

October 25, 1963

Dear Leslie:

I am sending you one of the carbons this morning. Will put the other into a later mail, just for safety's sake. Actually, you should get them both on Monday morning. I haven't proof-read this as I should have because now I have just 24 hrs. to put together what will go down in history as my speech. I have proof read the manuscript, but I did it by myself, and after my experience with the 1st draft, I do not have a high opinion of myself as a proof reader.

Sometimes I haven't been sure as to whether this was my paper or yours. I mean that in a very nice way, for your impact I can see on every page and in the general reorganization, which I have finally come to approve of. I think that with what changes we may make in the future, it will make a damned good and certainly a provocative little book.

I am still quite dissatisfied with the beginning and the end. Though both have been improved, they are not quite what they ought to be. I struggled long over what you left in the way of directions, and then, as for the beginning, went back to a good deal of what I had in the beginning. The beginning of the speech is much better, much punchier, or at least I think so.

In spite of what you may observe at first reading, I have taken almost all of your suggestions, at least the ones we agreed upon when you had me in a weak mood. But when I went over some of these things carefully, it seemed to me that the change brought more problems than it solved, and I went back to the original or adopted a half-way procedure. A very few things I think you just misinterpreted, which of course, indicates that I wasn't so damned clear myself. Anyway, as I wrote you, I am willing for you to make whatever further changes you want to. I wish that I had made comments on your paper as I went along, but that didn't occur to me until the very end. And I didn't have the time to go back. We were up till two this morning getting the thing proof read.

You know all I know about Harcourt, Brace. The more I think about it, the more I'm concerned with the notion that this is the book. If I were to add my own personal story, it might well antagonize people who might otherwise go along with my reasoning. Anyway, I just don't want to sit on this for two months. I'd like, for instance, to still be at Ole Miss when and if the book comes out. This is a good, sharp, controversial document, and people will read it, and this ought to be enough for any publisher. (If there is any great demand for such, I can still write the other part, perhaps for another "little" book. But we don't need to be concerned with that now.)

I am going to make a major effort to get the other manuscript, the speech that is, in the mail tomorrow. For that reason, I'd better get on the ball.

Les, I think that you know how much I appreciate the interest and the work that you have put forth on this manuscript. This is a hard kind of thing for me to say or write, so I won't try further. Yours,

Jim

This may or may not help matters. But some decisions will have to be made fast & Hope Goodman will call you Monday. It might be hinted, I suppose, that someone is going to publish without waiting for the Silver saga. I'm certainly committed now to publishing what we have ready. I'm not eager, just impulsive & money mad.

Yours,
Jim

October 24, 1963

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

My letter to you this afternoon was written in some haste so that I could catch the afternoon mail. Since then I have had some afterthoughts. For one thing, when I left Atlanta late in August and Leslie Dunbar has agreed to put out a pamphlet, it was our feeling that it would run about 50 pages. Well, I turned up with more than twice that much (95 long pages). Our latest version has had the benefit of criticism of some of the best historians in the country (including Vann Woodward, Dave Potter, Jim Ferguson, Bell /Wiley) as well as damned good professors here and elsewhere in other fields, and four or five good lawyers. In other words, both Leslie and I believe that the manuscript will soon be ready for going to the printer. He thinks (and I concur) that this is a document that will be highly controversial, that down here especially it will be cussed and damned but it will be read. I think it good enough so that I'm willing to dare what little reputation I have as a student of history on the manuscript. It is a unit in itself, and my personal story, added to it might go well in some parts of the country, but from the standpoint of my purpose (and Leslie's purpose) could well be a detriment.

The timing element is very important. In a few months Barnett and Johnson are going to be in federal court and the case is going to get national attention, day after day. The story as I have written it will erode in some degree with the lapse of time, in spite of the fact that it is a historical document and from that standpoint will be discussed ten years from now. But even now there is the problem of deciding whether to add to what I have written what Meredith has said about coming back to Ole Miss, and whether to include the McDowell case, etc.

Then there is an immediate problem. I am sending to Leslie on Saturday or Sunday the copy of my speech that I shall read. He is having it duplicated for me, and I have promised several newsmen copies ahead of time. These include Newsweek and the NYTimes. That is all right but the Times Magazine section, the New Republic, and Harper's have all indicated a desire to publish at least excerpts from the speech. What is said to them, and it has to be said at the end of next week, must depend, it seems to me, at least partly on what we decide about publication.

This all sounds like swinging around the mulberry bush but I have just about decided that from my standpoint keeping the manuscript almost ready for publication on ice for at least two months while something else is being written just doesn't make any sense, especially in view of the fact that the two parts may not go together in any case. At the moment I think that I would rather see the pamphlet come out in December (even without making any money on it) than to wait for the whole thing next April or May. Of course I don't know how long it would take to get out a small book. -- So, when you have digested these two letters, I would like to have you get in touch with Leslie Dunbar who knows the manuscript as well as I do, and can give you some judgment on it. What he says, I will do.

Sincerely,

Jim Silver

18 17 Harper & Row, Publishers 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, New York
INCORPORATED

October 22, 1963

Professor James W. Silver
Department of History
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Professor Silver:

Thanks so much for your reply to my letter about MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY.

I know and admire Bill Goodman; in fact, I should say that I know, admire, and envy Bill Goodman, since he had the good judgment to talk with you about the book.

Still, we would like very much to do it, and I have taken the liberty of mentioning your speech and the possibility of a book to Jack Fischer, the editor of Harper's Magazine. He is very interested in running the speech and perhaps your personal addendum in the Magazine. He wonders if we might have a copy of the speech to consider. If he decided to do it, I suppose Les Dunbar should be consulted first.

In any case, even though all this is a bit premature, I hope it goes to show that we really would be proud to have you publish with us.

Sincerely,

Edwin Barber

Edwin Barber, Editor
College Department

EFB:KE
cc: Staige Blackford

CABLE ADDRESS : HARPSAM • TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

October 29, 1963

Mr. William B. Goodman
Senior Editor
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

Enclosed is the letter from David Potter that I mentioned to you. I suggested very strongly to Jim that there were suggestions here he should follow, and I expect he has, though I still have not read the revisions.

It was good talking with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

October 30, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of October 29 and the enclosed from David Potter. Mr. Goodman is on a business trip this week, however I am sure he will be pleased to see your letter on his return to the office and will be writing to you shortly.

Sincerely,

Roberta Cook

Roberta Cook
Secretary to Mr. Goodman

October 31, 1963

Professor James W. Silver
Department of History
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

We are cutting stencils now on your address, and ought to mail it out Monday.

We intend to run about 1,000 copies. When you get a chance, get to us any names that you want to suggest for receiving it. At the moment, our thought is to give it a distribution largely confined to the southern press, some church people, and to a selected list of Congressmen and Administration people in Washington; but this is still tentative.

We don't intend to make any special effort to get it out, even to the southern press, in advance of November 7.

We shall mail the copies to the persons whose names you have already sent in.

We are putting "copyright 1963 by James W. Silver" on the thing. We do this on the understanding that you are going to see that this is a fact.

I am sure you will be astonished to know that we are leaving in one bit which you had given permission to leave out, partly because your directions

were a bit confusing at this point and partly because I felt the flow of your speech would be better with it in. This is page 10 of your manuscript.

Your type is pretty small, and you crowded your pages, so you may be surprised at how many of our pages the address may run.

I took the liberty the other day of calling Joe Matthews on one point. I have no wish for the Southern Regional Council to affront the Southern Historical Association, and I asked Joe, as a friend to all of us and as President-elect of the Association, if he thought anyone would be offended by our distributing the mimeographed text in advance of printing in the Journal of Southern History. Joe conferred with Bell Wiley, and Bell later called me back. Their opinion is that everything is all right, but they believe that you should go through a little protocol. Bell said you would not like doing it, but that he thought, and Joe did also, that you should do it if for no other reason than not to open the door within the Association to carping criticism from what he described as segregationists.

Specifically, Bell thought you should telephone Bennett Wall and inform him that you are copyrighting your address on advice of Harcourt, Brace, and that you were having a number of mimeographed copies circulated now. Secondly, he thought you should also drop a note to each member of the SHA Executive Council informing them likewise. Bell emphasized that he did not mean that you should ask Wall and the Executive Council; simply that you should tell them what you are doing.

This, of course, is up to you, though I imagine Bell's advice is pretty good. My own problem was simply whether the Association might be mad at us for distributing it, and we can go ahead now with assurance from Joe and Bell that this is not likely to be the case.

I wish I could come to Asheville, but I'm afraid I can't. Those three cases of refreshment almost made me change my mind. Good luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. William B. Goodman
Dr. Bell I. Wiley

P. S. -- Bell also mentioned that transfer of copyright from you to the J.H.S. would be simple, if that would be in order.

LWD

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

November 4, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am in grateful receipt of yours of October 29 enclosing David Potter's comment on Jim Silver's first draft, a carbon of your good letter to him of October 31; and, this morning, a copy, duly indicating copyright, of Jim's November 7 address. These are all invaluable grants-in-aid to an editor and I shall not soon forget them or the great good will which prompted them.

With every good wish,

Very cordially yours,

William B. Goodman
Senior Editor

WBG/rrc

Did I tell you Simmons (W.J.) [same initials as CASH] has a book coming out about the time of ours?

SBJ
PWM
MJ - file

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI
Department of History

1/14/63

Bill Minor, 611 Vincent Bldg., Jackson, Miss.

Dear Leslie:

Hzd to write down the above address before I forgot it. He's the man for the Times-Picayune, a very bright guy although I can't say the same for the paper.

I had mailed the letter with the notarized statement to you in the early morning mail, and then, somewhat later, I got the bundle of propaganda. I'm sorry but the letter to you had already gone, and I had no idea that the Southern Regional Council would work on Saturday, which someone must have done. Anyway, I lcouldn't get the letter back and so I presume that you will have sent the statement, plus my check, plus two copies of the extravaganza to the right people in Washington. I am sorry that I had so little faith in your organization, but I was trying to get out of the way the million things that still have to be done before leaving.

Talked with Flemsing this morning. He had talked earlier with the chancellor, asked him whether I might be fired for making this speech, and the chancellor said, No, Silver has already said everything. I think this a bit cryptic and in keeping with the @freeze Silver" program. But now I think that maybe we'll get someone stirred up. Let's hope that we won't be ignored. That's a fate worse than death.

The little booklet you have put out looks damned good. Now, maybe we can all go back to work. Or rather, it does seem as though we were going to string this thing out for a few more years.

Again, thanks very much. I think that together we'd make a success at advertizing.

Yours,

JW

File this of Miss.

copyright 1963 by James W. Silver

Presidential Address before the
Southern Historical Association
Asheville, North Carolina
7:00 P. M., November 7, 1963

NOT FOR RELEASE OR QUOTATION
BEFORE TIME OF DELIVERY

MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY

by
James W. Silver
University of Mississippi

In less than a decade after the latter depression years, three Mississippi professors, Rainwater, Bettersworth, and Wharton, published scholarly volumes which laid great stress on poverty stricken Mississippi leadership in secession, Civil War, and Reconstruction to 1890. It is quite likely that, if these studies were put on the market

LWD fyi

Memo from BERNICE COOK

File Chrs. of Miss.

November 11, 1963

To - V.E.J., Jr.

Re: Postage for Silver pamphlet

a -	Sent out on labels as requested by Mr. Silver ---	33 @ .35 each	--	$11.55
b -	Mass Media ---	83 @ .35 each	--	29.05
c -	Sent out on labels	152 @ .35 each	--	53.20
d -	Interagency #1 , board and Cat. #10 (3rd class @ .14 each)		--	40.88
e -	Mass Media foreign (2 @ .53 each		--	1.06
f -	Two packages sent to Mr. Silver at approximately $4.00		--	4.00
		Total		$139.74

B. C. C.

file: Univ. of Miss

November 14, 1963

Professor James W. Silver
Department of History
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

Now that the first round is all over, I'll tell you that I think your speech was damned good.

I didn't expect though that it would arouse such biblical fervor. You write to me, "What hath God Wrought?" I had a letter from Will Campbell yesterday and he mentioned you and your fame, and then said, "God works in mysterious ways."

I'm not sure what you mean about the Jackson papers and their "usual performance." Have they stopped ignoring you? I see nothing wrong with your informing them that mimeographed copies of your address were made by SRC, and that you understand that we would be willing to send out copies on request as long as they last.

We are sending copies to the additional names you are sending in, including three (3) to Schlesinger. I hope the President read the copy Schlesinger gave him.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LWD
mj

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

Wiley
11/14/63
mmj

Dear Leslie:

I am about to get to the poiknt of inquiring, "What hath God wrought?"

The Jackson papers have put on their usual performance. What do you think about my writing to the CL, suggesting that anyone who wants to read my talk can get it by addressing the SRC? I think this might be very valuable but it would mean work for you.

The following have asked for copies:

3 copies ✓ Arthur Schlesinger, The White House, Washington, D.C. (has asked for 3 copies, having given his first, he said, to the President.)
✓ William L. Patterson, 1268 President St. Brooklyn 13, N. Y.
✓ Mrs. Ruth Guyton Smith, 506 Maefiar Drive, Charleston, West. Va.
✓ Calvin L. Wells, Jackson, Miss.
✓ Vernon Trevathan, 528 Graduate House, West LaFayette, Indiana
✓ Daniel Kubat, Economics Dept., Wells College, Aurora, New York
Rev. Braynard E. Kurkowski, 2111 North 4th St., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

Miss Dutch has labelled letters 89 for 16 against about 2 dozen telegrams all favorable.

10

Mailed 1/14/63 mmt | Silver

Robert Sundell
Pageant Magazine

205 E. 42nd St
8th floor
New York, 17

11/13/63

M J please

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

mailed 11/14/63 mcy

Dear Les: It is now after 11 PM and I have just completed a three hour class, which about floored me. So I won't write anything except the names of people who have requested by mail copies of the speech:

Prof. Dick Steweart, 1331 Geddes St., Ann Arbor, Michigan
Mr. Phil Mullen, Canton, Mississippi
Prof. John D. Seelye, Dept. of English, Univ. of California
Berkeley, Cal.
Mr. Flip Schulke, 6025 Southwest 106th St. Miami 56, Florida
Lynn M Case, History Dept., Univ. of Pa., Philadephia 4, Pa.
James kimbrough, 13830 South Monticello Ave., Robbins, Ill.
James M. Fitch, School of Architecture, Columbia Univ. in
the City of N. Y., New York 27, N. Y.
Irwin A. ~~S~~/ Eckhauser, Commission on Human Relations,
City Hall, Mt. Vernon, New York
Richard S. ~~Z~~J. Marren, 1516 26th St., N. W. Washington, D.C.
Prof. Richard Yates, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas
Mrs. Michel M. Turpeau Apt 703 1909 19th St., N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.
Carl E. DeVane Dept Social Science, Shaw University,
Box 88, Raleigh, North Carolina
Francis B. Randall Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, N. Y.
Hardy Myers, jr. 751 East 17th Avenue, Eugene, Oregon
Virgil C.Pfeiffer, 2750 North Glenstone
Springfield, Missouri
A. Y. Brown, Lst Methodist Church, Court and Broad,
West Point, Mississippi
Philip M. Rice, Dept. History, Kansas State University,
Manhattan, Kansas
Mrs. Denning Schattman, 6220 Locke Ave., Fort Worth, Texas.

I would appreciate your sending me another 25 copies if you have them to spare. I want to send out a lot more in Mississippi. Damned little reaction in the state as yet. But it will come.

Thanks again, May see you soon. Yrs. Jim

N.J. file header
MJ-file

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS

November 15, 1963

Dear Sir:

Recently you sent Col. Francis P. Miller a copy of an address before the Southern Historical Association entitled "Mississippi: The Closed Society." This address was delivered by James W. Silver, University of Mississippi on November 7, 1963.

Col. Miller has asked me to request that you send him an additional five copies of this address. Thank you.

11-27-63
M.M.

Sincerely,

Patricia L. Minami

(Mrs.) Patricia L. Minami
Secretary to
Col. Francis P. Miller

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

VJ-file
MJ-file

November 15, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

If you have any extra copies of Jim Silver's talk, please send me two or three more.

Forwarded
11-27-63

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith
Director

file: Universities

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

December 2, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Will you please send me some copies (at least 25 if available) of Jim Silver's recent opus? I would like to have these in order to send them to sociologist friends who might not know what has been going on in the region. Incidentally, Dr. Silver is not the only one or the first one--I am enclosing a copy of my paper which I read at the Southern Sociological Society meeting last April.

Not enclosed! mmj

Sincerely,

Julien R. Tatum

Julien R. Tatum, Chiarman

JRT/mmj

Enclosure

File
Jim Silver

December 3, 1963

Mr. William B. Goodman
Senior Editor
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

After you took charge of Jim Silver's manuscript I did not hurry my own reading of his revised copy. Over the weekend I did read it, however, and would like now to take up your invitation and offer a few comments.

Generally, I think Jim has accomplished what he needed to do, and that is to put his wealth of material into an exciting and important theme. As I indicated to you over the telephone one day, I was, myself, much impressed by the approach suggested by David Potter, and it seems to me that Jim has gone a long way toward fulfilling the promise of Potter's suggestions. As I read it, what this book amounts to is a statement that Mississippi presents something unique in American history, and therefore, something of considerable historical interest; that it has arrived at least to the borders of America's first experiment with a closed society; that it has done so in the probably correct belief that this is the only feasible way of preserving racial segregation; and that it has thereby, as Jim points out on his last page, crippled severely its capacity to reform itself.

I have noted some small points in the manuscript, some of which I am sure you have seen also.

Page 19, L. 3.

Should there be a "sic" after they"?

Page 25, L. 9.

Don't the Hedermans still own the paper?

P. 25, L. 17.

"capital"?

P. 33.

I would suggest here or earlier a few lines of description of the State Sovereighty Commission.

P. 37, Lines 11 & 12.

This is an exaggeration which seems to me too gross to be effective. There were plenty of people who voted for Barnett and were proud of it.

P. 37, Last Graf.

The Episcopal Church in Mississippi is hardly big enough itself to present this difficulty. I have not tried to refresh my memory, but my recollection is that the prevailing sentiment of the Mississippi churches has been, during the entire period since 1954, pretty much what it is today. The great difference between now and the 1850's has been the existence of conspicuous dissenters, such as Dr. Selah and the 28.

P. 64, Last Graf.

I was suspicuous of these figures when I saw them in the original draft, and questioned Jim about them. I have not been able to find handily 1962 figures, but the 1961 figures are set forth on page 330 of the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1963 bolster my suspicions that the Tennessee statistic is erroneously copied. The 1961 figures were: Mississippi, 1.6; Alabama, 3.3;

Georgia, 4.5; North Carolina, 4.99; South Carolina, 2.39; Tennessee, 3.86.

P. 73, Bottom of page.

Should this be "he allegedly raped the girl?"

P. 75, L. 3.

The latest Commission on Civil Rights report gives Negro registration for Lowndes County as 95.

P. 78.

Jim uses the figure 8,000 for Negro registration in 1958. I don't know where he got this, nor do I know whether it is accurate. In fact, no one does more or can do more than estimate pretty loosely the level of Negro registration in Mississippi, except for the few counties reported on by the Department of Justice and a few more for which the Commission on Civil Rights has got hard figures. There is simply nothing to go on except experience and observation. Jim's figures are the lowest I have seen. The usually employed estimate for 1958 was 20,000. Right now we (SRC) are using (very tentatively) a figure in excess of 27,000. I really don't believe it, but we at least can explain its derivation, which is largely from base figures released a couple years ago by the Commission on Civil Rights. But Mississippi is the only state where the Commission relied for its estimate largely on figures put together by the NAACP, through a survey by Aaron Henry. To sum up, nobody knows how many Negroes are registered in Mississippi (nor for that matter how many whites); most people think it's more than Jim's figure.

P. 78, L. 15.

I believe the name is Lamar.

P. 80, Last Graf.

Emmett Till.

P. 92, L. 19.

The reference is to Joe Matthews who is presently the incoming president; this is a confusing reference.

P. 106, L. 8.

So also is "Washington" in this context. I believe Jim is referring to the Mississippi Congressional delegation, but I don't believe many readers would read it that way.

P. 107, L. 7.

I'm afraid that, except in his own neck of the woods, few readers would, without some guidance, see the irony of the Commercial Appeal's presuming to complain.

P. 108, L. 16.

This "second prize" item sounds like an unfinished story which whets one's curiosity.

P. 118.

The title apparently refers to Jim. I know one or two other Southerners who doggedly call themselves "moderates," insisting on their own definitions, and refuse to concede that this term has been appropriated by the raging controversy. Jim is not a "moderate" in the language of the times, and should not, I think, call himself one. To do so is either futile or is a deference on his part to the closed society.

I would be very grateful to you if you could let us know, as your plans develop, when publication will likely be.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PWV
STB
MJ - file

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

January 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file
Univ. of Miss.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your splendid letter of December 3 has been a daily companion during my work on Jim's manuscript. I raised your points with him and what others occurred to me. His responses in revision have been all that an editor could ask. The net result, I think, will please you. As soon as we have an exact production schedule, I'll write you. Our tentative publication date is now listed as June but we'll sharpen that for bound books (which will appear much before that for circulation to reviewers and so forth) in fairly short order.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Bill Goodman

William B. Goodman
Senior Editor

WBG/rb

Mississippi: The Closed Society

By JAMES W. SILVER

Reprinted from THE JOURNAL OF SOUTHERN HISTORY, Vol. XXX, No. 1, Feb. 1964

-file
Univ. of Miss.

March 9, 1964

Professor James Silver
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

Remember the Barbours have only a month. Would that be worth it for Hazel? If you think so, I will take it up with the Barbours.

What makes you presume that I have seen enough of Old Silver?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

PA good idea?
LD.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

March 2

Dear Leslie:

A month or so ago I braved the wilds of the Mississippi Delta and stopped by to see Hazel B. Smith. She was in somewhat better mood than when I had seen her previously, at Cancer College in Tougaloo.

Anyway, it occurred to me that if the Barbours really want to do something in their "vacation" and you haven't dug up anything difficult or dangerous enough, they could perform a great service and have an exciting couple of months by working for Hazel. This isn't such a hairbrained idea as you will first think. She is about to go under emotionally (as for years, I guess) and if she could get away, it might save her. I did mention this to her and she responded eagerly.

Before you cast this into your voluminous wastebasket, give it another thought.

I was in your honorable city for a day some time ago - about two weeks ago, to be exact - but I thought that you had seen enough of Old Silver for the time being.

The book should be out in April, for review copies, that is - and you'll get the first. Of course I have written eight people to that effect. But in your case, I mean it.

Yours in Christ and haste,

Jim

Jim Silver

A special Silver committee of the Board is about to request my appearance. Sure are slow!

Herald House Box 477 103 South Osage, Independence, Missouri

Publishing Division of the Reorganized CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST of Latter Day Saints

Roy Muir
News Editor

file

file
Chrnl. of Miss.

March 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Reg. Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Sent 3/19/64 RM

I am interested in obtaining the complete text of Dr. James Silver's speech referring to Mississippi as a closed society.

Mr. P. D. East has referred me to your office. If you are able to provide any information or help me in obtaining this speech I would be very grateful.

Sincerely,

Roy Muir

Roy Muir

RM:ta

April 6, 1964

Mr. William B. Goodman
Senior Editor
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

What with one thing then another, I have as yet got only part way through the page proofs. I read far enough, however, to get a renewed sense of excitement of the book, and about what its publication may mean. I like very much the "Note from the Author;" it gives the book an additional authenticity.

I have also read enough to be very admiring of the editorial work done.

There are two tiny inaccuracies in Jim's acknowledgements which would be worth correcting, if feasible. Carl Fleming left Atlanta like a condemned man going off to his execution to head the Houston (not Dallas) bureau of Newsweek; see page xx. On page xxi Ben Muse's book was titled, Virginia's Massive Resistance. (Incidentally, the book which Ben has done for us, a sort of political history and setting-the-record-straight, is out now in advance copies; publication date is May 16. The publisher is Viking, and the title is Ten Years of Prelude. I hope you may get a chance to look it over sometime.)

I shall finish reading the proofs as soon as possible, but I think that will only strengthen my view that Jim has written something which will both disturb deeply, and last long.

We would like to buy twenty-five (25) copies. Will you please ask your secretary to enter our order for them?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. James Silver

Board of Trustees
Institutions of Higher Learning
1007 WOOLFOLK BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Office of the Executive Secretary

PWA
PAV
VIV
LDV

April 27, 1964

Dr. James W. Silver
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Dr. Silver:

A subcommittee of the Board of Trustees, composed of M. M. Roberts, H. G. Carpenter, and Tally D. Riddell, wishes you to appear before them at the University or at the office of the Board of Trustees in Jackson at the earliest possible time that your health would permit. On that appearance, you will be requested to state under oath before a stenographer or reporter such comments and responses as you may care to make concerning the following specific matters and any similar or related matters, together with any other or additional comments or remarks you may wish to have become a part of the Subcommittee's investigation report to the Board of Trustees concerning your fitness as a member of the faculty of the University of Mississippi. Should it be your desire, you may have counselors or attorneys with you at the time of your appearance.

The specific matters which will be inquired about are:

(1) The basis for your alleged statement "The genesis of the deception which shifted the blame for the insurrection from Mississippians to federal officials came from the University administration. A singularly inaccurate story blaming the 'trigger-happy, amateurish, incompetent' marshals, and suggesting examples of diabolical brutality toward male and female students, was in the hands of Barnett and Eastland within an hour or so of the firing of the gas, "---Speech of James W. Silver, Asheville, North Carolina, on November 7, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(2) The basis for your alleged statement "Long after it was made abundantly clear that many faculty members had witnessed the inception of the riot and knew for a certainty about the fraud against the federal government, the administration did not deviate from its original position but, on the contrary, continued to search for evidence condemning the marshals,"---Speach of James W. Silver, Asheville, North Carolina, on November 7, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

Pg 5667

(3) The basis for your alleged statement "By seven all observers knew that for whatever reason, the Mississippi Highway Patrol had abandoned its enforcement of law and order and was in fact in some cases encouraging the restless crowd to demonstrate against the marshals,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Asheville, North Carolina, on November 7, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(4) The basis for your alleged statement that the witnesses who testified before the Legislative Investigating Committee of the Mississippi Legislature "would have small compunction about lying to a legislative investigating committee, especially one that made perfectly clear what it wanted to hear,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Asheville, North Carolina, on November 7, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(5) The basis for your alleged statement that "The people of Mississippi have thus once again been victimized, this time by a gigantic hoax perpetrated on them by their own time-serving leaders whose sense of loyalty is only to the false orthodoxy of the closed society,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Asheville, North Carolina, on November 7, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(6) The basis for your alleged statement that "Ole Miss officials admitted that they lied about the riot in an effort to protect themselves and the school,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Atlanta, Georgia, on August 1, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(7) The basis for your alleged statement that "Ole Miss at best has but a mediocre faculty." "Nobody in his right mind would go to Ole Miss for an education in the first place." "In all fairness to Chancellor Williams, I must admit that he has occasional good days." "We are faced with at least ten years of extreme mediocrity at Ole Miss, all of which could have been avoided by able administrative leadership,"---Speech of James W . Silver, Atlanta, Georgia, on August 1, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction, together with any prior or subsequent similar public or private utterances.

(8) The basis for your alleged statement that "The search for historical truth...has become a casualty in embattled Mississippi,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Denver, Colorado, on November 8, 1963, and any action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction.

(9) The basis for your alleged statement that "the ultimate result will be violence which will last a long time. I would almost predict Federal occupation."---Speech of James W. Silver, Memphis, Tennessee, on October 5, 1963, and any such action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction, together with any prior or subsequent similar public or private utterances.

The basis for your alleged statement "I think we're in, in the next three or four years, for a holocaust,"---Speech of James W. Silver, Atlanta, Georgia, on January 16, 1964, and any such action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction, together with any prior or subsequent similar public or private utterances.

The basis for your alleged statement "I rather suspect there's going to be somebody killed,"---Speech by James W. Silver, Memphis, Tennessee, on October 5, 1963, and any such action taken by you related to such statement since it was issued including but not limited to its reissuance, modification or retraction, together with any prior or subsequent similar public or private utterances.

(10) The amount of time which your public speaking engagements have required, including preparation and travel. The dates and places you have made public appearances outside the State of Mississippi in the past six months. The amount of time spent in teaching, consulting with students, graduate students and fellow faculty members about subjects you are teaching and research in your current teaching field.

(11) The number of doctoral dissertations you have counseled or advised. Your support or opposition to a doctoral program in your department. Your endeavors in recruiting new doctoral condidates, students and faculty members.

(12) Your activities on September 30 and October 1, 1962.

(13) Any published writings or public speeches by you relating to the University, its administration or faculty during the past 6 months.

(14) Any and all records or appearances before or written reports or complaints to committees of the University faculty or members of the University administration concerning your duties as a faculty member or the condition or conduct of the University.

(15) Such other matters as your comments or responses may disclose would warrant further information or inquiry.

A copy of the report of all remarks at this appearance will be made available for your inspection as promptly as possible. Please arrange to have with you any reference materials you may need at the time of your appearance. The cooperation of the promptest reply possible would be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

E R Jobe

E. R. Jobe
Executive Secretary

ERJ:ns

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

May, 1964

Department of History

Enclosed is the kind of letter I would write to Mr. Jobe in answer to his communication of April 27, 1964 if I were to do this without assistance. But I am asking for assistance, both because of the importance of this case and because of my own lack of knowledge of the legal, academic, and procedural aspects of it.

The enclosed letter will not be sent to Mr. Jobe. I do propose, however, to send to him a similar one within the next ten days or so. I would appreciate your comments as to what should be left out, what should be added, and what changes in language should be made.

James W. Silver

Dear Leslie -

I assume your clipping experts keep you up with the Clarion-Ledger and the Daily News which keeps up with me. This is going to be a long, bitter fight, but rather exciting I think.

I read the letter to Carbone. Somewhat revealing. A man of low character wrote it, I suppose say.

Hope to see you soon

Yours, Jim

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

May, 1964

Department of History

Mr. E. R. Jobe
Office of the Executive Secretary
Board of Trustees, Institutions of Higher Learning
1007 Woolfolk Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Jobe:

After conferring with counsel, I respectfully request a clarification of your letter of April 27, 1964. At the moment I am at a loss to understand the procedure as set forth in your communication and in the subsequent confusion I fail to comprehend either my duties or my rights.

It is apparent that the Committee and/or the Board of Trustees are contemplating the termination of my services at the University of Mississippi "for cause." The only regulations I have yet found which seem to apply to my case (a faculty member with tenure) are the minutes of the Board for November 15, 1962 which say in part:

> 6. Termination for cause of a continuous appointment ... shall not be recommended by the executive head of the institution without submitting the recommendation of the tenure committee. If requested, the administration of the institution shall arrange for a hearing. In all cases the accused teacher, at least one month before the hearing, shall be informed in writing of the charges against him and shall have the opportunity to be heard in his own defense. He shall be permitted to have with him an adviser of his own choosing who may act as counsel. If the teacher so desires... full stenographic record.... In the hearing of charges of incompetence, the testimony shall include that of teachers and other scholars. Teachers on continuous appointment, who are dismissed for reasons not involving moral turpitude, shall be employed for at least a year from the date of dismissal; ... at the discretion of the institution and the Board ... the teacher's salary may be paid, and he may be relieved of teaching duties.

The procedure outlined in section (6) obviously is not the one being followed by the Committee, and therefore I fail to understand the Committee's actions in having me appear before it on March 14, 1964 (through the informality of a telephone call and with no indication of the reason for my appearance), and in requesting answers to the queries in your letter of April 27. For more than a quarter of a century it has been my belief that any faculty communication with the Board or one of its committees must be made through the Chancellor of the University. In the present case, it would seem that the Chancellor has not even been informed as to the Committee's various actions, and this leaves me without knowledge as to where my primary obligation lies.

Beyond a clarification as to my proper response according to established protocol, I further respectfully request an explanation of my proposed meeting with the Committee. Is this to be a hearing within the meaning of the tenure system? Will this hearing be used as a basis for my discharge or retention on the faculty?

Inasmuch as the proposed hearing is to provide testimony to the Committee by myself, under oath, and inasmuch as there is considerable evidence that the Committee has already made up its mind, if it has not already specifically recommended to the Board that I be dismissed, it would seem that the Committee is engaging in a somewhat unusual practice in asking me to furnish the evidence which is to be used as a basis for my discharge. Surely such procedure would be violative of my basic rights.

In order to answer the queries of the Committee, I would require the testimony of at least a hundred witnesses. While I am perfectly willing to secure this testimony, I do not wish to request it more than once. I need to know, therefore, the exact form the testimony should take. Would notarized affadavits suffice? Would it be advantageous for witnesses to appear, so far as is possible, in person, perhaps to be cross-examined? It will take some time, of course, to assemble the evidence as many of those whose testimony is pertinent are living outside the state of Mississippi.

This leads naturally to the question of whether it would not be preferable, in the interest of justice and the saving of time, to have one hearing before the full Board, with formal charges and answers.

In whatever hearing takes place, will my counsel have the right to call witnesses and cross-examine them, including members of the Board, the University administration, and public officials? Will the Committee and/or the Board call witnesses, and if so, will my counsel have the right to cross-examine them? Do I have the right to ask for a public hearing?

As the matter now stands, I fail to understand whether the fifteen queries in your letter are to be considered as charges against me. If so, will my counsel or I be permitted access to Board and Committee documentation that appears to support the charges? In other words, may I examine the Committee's evidence as the Committee is apparently asking to examine mine?

If queries (6), (7), and (9) are to be pressed, I would, of course, insist on knowing who alleged and under what circumstances it was alleged that I made these statements. There is much, also, concerning queries from (10) through (15) that is at present incomprehensible to me.

If I may be permitted to make a suggestion, it is that the Committee would do well to await the forthcoming publication of my book, Mississippi: The Closed Society (Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., June 1964) inasmuch as the contents will unquestionably furnish the answers to some of the queries in your letter, as well as to raise many more.

Might it not be well for my counsel to consult with you and/or the Committee and/or the Committee's attorney?

As I suggested in my letter to you of May 6, 1964, this matter is of great significance to the University of Mississippi as well as the other state universities and colleges, to the state of Mississippi, and to myself. It is with a real desire to settle the controversy with the least damage to all concerned that I make the above request for a clarification of your letter of April 27, 1964.

Sincerely,

James W. Silver

James W. Silver
professor of history

Files,
Universities
Miss., Univ. of.

May 12, 1964

Professor James Silver
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

Take care of your back, you may land on it when the closed society does you in.

I called last night because I finally finished, over the weekend, reading the galleys, and I wanted to tell you how good the whole thing has turned out. I really mean that. I don't know whatever persuaded you and Harcourt to publish those letters, but whatever it was, it was genius.

Now and then I have a hard time knowing when you are serious. Were you, about working over here? I am, candidly, not altogether sure how you could fit in, but if you were serious let's talk about it -- the sooner the better.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. William B. Goodman

May 12, 1964

Mr. William W. Goodman
Senior Editor
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

Your letter of May 11 arrived this morning. Coincidentally, I had just last night called Jim; see the enclosed letter. I sincerely mean my expressed appreciation of the job that has been done in the editing of this book.

I regret that I did not get through the whole book sooner. So many things are going on.

It is very kind of you to give our order a 40% discount. Thank you.

I don't know when I shall be in New York again, but when I do I shall certainly give you a call. But perhaps you will get this way first.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

May 11, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I appreciated your good letter of April 6 and have long since ordered the two small corrections you found in the uncorrected page proof of MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY. The book is on press now. Official publication date is June 22, 1964. I shall see that you receive a pre-publication copy well before the end of May.

Your order for 25 copies at a discount of 40% has been recorded. Books will be shipped in time for their receipt in Atlanta before June 22.

I need hardly add, after all these months of work and mutual support, that it is an honor to publish Jim's book. The next time I am in Atlanta, I will be sure to respond to your invitation to call but only on the understanding that the same injunction applies to you the next time you come to New York.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

WBGoodman

William B. Goodman
Senior Editor

WBG/rb

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

Rec'd 3/30/64

March 27, 1964

234-3206

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I send you in confidence for your eyes alone, and with Jim Silver's happy concurrence, the uncorrected page proof of Mississippi: The Closed Society. Bound books will be ready about April 30 and I shall see that one reaches you quickly. The official publication date has been set for May 20.

Tell me, if you will, if the thing lives. I ask not because I lack confidence in it but precisely because I am convinced of its life.

Best wishes.

Faithfully,

William B. Goodman
Senior Editor

WBG/rb
Enc.

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File: Univ. of Miss.

May 28, 1964

Professor James Silver
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

I have delayed replying to your letter of "May 1964" long enough to be sure that I would have no unwanted influence on what you do -- "unwanted" by me, that is. The letter you have drafted to Mr. Jobe seems good to me. I understand you have Morris Abram and Chuck Morgan counselling you, and I don't think you could be better off.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file Univ. of N.C.

WB
BW
BP
for i

MJ-file

Negro Political Participation Study
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina

List of Participants
Research Conference on Negro Politics
Chapel Hill, N.C.
June 8-13, 1964

Conference Directors

Donald R. Matthews, Political Science, University of North Carolina
James W. Prothro, Political Science, University of North Carolina

Senior Participants

Richard Cramer, Sociology, University of North Carolina
Leslie Dunbar, Political Science, Southern Regional Council
Franklin Edwards, Sociology, Howard University
Charles Grigg, Sociology, Florida State University
Alexander Heard, Political Science, Vanderbilt University
Lewis Killian, Sociology, Florida State University
Jack Peltason, Political Science, University of California at Irvine
James Q. Wilson, Political Science, Harvard University

Junior Participants

Lewis Bowman, Assistant Professor, Amherst College
"Negro Political Leadership and Organization"
William R. Keech, Graduate Student, University of Wisconsin
"The Effects of Negro Voting in Selected Southern Communities"
Earl M. Lewis, Professor, Prairie View A and M College

Michael Lipsky, Graduate Student, Princeton University
"Negro Political Groups in Mid-South Cities"
T. E. McKinney, Jr., Professor, Southern University at Baton Rouge
"Application of Concepts Developed for the Study of Comparative and International Politics to Biracial Politics in the South"
John Orbell, Graduate Student, University of North Carolina
"Negro College Students and the Protest Movement"
Paul L. Puryear, Associate Professor, Tuskegee Institute
"Negro Political Activism and Non-Voting in the South"
Ronald Semone, Graduate Student, University of North Carolina
"Political Behavior of the Negro Middle Class in the South"
Robert D. Smith, Graduate Student, Vanderbilt University
"Pressure Group Politics and the Negro Revolution"
John H. Strange, Graduate Student, Princeton University
"Negro Candidates for Public Office in Northern Cities"
Tandy Tollerson, Professor, Southern University at New Orleans

Steve Whitaker, Graduate Student, Florida State University
"The Effects of Negro Voting in Mississippi and Florida

1 2

Negro Political Participation Study
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
June 8-13, 1964

Final Schedule

Research Conference on Negro Politics

Donald R. Matthews
James W. Prothro
Directors

Sunday, June 7

5:30 P.M. - Cocktails
Prothro's Residence, 306 Elliott Road
(Participants will be picked up at Carolina Inn)

7:30 P.M. - Dinner
The Ranch House

Monday, June 8

9:00 A.M. - Discussion of Research Proposals
207C Caldwell Hall

2:00 P.M. - Discussion of Research Proposals, Cont.
207C Caldwell Hall

Tuesday, June 9

9:00 A.M. - The Negro Political Participation Study
Professor Donald R. Matthews and
Professor James W. Prothro
207C Caldwell Hall

2:00 P.M. - The Negro Political Participation Study
Professor Donald R. Matthews and
Professor James W. Prothro
207C Caldwell Hall

Wednesday, June 10

9:00 A.M. - Southern Politics: General Research Problems
Chancellor Alexander Heard
207C Caldwell Hall

2:00 P.M. - Research on Political Elites: Southern Judges and School Desegregation
Dean Jack W. Peltason
207C Caldwell Hall

8:30 P.M. - Party for Conference Participants
Matthews' Residence, Lake Shore Drive
(Participants will be picked up at Carolina Inn)

Thursday, June 11 9:00 A.M. - Psychological Dimensions of Race Relations
Professor Richard Cramer
207C Caldwell Hall

2:00 P.M. - Contributions of Sociology to Research on Negro Political Behavior
Professor Franklin Edwards
207C Caldwell Hall

5:30 P.M. - Cocktails
Prothro's Residence, 306 Elliott Road
(Participants will be picked up at Carolina Inn)

Friday, June 12 9:00 A.M. - Biracial Approaches to Racial Crisis
Professor Charles Grigg and
Professor Lewis Killian
207C Caldwell Hall

2:00 P.M. - Negro Political Leadership
Professor James Q. Wilson
207C Caldwell Hall

8:30 P.M. - Party for Conference Participants
Matthews' Residence, Lake Shore Drive
(Participants will be picked up at Carolina Inn)

Saturday, June 13 9:00 A.M. - Research and Action Programs
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
207C Caldwell Hall

File
Acid. of Pres.

June 11, 1964

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Goodman:

Thank you for the copy of Jim's book. I think you must know how excited I am to see it. You have done a beautiful job with it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

757 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y. 572-5000 CABLE: HARBRACE

June 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

With the compliments of the author and publisher, a copy of James W. Silver's Mississippi: The Closed Society is sent to you herewith. Dr. Silver was particularly concerned that you receive a pre-publication copy.

The publication date of the book is June 22, 1964.

Cordially yours,

William B. Goodman

WBG:ER
Enclosure

File
Univ. of Mississippi

October 2, 1964

Professor James Silver
Department of History
Notre Dame University
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Jim:

I received Faulkner's County.

I don't know why you did this, but it was pretty wonderful of you. Those are magnificent photographs. I remarked to somebody here in the office that I was also struck by how ideally Faulkner's prose fits the role of captions.

Thank you again, and very sincerely.

I may as well use this letter for another purpose. Our Nominating Committee met here September 28, and selected you for Council membership in the Class of 1966. It is customary to get persons' consent in advance to have their names put before the Annual Meeting, and I herewith ask you for your consent.

There are no onerous duties connected with Council membership, and among its many advantages is a free trip to Atlanta every November. You will also become one of my "bosses," and this might appeal to you.

For your information, I am enclosing a list of our Council members. Also for your information, this year's Nominating Committee consisted of Dean B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, President James A. Colston, Knoxville College, Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Longview, Texas, Paul D. Williams, Publisher, Richmond, Virginia, and James A. Youngdahl, Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

Write and tell me that you will accept, and give my best to Dutch.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

March 8, 1965

Dr. James W. Silver
Professor of History
University of Mississippi
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

A visit last week with Bill Goodman reminded me that I should send the enclosed notes on Mississippi to you. A lot of them you will find indecipherable, but not all. Please -- keep them to yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures

March 8, 1965

Mr. William B. Goodman
Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Bill:

I greatly enjoyed my visit with you last Wednesday, and your encouragement. I shall be writing to you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

VIA AIR MAIL

file

June 24, 1965

Mr. James Silver
The University of Mississippi
College of Liberal Arts
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

When did you talk to Gene Cox? I helped get $2,500 for him last March or April, and I had understood that this would see him through until his social security began coming in. I know that it isn't much, but this is the way he expressed his needs to me.

Enclosed is an advance copy of our latest pamphlet. It is good and you had better think so! It ought to help you write that new chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

June 23, 1965

Dear Leslie:

I had intended to write you about a week ago but went to the hospital for three days instead. Since then I have been out in the state, have attended a Freedom Democratic rally in Jackson, have talked with some of the SNCC people, Negro lawyers, Kenneth Dean (at some length), etc., etc. Am a lot nearer to being ready to write my new chapter than when I came home.

I had intended to write you something about Gene Cox. You know as much about him and what he does as I do and so I don't have to go into that. Except that I think in his way he is doing as much to bring about change as anyone in this Goddamned state. I learned from him (almost inadvertently) that he'll be out of funds at the end of this year. I do think that he ought to be kept going and if there is any way that you can find to help him financially, I think that you ought to do it. Why don't you write him, to find out exactly what he is doing and what his needs are?

Will probably see you in Atlanta sometime this summer. Next week I'm heading for Rutgers where I'll be for about five or six weeks.

Yours,

Jim

Jim Silver

File - Univ. of Miss.

September 22, 1965

Professor James Silver
Oxford,
Mississippi

Dear Jim:

I saw your picture in the Sunday Atlanta Journal. The caption said that you had resigned from Ole Miss. I still think an Odyssey from Ole Miss to Notre Dame is material for a philosopher of History, or even a cosmologist, to meditate on. Good luck to you.

My address in New York will be 250 Park Avenue, office; 56 Benedict Place, Pelham, home.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

May 15

Dear Leslie:

You suggest that now and then you have a hard time in knowing whether I am serious. That makes two of us.

In any case, I am definitely going to Notre Dame next year, I hope on leave of absence from Ole Miss. For my sake, don't tell this to anyone because it would help destroy my fight with the Board. After that fight is over, I intend to ask for the leave, provided, of course, I am still on the faculty.

I do think that there has been a hell of a transition in THE BOOK from last August. As I am not in the habit of praising even good people, I am now saying for the last time that you and Bill Goodman are more responsible for the result than anyone else, including myself. My contribution was to keep my temper when either of you insulted me about language, organization, etc. There were three other people who made first class contributions (but not in a class with yours): Woodward, Sitton, and Potter.

I am trying to rest up for the next round. Have a talk in Christ Church in Cambridge, Mass. next Thurs.

We'll talk about my seriousness next time we see each other, which I hope won't be far away.

Yours,

Jim Silver

See "Universities: U. of Miss."

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Committee of Southern Churchmen
(Will D. Campbell, Director)

REGARDING

Distribution of Silver's MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY through the Mississippi Council on Human Relations

DATE(S)

Campbell correspondence to
Kenneth Dean - Feb. 2 & 3, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

State Councils: Mississippi

See - Universities - N.Y.U.
(make folder if there is not yet one)

August 13, 1965

Professor Norman Dorsen
School of Law
New York University
Washington Square, New York

Dear Professor Dorsen:

Many thanks for your letter of August 11. I had read in the papers, of course, about the Florida meeting. I shall be most grateful if you can send me a copy of your revision when completed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003

FACULTY OF LAW

AREA CODE 212 SP 7-2000

Rec'd 8/13/65

August 11, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My apologies for not answering your letter of July 26 before this, but I have been out of town. I do not have an extra copy of the first draft of the Uniform Civil Rights Act, but you might be able to obtain one from the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, 1155 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Since you wrote your letter the Commissioners met in Florida, discussed the draft, and instructed me to prepare a revision. Hopefully, this should be completed in about a month and, unless there is some urgency at your end, you may want to wait until then before examining the proposed Act.

Sincerely,

Norman Dorsen

Norman Dorsen
Professor of Law

ND:jh

JL
MS/file

New Careers Development Center
New York University
238 East Building
New York, N.Y., 10003

May 9, 1968

Dear Friends:

Much has happened in the three weeks since our meeting at the Carnegie Institute. Of course the opportunity for Reverend Abernathy to meet so many of you for the first time in his role as President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was important in itself.

The two committees -- economic development and pending legislation -- have both met several times. The former is at work with the help of Harvard Law School faculty and Institute of Policy Studies staff drafting specific legislation incorporating local control of community development with new business for the local community. A first draft paper, "A Nation Within a Nation: A Proposal by the SCLC/CORE Community Development Task Force for The Poor People's March" (Roy Innis, Chairman) has been sent to Reverend Abernathy. The latter has also sent to Reverend Abernathy several legislative proposals including an immediate jobs program assuring over two million jobs with career advancement and local neighborhood service corporations (the Clark Bill plus features of the Javits bill); economic development programs emphasizing development banks, availability of credit, and control of local institutions; and an income floor.

In regard to legislation we call your attention to Reverend Abernathy's statement before the Clark Sub-Committee last week,

> "We are here because we want to work...we want training programs...We need a minimum of <u>one million jobs</u> in the public and private sector this year and another million jobs over the next four years. ...While we regard the Clark Bill now pending before Congress as only a beginning, we want it to pass... .

Among many local actions was the endorsement of the Poor People's Campaign and the legislative program by the New York City anti-poverty board. We also want to report a productive meeting with Arnold Aronson, Secretary of The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

There has begun the important work of building a broad program agenda and the development of new coalitions of forces to carry forward the work growing from the mobilization of the Poor People's Campaign. We thank you for your efforts and expect that we will be calling upon you again.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Riessman

Frank Riessman
Director

FR:lb

THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Report of a Student Planning Committee

in a Survey Course on

THE NEGRO

(Sociology 185)

At The

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPEL HILL

December, 1944

Distributed by the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

REPORT OF STUDENT PLANNING COMMITTEE ON
THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Preface

This paper is chiefly the findings of a special over-all planning committee appointed to summarize the reports of class committees, each of which undertook to study intensively one of nine special aspects of the Negro situation in the United States, selected especially for this class. The work was done in a six-weeks survey course on The Negro under the direction of Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. While the Summary Committee drew largely on the committee reports, we used also the discussions and reading reports of the class as a whole, as well as the reading and thinking of the members of the Committee. After the formal work of the class was over this committee had several meetings of its own and met for three hours, once with Dean James T. Taylor of the North Carolina College for Negroes. The enrollment of the class was sixty. The special committee consisted of ten graduate members.

The reader should remember that we are not research workers, we are not specialists on the Negro, we are not sociologists, even in embryo. We are consumers of research, of the work of experts, of the writings and thinking of sociologists and other educators. We are a group of graduate and undergraduate students, chiefly Health Educators as prospective social workers in training. We began the course in a search for information and guidance for our work with Negroes and in communities where the status of the Negro presents a real problem and one vital to the progress of the community and the region. For the purposes of trying to be definite and concrete, special aspects selected for study and planning were early defined. These were: The Negro Problem: Education, Housing, Political and Civil Liberties, Economic Opportunities, Cultural Participation, and Suggestions for Southerners, for the Negro, and for the North.

The first general product of our study has been to lead us to look at our problem much more broadly, and to take a broader view of our work in relation to the whole picture... We have come to three conclusions: (1) the problem must be viewed broadly by anyone, in any position, who would help in its solution; (2) the solution depends on widespread, diverse leadership and participation among members of both races; (3) the first essential of leadership and participation that is effective must be a deep-seated, dynamic belief in the principles of Democracy and Christianity.

We have prepared the report to further develop and consolidate our own thinking and beliefs. We hope the results may be of use to others.

Chapel Hill, N. C.
December, 1944

Annie Laurie McDonald
Myrtle Ousley
Cassie Smith
Theodore Butterworth
M. E. Cossack

I. THE PROBLEM

In the United States, especially in the South, two races live together. The white race, because of its cultural heritage, its superior numbers, its initial advantages in America, its dominance in wealth, in education, in almost every phase of national, state, and community life, assumes the myth of "racial superiority" with all that this implies in any part of the world. The Negro race has for a long time apparently accepted the myth. It has, conscious of its handicaps, accepted its inferior status, though with the resentment and the complexes which result when feelings of inferiority defeat human urges. Recently, however, social scientists of both races have challenged the idea of racial superiority and, as their findings have found their way into the reading matter of the laymen, increasing numbers of both races have come to doubt that any race is, per se, superior to other races.

More and more of both races are coming to recognize in varying degrees and to accept in varying ways that the ideals of Democracy and those of Christianity demand the equalization of opportunity, of rights, of responsibilities for the two races. More and more leaders of both races have come to recognize that the progress of the nation, of the region, of the state, and of the community requires the conservation, development, and use of the resources of the Negro equally with those of the white man through education and through widened social and economic opportunity.

The Negro problem, then is: How can two races live and work together under such circumstances, so as to afford equal opportunities for both, to guarantee the rights of both, to conserve and develop the resources of both, indeed to do this and at the same time to enhance the opportunities, the rights, the resources of both ?

As a matter of fact, there is no "Negro" problem, though for the sake of simplicity we shall use the popular designation in this paper. In every sense it is a problem of human interrelations. No phase of the problem, no factor in it affects the Negro any more than it does others who live with him. No move in it is more the responsibility of the Negro than it is of the white man. No improvement in the conditions involved in the Negro's situation will benefit him more than it will the total community, state, region, nation, of which he is a part. It is the problem of all the members of a democracy. It is the problem of all those who subscribe to the principles of Christianity. It is with us. It is ours. We can do nothing but accept it, and try to solve it.

In the South this problem must be solved under the special handicaps of the traditions of slavery and of Reconstruction, of limited economic resources and of mediocre social and educational opportunity. In general one must realize that the Negro problem is not one single problem . It differs, because of these and other circumstances from North to South, from East to West, even from one locality to the next. It appears, and is, different to

the Negro and to the white; the urban dweller and the countryman. Almost, one might say: "The problem is, in a practical way, what confronts me with regard to the Negro ?" This is true whether "I" am a Negro or a white, a Southerner or a Northerner, a tenant farmer or an industrial employer.

In spite of the eternal variations in the Negro problem , however, there are certain common factors, some of them peculiar to the South or having peculiar aspects in the South. These must be recognized, understood, and attacked as integral parts of the whole if we would make progress. Some of them are themselves basic problems, as in the case of education. Some are factors which complicate these problems and/or hinder their solution;for example, segregation.

From among the problems which may be considered fundamental those selected for study were: education, housing, political and civil rights, and fair labor practices. Others, as health, recreation, farm tenancy, might well have been studied. From among many of the complicating factors, segregation and cultural participation were chosen. Each of these should be considered briefly to get a view of the scope and difficulty of the task ahead of the South, the North, the Negro, and the nation.

II. EDUCATION

Better educational opportunity is the key to the solution of many of the problems of the nation. Equalization of the educational opportunity offered Southern youth with that of other regions is the key to many of the social and economic problems of the South. Any consideration of the Negro problem must assume that the right to this equality extends to the Negro as well as to every other group in the nation or in the region .

In the South there is no question that Negro youth is denied even the semblance of equality of opportunity. In comparison with schools for the white children, his teacher is more poorly paid, more poorly trained, and teaches more pupils per day. His school term is shorter, his school is smaller, he is more retarded in the grades, and he attends high school less frequently. He is afforded less varied and less extensive vocational education. His buildings and equipment are far less adequate, his transportation is also less extensive. Only in school attendance, dependent on his own efforts, does his school measure up. There are, of course, local exceptions, and conditions vary greatly from state to state according to all the indexes.

In the so-called Border States, according to most indexes of educational opportunity, Negro schools measure up much more nearly to the standards of the white schools. In states where separate schools are provided for Negroes it is not possible to measure equality of opportunity. Fewer Negro teachers are employed in mixed schools. Because of the segregation of

population in most Northern cities, many schools are attended by Negro children altogether or in most part. These tend to be less adequately housed, equipped, and staffed.

In some of the states of the South, progress is being made slowly but surely. In North Carolina, for example, salaries have been equalized and the school term extended equally. As a result of court decisions and other factors, local and state planning is going on to raise the standards of the Negro schools. Consolidation and building programs are being planned. In rural schools, agriculture and home economics are being expanded.

In higher education the same picture of discrimination exists. Properly supported institutions are fewer, enrollments are lower in proportion to the Negro population. Faculties are more poorly trained and paid. Buildings are less adequate. Opportunities for professional and graduate training are few or, in most Southern states, non-existent. Some States have tried to ameliorate this condition by providing scholarships for Negro students to Northern institutions. Because they usually choose the best this has contributed to the calibre of racial leadership that has been provided by certain outstanding schools for Negroes in the South. These, together with court decisions, are developing public opinion and slowly changing the picture, in spite of segregation, meager regional resources, and the fetish of "White Supremacy."

III. HOUSING

Poor housing is one of the most uniformly acute factors in the Negro problem. Whether in the rural South, in the Southern cities and towns, in Northern urban centers, or in commercial towns or factory districts, a disproportionate part of the Negro population is housed in the most inadequate, yet the relatively most expensive, rented quarters. The low economic status of the Negro is a major factor, of course, but segregation, scarcity of low-cost housing, rapidly shifting population, and schemes of exploitation have increased the tendency to marginal housing. Sub-standard housing is one of the most important factors in the low general health status of the Negro, in the high death rate from tuberculosis and other diseases, in delinquency, and in low morale. It is also associated with limited employment opportunity, with low educational opportunity, and with social insecurity.

Experiments, notably in Cincinnati and in Atlanta, have shown that low-cost housing projects financed from private sources are practicable and profitable. Federal experiments in housing projects for Negroes in defense areas have been generally successful. Difficulties have arisen chiefly from poor planning of location and from failure to provide education and guidance in making adjustments to the new housing. Until we undertake widespread education of both races as to the need for and the practicality of better

housing for the Negro, until there is long-range, wise planning, until there is systematic effort to enlist private enterprise and government assistance, the housing problem of the Negro will not be solved, will probably not be ameliorated, may even become more acute. The same thing can be said about the "poor white." Until the housing problem is intelligently attacked, no attempt to solve the Negro problem can get very far.

The same things are true, of course, in developing housing projects for any underprivileged group.

IV. POLITICAL AND CIVIL RIGHTS

In a democracy, the equal protection of the political and civil rights of every group is of primary importance. Encouragement and guidance in the exercise of these rights is essential to: (1) the morale of any group, (2) the progressive improvement of their social and economic status, (3) the development of their resources, and (4) their maximum contribution to the common welfare.

In the South particularly, the Negro is largely deprived of his vote by intimidation, by the spectre of Reconstruction, by the poll-tax voting requirement, by the white primary, and by the biased interpretation of rules of eligibility. He is , in effect, debarred from the use of the white public press and his news is neglected and warped. On the public carriers, his travel is made uncomfortable and is otherwise restricted by "Jim Crow" laws and by pressure of prejudice. His participation in public discussion is discouraged. His right to hold elective or appointive office is largely denied. At times even his equal status before the law has been jeopardized in open court. Negro jurors, Negro lawyers, and Negro judges are conspicuous by their absence. In the North these conditions do not exist to the same degree, nor do they have the sanction of law or of openly expressed public opinion, but the segregation of population and the attitude toward the individual to a large extent neutralizes the effect of legal and general subscription to the principle of racial equality.

In spite of these handicaps the Negro has developed an impressive press of his own. He has built systems of churches which are growing in the leadership toward political and civil equality. He has a growing number of police and other officials even in the South. There is a rapidly spreading demand in the white press and in white institutions that the Negro's rights be protected, that he be protected from political and civil exploitation, and that he be offered encouragement, assistance, and guidance in the exercise of his rights in all political and civil fields .

V. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Opportunity to make a living is fundamental in the welfare and the progress of any group. The guarantee of equality in this opportunity and of education and guidance in taking advantage of it is, therefore, essential in a developing democracy. Yet no right has been more widely and more largely denied the Negro than the right to enter employment, to gain promotion, to receive equal compensation, to engage in business and the professions.

We must recognize, of course, that individual differences, both in general capacity and in special limitations, exist in any group. Training cannot and should not be identical for all, nor can and should employment be identical . But color cannot be the basis for differentiation. It is opportunity which must be equal, in the sense of adequacy and appropriateness to the individual, regardless of his race, creed, or origin.

In agriculture, " sharecropping, " "furnishing," usurious rates of interest in the purchase of land, stock, and equipment, and discrimination in marketing have largely debarred the Negro from farm ownership and from a fair return on his labor and his investment. He has been denied training for better farming and homemaking in the schools and in the extension services, and especially in vocational and technical training comparable to that afforded the white race. We have pointed out the discrimination that exists in government officeholding and in training for the professions, especially in the South. Similar obstacles hinder his entry into business.

In industry and business, the Negro has a very limited chance for employment, for promotion, or for a fair wage for his labor. Before the beginning of the present war, the training that was available to him was far less varied and less extensive than that available to white youth in the public schools, the NYA, and other training programs. Relatively few took all the training that was available because their chance of employment on the level justified by the training was slim. Many industries were closed to Negro workers, in the rest many individual plants refused to employ him. The same situation existed in business. Where he was employed, it was usually in unskilled work, and the chances of his promotion were small. Most frequently, his pay was lower than that of white workers in the same positions. Many labor unions were closed to him, and he was badly handicapped in organizing his own, so his access to collective bargaining, as a means to improving his situation, was meager.

Since 1939, labor shortages, the efforts of volunteer organizations, labor unions, and Federal policy, especially as embodied in the Fair Employment Practices Committee, have borne fruit in opening new industries, additional plants and businesses to the Negro, in equalizing his pay, in making promotion available to him, and in admitting him to more labor unions. The same influences, plus an awakening public opinion, are improving his position in government employment and in public services. The discrimination

against the employment of Negroes in the Armed Services has been as great as in other employment, but here too the situation has improved. The Negro has been given a chance to prove his worthiness of wider employment, of more extensive training, and of promotion. And he has proven his worthiness. Agencies concerned with education and planning for the improvement of the Negro's status and agencies concerned with the guarantee of his rights have been afforded a much broader base for further operations.

VI. SEGREGATION

Not only do we find that each of the above problems reacts upon the others and contributes to their difficulty, but they are further complicated and made more difficult by factors such as segregation for which there is no set pattern but which runs like a thread through the picture of the Negro in America. In part, segregation is voluntary on the part of the Negro, a result of group consciousness. In part, it is the result of social and economic fears on the part of a segment of the white population. In part, it is the effort to protect the myth of racial superiority. In part, it is the result of other social and economic conditions. Whatever its cause, it is an integral part of the picture of education, of housing, of political participation, of employment, of every phase of life. In the South, it is openly and rigidly enforced as in the case of "Jim Crow" laws and laws requiring separate schools and separate facilities. Everywhere it is tacitly supported by public opinion, as in zoning rules, eating and hotel accommodations. It is strongly entrenched and deeply rooted, especially in the South. Yet the results of segregation are so important that no planning can fail to take it into account and to try to eliminate gradually its worst aspects.

Segregation has made for discrimination in all aspects of the school program; it has made difficult the provision of more expensive kinds of training, significantly trades and industrial education, graduate and professional schools. In political and civil life, it has facilitated discrimination and made exploitation easy to perpetrate and difficult to identify and combat. In housing it has deteriorated real estate values, handicapped housing projects, and, through crowding, has raised rentals beyond the normal investment value. This has, in turn, encouraged exploitation by unscrupulous owners and agents. The list might be extended indefinitely.

VII. CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

Culture has been defined as the sum of the ways in which man has learned to live and behave. A culture, then, is the sum of the behavior patterns which characterize the people of a locality, of a region, or of a nation. If we accept this definition, we think of culture as meaning far more than the

literature, the traditions, the art, the music, even the dress, the recreations of a people. We include also their typical ways of making a living, their political practices, their measures for improving health, housing conditions and practices, their organization and methods in education.

When culture is viewed in this way, we well might say that the ideal of a democracy is full and free opportunity for cultural participation to every group, to the Negro, as well as to other minorities. This means that the Negro must be given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance that is given to any other group in the employment and the enjoyment of the ways of living that are characteristic of all the people of the Southern Piedmont, of the Mississippi Delta, of the industrial Middle West, or of the United States. Perhaps most important for the future of America, it means that he must have full and free opportunity, guidance, and assistance in making the maximum contribution of his resources to the developing culture of the locality, the region, the nation of which he is an integral part.

Nowhere is the loss to the Negro and the loss to the culture of America, from the denial of cultural participation to the Negro, more evident than in the field of art. He is often refused and usually discouraged in attendance on the theater and art galleries. Even his movie houses are usually shabby affairs, showing third-rate films. In music especially has the Negro made a great contribution to American art through his truly great folk music. Yet one has only to examine the outstanding Negro singers, composers, actors, dancers, painters, writers to realize the great contributions which the race could make if they were given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance which are available to the white man.

VIII. THE SOLUTION

It is only when we view the Negro problem as one of cultural participation in the broadest sense that the means to the solution of the problem become clearly evident. The only real solution lies in the gradual processes of social change, in evolution, the kind of change that is inherent in the life of a community, of a region, of a nation. Individuals of good will in both races must address themselves to the task of finding ways of accelerating needed social changes. Methods and procedures may differ from community to community, but the end result should be increasing opportunity for the individual to live, to work, and to be educated under conditions conducive to the maintenance of self-respect and in accordance with our democratic concepts..

By education, by planning, and by concerted effort which involves wide participation, this social change can be speeded up, its directions can be shifted, its points of lag can be accelerated. The dictates of Democracy and of Christianity demand, as do those of common sense, that these three processes be carried on cooperatively, members and groups of the two races working together. A close study of the progress which has been made, especially the rapid progress in some fields in recent years, shows clearly the effect of these principles.

The process of education implies research. A great deal has been done in such centers as the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, by the Department of Social Sciences at Fisk, and other institutions in both North and South, by such agencies as the Southern Regional Council, and by Federal agencies. But much more must be done on a national, a state, and a local level. We must know what conditions exist, what resources we have, what changes are desirable and practicable.

This is seen very clearly in the field of health. We do not now know, except through such data as vital statistics, just what the health status of the Negro is, under various conditions, nor do we know what the effect is of wider employment of Negro personnel in the Public Health Service. The results of this research, as it accumulates, must be made known to both races, not in research language and through regular research channels, but through every channel by which people are reached and influenced, the newspaper, the radio, the movie, the popular magazine. Health educators, teachers, public workers, ministers, and others occupy strategic positions.

There must be a far greater effort by groups of both races working together to study the problem, not only as a whole, but in its various aspects, not only as an abstract but as a personal, individual problem, not only as a national problem, but as a problem that exists in a peculiar form in the local community. The results of such studies and of the thinking of the leaders of both races must reach and influence people through the popular channels. When all this is added to a more intensified, more consistent, more concerted effort among public institutions, the school, the church, the press, then we can say that education of the American people for the solution of the Negro problem is really under way.

And there must be planning. Such planning as has been done in community councils, in local and county planning boards, in civic organizations, in church groups, in state planning boards, in regional and national organizations. This will, however, have to be done on a much wider scale. It will have to be concerned with the over-all picture, not merely, as so often happens, with some single project or problem. To a much greater extent it will have to bring together members of both races in a thoroughly representative way. It will have to be concerned with both the short-term and the long-time aspects of the problem and of measures for its solution. It will have to take account of the changing of attitudes and understandings as well as of direct action. It will have to include research and the spreading of accurate information about employment, education, political participation, and health as well as their improvement. And above all this pattern of planning on local, state, regional, and national levels must be coordinated and integrated so that the processes of social evolution are more nearly in the same direction, do not conflict, and are interacting along desirable lines.

Of concerted action the same things may be said. For unless education and planning are followed by action, they are worse than futile, they lead to retrogression. In the meantime there are certain things that must be understood by three segments of the population which will work together, but which

because of differing circumstances, view the problem in different ways .

IX. SUGGESTIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND ACTION

A . For Northerners

While the Negro problem is truly a national one, and while it must be attacked on a national scale, certain things are peculiarly applicable to the situation in the North:

1. The task of the North in the solution of the Southern Negro problem is, first and most important, for individuals and organizations to get accurate information and to develop real understanding of conditions and attitudes among Southern Negroes and whites alike.

2. Legislation is no more effective on a national level than it is on a state or local level, unless it is backed by public opinion.

3. Individuals, study groups, and planning groups should turn their attention to race relations in Northern communities. The improvement of these relations must be accomplished on a regional and local basis.

4. The development of a Negro leadership which is constructive, tolerant, and far-sighted is just as important in the North as in the South.

5. Recognizing progress and effort is more effective than destructive criticism. Understanding assistance is more effective than attempted pressure. This is as true in dealing with a people as in dealing with an individual, with an adult as with a child, in dealing with race relations as in speeding up production.

6. Discrimination and suppression are no less potent in their results because they are not legally sanctioned and are not openly practiced. They prevent the full development of a people's resources. They arouse the hatred and fear of those against whom they are practiced. They weaken the moral fibre, destroy the morale of those who practice them.

7. The North can show by example what the abolition of segregation and discrimination can mean to a people.

8. Better housing for the Negro has become more important as larger numbers have migrated to centers of war industry.

9. Migration to the North, planned by the Negro himself, can prevent or relieve many problems of employment and of congested areas.

10. The employment of the Negro in war work has given the North the opportunity to demonstrate, after the war, that Negroes can be built into a common working force, which can produce the highest standard of living even this country has ever known. This will require the combined efforts of the individual employer and the individual worker, of organizations of management and labor unions, of government agencies and community planning groups.

11. Publicizing the efforts of the North in interracial matters is constructive. Inflammatory literature merely arouses sectional antagonisms and intensifies racial prejudices.

B. For Southerners

1. Opportunity for the Negro must be opened and extended, not as a charity, but as a right inherent in Democracy and in Christianity.

2. The Negro and the White must work together in the solution of the Negro problem on a basis of free and equal cooperation. Considerations of democracy aside, the inertia is too great for the white man to accomplish it alone.

3. If the Southerner would avoid initiative, interference, even coercion from other regions, he must demonstrate willingness and ability to proceed more rapidly and more democratically in the solution of the Negro problem in terms of the South. The improvement of the Negro's situation and the development of his resources are too important to national progress and too essential to national security to be allowed to lag further.

4. Since the solution of the Negro problem is a matter of such national concern, suspicion and fear of outside interference must not stand in the way of progress. This has been the case in the movement toward Federal aid in general education.

5. The social and economic opportunities of the South, limited as they are, must be shared by the two races equally. Only by the development of the total resources of the Southern people can the opportunities of any segment be raised as high as possible.

6. "White Supremacy" is a political shibboleth. It represents that by means of suppression or otherwise the Negro must be "kept in his place" of inferiority. It is sometimes applied to other races. Wherever it is invoked, it is a direct appeal to racial hate.

7. "Race superiority" is the myth that an individual of the white race, because of that fact, is superior in intelligence or in other characteristics to another race. So far as scientific evidence goes, no support for this theory has been found. Such superiority as has been demonstrated in the average measurement of large numbers of individuals in the white race can as readily be attributed to advantages in environment or opportunity. If any real "racial superiority" exists, it need not depend on undemocratic and unrighteous denial of opportunity or suppression for its maintenance.

8. Discrimination and suppression of any segment of the population not only retards the full development of the resources of a region or a nation, it also reacts upon the groups or upon the individuals who practice them. It gradually destroys their morale, at the same time it arouses resentment and dangerous fears in those who are suppressed and discriminated against.

9. Segregation in travel works to the inconvenience of both races . Where segregation is maintained, special study, planning, and effort will have to be carried on to eliminate the discrimination for which it is the basis.

10. Equal access to the public press should be one of the immediate objectives in race relations.

11. The development and maintenance of equal standards for Negro and for white schools is an immediate and all-important objective in Southern education. To do this without lowering the standards of white schools is a challenge that faces Southern educators, government, and lay leaders of both races.

12. Complacency and passive acceptance of accustomed conditions can be overcome only through individual study of actual conditions, group study of their significance, and concerted action to their improvement. This is the first job of the individual Southerner and of the individual Southern community.

13. Real understanding of the Negro, of his situation, of his potentialities can come only to those who study him from the point of view of a personality, of a human being. This is the only point of departure for individuals or groups who would make contributions to the solution of the Negro problem.

14. The development of widespread, competent leadership among Negroes through building Negro institutions and opportunities for advanced study is the responsibility of the White and the Negro races working together.

C. For Negroes

Certain things must be said to the Negro, both by the leaders of his own race and by those who are working with him to improve the conditions of his people and the relations of his race with the white race. They must never be said or understood as applying to the Negro alone. They must never be said or understood as assuming that nothing has been accomplished by the Negro along these lines, nor that they apply to all individuals of the race, nor to individuals equally . They are simply things that are important to a minority group whose progress depends in large part on its own initiative and effort.

1. Race relations are two-way affairs, as are all human relations. The Negro must take major responsibility for the improvement of the relations of his race to the white race, just as the white race must assume responsibility for the improvement of its relations to the Negro.

2. The major responsibility for the improvement of conditions within the race must rest largely on the Negro.

3. The equalization and the extension of opportunity to any group in a democracy are the joint responsibility of all. The provision of guidance and assistance in equal measure to all groups is the common responsibility of the whole. What is done with the opportunity, what advantage is taken of the guidance and assistance are the responsibility of the individual and of the group.

4. It is the Negro's privilege and obligation to attend school regularly throughout the school term, to utilize the total resources of his race to improve the quality and scope of his school program, and to press insistently through the democratic processes for the equalization of his educational opportunity.

5. The Negro has the responsibility of proving his ability and of demonstrating his readiness to improve his ability wherever opportunity is afforded him in employment.

6. The Negro must constantly conduct himself in such ways as to entitle him to self-respect and to the respect and esteem of other races.

7. The Negro should work assiduously to improve his personal hygiene and his sanitary environment regardless of his economic level. This is one of the greatest responsibilities of the Negro educator and other Negro leaders.

8. Negro educators and other leaders should encourage and emphasize the desirability, the sheer necessity, of Negroes living more harmoniously and according to higher standards in domestic relationships and in intraracial social and economic relationships.

9. The Negro should be proud of his race, of its characteristics, of its accomplishments. He must strive to raise all its cultural standards. He must recognize and try to get others to recognize its achievements.

10. The Negro must develop a sense of greater responsibility for property and for income. He must develop the skills of conservation, the traits of thrift. He must learn to spend wisely and consistently.

11. The Negro must learn that the development of ones own assets and resources is the basic principle in cultural progress.

12. The Negro must accept fully the responsibilities, as well as press for the rights and privileges of full American citizenship on a national, a state, and a local level.

13. Realism should be the constant yardstick in evaluating plans and progress. Realism implies (a) a sober long term view, not only of what is desired, but of what is practicable; and (b) understanding that in the solving of sociological problems some things are not to be controlled by legislation.

14. Retaliation can only retard progress. This is true in spite of the fact that in the record of wrongs and abuses, the scale is overbalanced.

15. Education can change attitudes and concepts, but it works slowly. If incorrect, stereotyped notions about the Negro are to be removed from people's minds, education must be employed. The concepts regarding the Negro which are demonstrably untrue are nevertheless quite sincerely believed by many white people. Learned attitudes can be unlearned but not overnight. The same principles apply to corrections of stereotyped notions about the Southern white man.

16. The undecided whites should be won. A large element finds itself confused, its loyalties divided, as a question never really studied, but believed settled, comes up again.

17. The economic problem of the South must always be remembered. Many aspects of the race question could not and would not be so aggravated were it not for widespread poverty and lack of funds for social reform of every kind. Tied to this are the bitter memories of Reconstruction, economic exploitation from without, and the whole sad story of King Cotton.

18. Present public services, as schools, social agencies and philanthropies even though inadequate, should be taken advantage of both for the benefits to be secured and as a proof of genuine desire for advancement and the acceptance of responsibility.

19. Labor unions are important as means for progress. Negro workers should employ this means by joining existing unions or by forming their own.

20. Health. Due to low economic status, poor housing, etc., there are some health problems more prevalent and therefore more serious within the Negro race than within white elements in the population (venereal diseases, tuberculosis, nutrition, etc.). In almost all localities in the South there is some agency giving treatment, education, or instruction for prevention. These facilities should be used to the fullest extent. The importance of the problem should be emphasized continuously by Negro leaders and by Negro organizations.

21. Individual Negro advancement should always be recognized. Negro doctors, lawyers, artists, business men, and insurance concerns if encouraged by their own people, will grow in numbers and prove their worth.

22. Distinctively Negro traits and gifts should be emphasized. Negro contributions to culture are significant and should be utilized.

23. Planned migration out of the South will tend to equalize pressures and also to make the South conscious of its partial dependence upon the Negro population.

X. CONCLUSION

Even this brief, fragmentary survey of the so-called Negro problem reveals its complexity, the tremendous seriousness of it in the nation, and especially in the South, the difficulties facing us in its solution. It reveals hope, too. Real and great progress has been made. The foundations for greater and more rapid progress have been and are being laid. The great seriousness with which America is beginning to face its postwar problems is itself a hopeful sign.

Throughout any examination of the problem we are continually brought back to the basic considerations involved:

The Negro problem is a problem in race relations.

It must be faced realistically.

We recognize it as a problem in so far as we really subscribe to the principles of Democracy and of Christianity.

Its solution is equally important to the Negro and to the white man.

Improvement of conditions is equally the responsibility of the white man and of the Negro.

It must be solved by the equalization of opportunity and the affording of assistance and guidance to the individual in taking advantage of opportunity.

It can be solved only as attitudes and concepts are changed.

The solution must be reached on a cooperative basis and through democratic social processes.

It is peculiarly a local and a personal problem.

It is your problem and mine.

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SUGGESTIONS FOR REVISIONS IN THE REPORT OF STUDENT PLANNING COMMITTEE ON THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH*

Margaret Price

June 15, 1945

1. There should be a similar paper by a Negro group.

2. The report should include a design for an action program.

3. The report should contain a brief, high-lighted history of Negro-white relations, showing that there have been changes going on and that conditions calling for the present set-up have changed.

4. There should be a more definite stand on segregation, and the discussion should be more concrete. The present discussion is too general.

5. There is needed a discussion of the economic and human costs of segregation.

6. There should be a summary of the steps being taken by groups for the solution of the Negro-white problem, and the problem should be presented as a Negro-white problem, rather than as just a Negro problem.

7. The part which leaders must play in bringing about the solution should be pointed up.

8. The section on cultural participation should be expanded to cover more than just art and literature and music. There should be more concrete discussion of the effects of the exclusion of Negro participation in such things as community life, governmental processes, recreation, and so on.

9. The language is too technical; it should be made challenging to the reader, leaving him to see the urgency of the situation.

10. The importance of seeing the Negro as an individual rather than as a group should come out more forcefully in the discussion.

11. Has the Negro accepted the myth of racial superiority? One group doubts that he has.

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* Revisions suggested here include those made by students and those made by the class in Christian Ethics taught by Dr. Shelton Smith of Duke University. Some of them have already been incorporated into the paper, while others have either been mentioned or left out entirely because of lack of information on the part of the person doing the revising.

12. How has the situation changed in regard to employment in the Armed Services? This part should be made clearer.

13. Is social evolution inherent? One group questions that it is, and another group feels that emphasis on inherent evolution might lull public consciousness into a do-nothing attitude, since they could fall back on the idea that change will come anyway.

14. There should be more elaboration on how the Negro was handicapped in organizing his own labor union.

15. The section on education, particularly that on education in border states, should be made clearer. Some inconsistencies appear.

Margaret Price
June 15, 1945

REPORT OF STUDENT PLANNING COMMITTEE ON THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTH

Preface

Chiefly, this paper is the findings of a special over-all summarizing committee appointed to synthesize the reports of class committees, each of which undertook to study intensively one of nine special aspects of the Negro situation in the United States. The work was done in a six-weeks survey course on The Negro under the direction of Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina. The enrollment of the class was sixty. The special committee consisted of ten graduate members. While the Summarizing Committee drew largely on the committee reports, the discussions and reading reports of the class as a whole were used, also, while the reading and thinking of the members of the Committee contributed to the total product. After the formal work of the class was over this committee had several meetings of its own and met once for three hours with Dean James T. Taylor of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

The reader should remember that we, the committee members, are neither research workers, nor specialists on the Negro, nor sociologists, even in embryo. We are consumers of research, of the work of experts, of the writings and thinking of sociologists and other educators. We are a group of graduate and under-graduate students, chiefly Health Educators as prospective social workers in training. We began the course in a

search for information and guidance for our work with Negroes and for our work in communities where the status of the Negro presents a real problem, the solution of which is vital to the progress of the community and the region. For the purpose of definiteness and concreteness, special aspects of the bi-racial problem selected for s tudy and planning were early designated. These were: The "Negro Problem," Education, Housing, Political and Civil Liberties, Economic Opportunities, and Cultural Participation.

As the first general product of our study, we have been able to look with a broadened point of view at more aspects of the problem, seeing our own particular relation to the total picture. We have come to three conclusions: (1) the problem must be viewed objectively by any person, no matter what his position, who would help in its solution; (2) the solution depends on widespread and diverse leadership, with participation by members of both races; (3) leadership and participation, to be effective, must be grounded in a deepseated and dynamic belief in the principles of Democracy and Christianity.

We have prepared the report to develop and consolidate our own thinking and beliefs. We hope the results may be of use to others.

The "Negro Problem"

There are in the United States people of widely varying physical features which mark them as belong to one "race" or another--white, Negro, Jew, Chinese, Japanese, Mexican, Indian.

It is common to attribute to these people many characteristics called "racial" which are in reality cultural; which are in reality the result of the physical and cultural environment interacting upon each other and upon the people of an area to produce a distinctive type of person--to produce a "folk"--to produce a "white" folk, distinctive as one type in the South and as another type in the North, another in the East, and another in the West; to produce a "Negro" folk, again distinctive from one region to another; to produce a Jewish folk, a Chinese folk, a Japanese folk, a Mexican folk, and Indian folk. The conflict of the "races" is in reality a conflict of the "folk" and of the cultures which produce the folk. Any problem of "race" is thus in reality a problem in human relations. This paper is concerned with the relations which exist in the southern United States between the "white" folk and the "Negro" folk.

The white folk, because of its cultural heritage, its majority in numbers, its initial advantages in America, and its dominance in wealth, education, and almost every phase of national, state, and community life, assumes the myth of "racial superiority" with all that it implies in any part of the world. The Negro folk for a long time has apparently accepted the myth, or at least until a few years ago its protest against it was not effective. It has, conscious of its social and economic handicaps, accepted its inferior status, though the acceptance has been accompanied by the resentment and complexes which result when feelings of inferiority and oppression defeat human urges.

Recently, however, social scientists of both races have challenged the idea of racial superiority, and as their findings have found their way into the reading matter of the layman, increasing numbers of both groups have come to doubt that there is such a thing as "race" which alone can make one people superior to another.

Moreover, in so far as in the South the Negro and his individual welfare are of real interest to most white men, and in so far as many Negroes have a certain degree of confidence in and affection for many individual white men, more and more members of both races are coming to recognize in varying degrees and to demonstrate in varying ways that the ideals of Democracy and those of Christianity are inconsistent with the "racial" situation as it exists in the South and in the nation. More and more leaders in both folk-cultures are coming to recognize openly that the progress of the nation, the region, the state, and the community is greatly dependent upon the degree to which the conservation, development, and use of the resources of the Negro is equal to those of the white man.

Actually, there is no "Negro problem" more than there is a "white problem," though for the sake of simplicity we shall use the popular designation in this paper. Whatever problem there is is a problem in human relations. No phase of the problem, no factor in it, affects the Negro more than it does others who live with him. No move in it is the responsibility of the Negro more than it is of the white man. No improvement in the conditions

involved in the Negro's situation will benefit him more than it will benefit the total community, state, region, and nation of which he is a part. It is the problem of all the members of a democracy.. It is the problem of all those who subscribe to the principles of Christianity. It is in each of us; it is ours; we must recognize; we must participate in the solution of it.

The "Negro problem", then, is: How can the people of two cultures live and work together under such circumstances that will afford equal opportunities for all, guarantee the rights of all, conserve and develop the resources of all-- indeed do this and at the same time enhance the opportunities, the rights, the resources of all?

In the South this problem must be solved under the special handicaps of the traditions of slavery and of reconstruction, of limited economic resources, and of limited social and educational opportunities. In general, one must realize that the Negro-white problem is not one single problem. It has many aspects; it differs from North to South, from East to West, even from one locality to the next. The problem appears different and is different to the Negro and to the white; to the urban dweller and to the countryman. Almost, one might say: "The problem is, in a practical way, what confronts <u>me</u> with regard to the Negro?" This is true whether "I" am a Negro or a white, whether "I" am a southerner or a northerner, a tenant farmer or an industrial employer.

In spite of the variations in the Negro problem, however, there are certain common factors, some of which are peculiar to

the South or have peculiar aspects in the South. These factors must be recognized, understood, and attacked as integral parts of the whole if we are to progress. As in the case of education, some of the factors are themselves basic problems, while others are factors which complicate these problems and hinder their solution, as for example, segregation.

From among the problems considered fundamental, these were selected for study: education, housing, political and civil rights, and fair labor practices. Others, as health, recreation, and farm tenancy, might well have been studied. From among many of the complicating factors, segregation and cultural participation were chosen. Each of these are considered briefly in order to focus on the scope and difficulty of the task ahead for the white folk, the Negro folk, the South, the North, and the nation.

Education

Just as the key to the solution of many of the problems of the nation lies in the provision of better educational opportunities for youth of all races and of all economic and social classes, so, too, the key to the solution of many of the social and economic problems of the South lies in the provision of better educational opportunities for southern youth, white and black. The "better" opportunities imply not only the equalization of opportunities for education of Negro youth in the South with those of white youth in the South, but also they imply the equalization of the opportunities of white and

Negro youth of the South with those of the youth of other regions. Any consideration of the conflict between the folk of the white and the Negro cultures must be based on the assumption that the right to educational equality extends to each individual, regardless of color or economic class, and that the greatest progress of the region and the nation is greatly dependent upon the extent to which its youth are well-educated.

Schools of the white South are poor in comparison with those of other regions, but the schools of the Negro South are far below the standards of those of the white South. Negro youth in the South are denied even the semblance of equality of opportunity. In comparison with teachers for white children, the Negro teacher is not only more poorly paid and more poorly trained, but also, she teaches more pupils per day. The school term in Negro schools is shorter than that in white schools, the school is smaller, and the standardization as to grades is less precise. The Negro is less apt to attend high school; he is afforded less varried and less extensive vocational education; his buildings and equipment are far less adequate; and his transportation is also less extensive. Only in school attendance, dependent on his efforts, does his school measure up to standards for white children. There are, of course, local exceptions, and conditions vary greatly from state to state according to all the indexes, but the general picture is one of grave inequality of opportunity.

In the so-called border states, according to most indexes of educational opportunity, Negro schools measure up much more nearly to the standards of the white schools. In states where separate schools are provided for Negroes it is not possible to measure equality of opportunity. Fewer Negro teachers are employed in mixed schools. Because of the segregation of population in most northern cities, many schools are attended by Negro children altogether or in most part. These tend to be less adequately housed, equipped, and staffed.

In the states of the South, progress is being made slowly but surely. In North Carolina, for example, salaries have been equalized and the school term extended to the length of the term in white schools. As a result of Supreme Court decisions, local and state planning is toward raising the standards of the Negro schools, toward consolidation and building programs, and toward greater emphasis on vocational education, particularly in agriculture and home economics.

In higher education the same picture of descrimination exists. Adequately supported institutions are fewer and enrollments are lower in proportion to the Negro population. Faculties are poorly paid. Buildings are less adequate. Opportunities for professional and graduate training are either nonexistent or are limited in most southern states. For some years states have tried to ameliorate these conditions by scholarships to northern institutions which admit Negro students, and because the students usually choose the best, this has contributed to

racial leadership. In the South, Atlanta University, Fisk, Hampton, teachers' colleges, and others are notable exceptions to the rule of lower standards. These progressive educational forces, together with supreme court decisions, are developing public opinion and slowly changing the picture, in spite of segregation, meagre regional resources, and the fetish of "White Supremacy," but much remains to be done if the Negro is to be given equality of opportunity in the realm of higher education.

Housing

Poor housing is one of the most uniformly important and basic factors in the problems of the South. It interacts on other problems and complicates their solution. Whether in the rural South or in the urban South or North, whether in commercial towns or factory districts, a disproportionate part of the population of the region is housed in the poorest, yet the relatively most expensive rented quarters. The low economic status of a large part of the population is a major factor in housing, but for the Negro, segregation, scarcity of low-cost housing, rapidly shifting population, and schemes of exploitation have aggravated the tendency to ppor housing, so that the greatest majority of the people are ill-housed. The low general health status of the Negro, the high death rate from tuberculosis and other diseases, delinquency, and low morale may be attributed to a great extent to poor housing. Limited employment opportunity, low educational opportunity, and social insecurity are also associated with poor housing.

Experiments, notably in Cincinnati and in Atlanta, have shown that low-cost housing projects financed from private sources are practicable and profitable. Federal experiments in housing projects for Negroes in defense areas have been generally successful. Difficulties have arisen chiefly from poor planning of location and from failure to provide education and guidance in making adjustments to the new housing. Until we undertake widespread education of both races as to the need for and the practicality of better housing for the Negro, until there is long-range, wise planning, until there is systematic effort to enlist private enterprise and governmental assistance, the housing problem of the Negro will not be solved, will probably not be ameliorated, and may even become more acute. The same thing can be said about the housing of many white communities. Until the housing problem is intelligently attacked, no attempt to solve the Negro problem can be successful.

Political and Civil Rights

In a democracy, the equal protection of the political and civil rights of every group is of primary importance. Encouragement, guidance, and participation in the exercise of these rights by any group is essential to: (1) the morale of any group, (2) the progressive improvement of their social and economic status, (3) the development of their resources, and (4) their maximum contribution to the common welfare.

The Negro in the United States, and particularly in the South, has little freedom and little protection in the

exercise of his political and civil rights. In the South particularly, the Negro is largely deprived of this vote by the white's fear of the spectre of Reconstruction: by intimidation, by the poll tax voting requirement, by the white primary, and by biased interpretation of rules of eligibility. He is, in effect, debarred from the use of the white public press; his news is neglected and warped. He is restricted and made uncomfortable in his travel on public carriers by "Jim Crow" laws and by the pressure of prejudice. He is prohibited from free access to public worship of his own choice by refusal of white church members to worship with black church members. He is discouraged in his participation in public discussion. He is largely denied his right to hold elective or appointive office. At times he has seen even his equal status before the law jeopardized in open court. Negro jurors, Negro lawyers, and Negro judges are conspicuous by their absence. In the North while civil and political restrictions do not exist to the same degree, nor have the sanction of law or of openly expressed public opinion, the effect of legal and general subscription to the principles of racial equality is to a large extent neutralized by the segregation of population and the attitude toward the individual.

In spite of these handicaps the Negro has developed a distinguished press of his own. He has built systems of churches which are growing in leadership toward political and civil equality. He is furnishing an increasing number of police and

other city officials, even in the South. In the white press and in white institutions there is a rapidly spreading demand that the Negro be protected from political and civil exploitation, this his rights be protected, and that he be offered encouragement, assistance, and guidance in the exercise of his rights in all political and civil fields.

Economic Opportunity

Opportunity to make a living is fundamental in the welfare and the progress of any group. The guarantee of equality to all men in economic opportunity and of education and guidance in taking advantage of it is, therefore, essential in a developing democracy. Yet few rights have been more widely and more largely denied the Negro than the right to enter employment, gain promotion, receive equal compensation, and engage in business and the professions.

The usual basis for differentiation in employment is skill and efficiency of the worker, but in the case of Negroes, it is color and lack of training which is dependent on color that is the basis for discrimination. Differentiation on the basis of color is not justifiable, nor is it practical. It excludes many workers with potential or developed skills and helps to retard the best development not only of the Negro group, but also of the region and nation as a whole. We must recognize, of course, that individual differences, both in general capacity and in special limitations, exist in any group. Training cannot and should not be identical for all men, nor can nor should employment

be identical. It is opportunity which must be equal, in the sense of adequacy and appropriateness to the individual, regardless of his race, creed, or origin, and in the sense of training and development of whatever skills the individual possesses.

In agriculture the Negro has, for the most part, been debarred from farm ownership and from a fair return on his labor and his investment by "sharecropping,", "furnishing," usurious rates of interest in the purchase of land, stock, and equipment, and discrimination in marketing. His opportunities are limited in training in the schools and in the extension services for better farming and homemaking. Especially is the Negro limited in vocational and technical training comparable to that afforded the white race.

The same discrimination that exists in government officeholding and in training for the professions, especially in the South, is reflected in the obstacles which hinder the entry of the Negro into business. In industry and business, the Negro has a very limited chance for employment, for promotion, or for a fair wage for his labor. Before the beginning of the present war, the training that was available to him was far less varied and extensive than that available to white youth in the public schools, the NYA, and other training programs. Relatively few Negroes took all the training that was available, because their chance of employment on the level justified by the training was small. Many industries were completely closed to Negro workers; while in industries as a whole open to Negroes, many individual plants refused to employ them. The same situation

existed in business. Where the Negro was employed, it was usually in unskilled work, and the chances of his promotion were small. Most frequently, his pay was lower than that of white workers in the same positions. Since many labor unions were closed to him, and he was badly handicapped in organizing his own, his access to collective bargaining as a means to improving his situation was negligible.

Since 1939, labor shortages, the efforts of volunteer organizations, and Federal policy, especially as embodied in the Fair Employment Practices Committee, have borne fruit in opening new industries and businesses to the Negro, in equalizing his pay, in making promotion available to him, and in admitting him to more labor unions. The same influences, along with an awakening public opinion, are improving his position in government employment and in public services. The discrimination against the employment of Negroes in the Armed Services has been as great as in other employment, but here too the situation has improved. The Negro has been given a chance to prove this worthiness of wider employment, of more extensive training, and of promotion, and he has gone a long way towards proving his worthiness. These changing conditions have helped to afford a much broader base for further operations by agencies concerned with education and with planning for the improvement of the Negro's status and by those concerned with the guarantee of his rights. But though an entering wedge seems to have been driven for wider employment opportunities for Negroes, a great amount remains yet to be done.

Segregation

Not only on each of the problems discussed here--housing, education, political and civil rights, and economic opportunities--and others, such as health and recreation, interrelated and interactive with each other, but each is also further complicated and made more difficult of solution by factors such as segregation, for which there is no set pattern but which runs like a thread through the picture of all races in America. Segregation is the result of a combination of social and economic features. On one hand, it is voluntary on the part of the Negro, a result of group consciousness. On the other hand, it is the result of social and economic fears on the part of a segment of the white population, and it is also the result of other social and economic conditions. Furthermore, it is the effort to protect the myth of racial superiority. Whatever is the cause, segregation is an integral part of the picture of education, of housing, of political participation, of employment--of every phase of life. In the South it is openly and rigidly enforced, as in the case of "Jim Crow" laws and laws requiring separate schools and separate facilities. Both inside and outside the South--wherever the two races are together, in fact--it is tacitly supported by public opinion, as in zoning rules, hotel and eating accomodations. It is strongly entrenched and deeply rooted, especially in the South. Yet the results of segregation in human and economic costs are so important that no planning can fail to take it into account.

Segregation has made for discrimination in all aspects of the school program: the expense of it has made it difficult to provide the best sort of training in primary and secondary schools for either race, while the provision of the more expensive types of training, significantly trades and industrial education, and graduate and professional schools,has been doubly difficult. In political and civil life, segregation has facilitated discrimination and has made exploitation of the Negro easy to perpetrate and difficult to identify and combat. In housing it has deteriorated real estate values, handicapped housing projects, and, through crowding, has raised the rentals beyond the normal investment value. In turn, this has encouraged exploitation by unscrupulous owners and agents. The list might be extended indefinitely.

Cultural Participation

Culture has been defined as the sum of the ways in which man has learned to live and behave. A culture, then, is the sum of the behavior patterns which characterize the people of a locality, a region, or a nation. If we accept this definition, we think of culture as meaning far more than the literature, traditions, art, music, even the dress and manner of recreation of a people. We include also their typical ways of making a living, their political practices, their organization for health, their housing conditions, their organization and methods in education.

When culture is viewed in this way, we might well say that the ideal of a democracy is full and free opportunity for cultural participation for every individual and every group. This means that the Negro has the right to and must be given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance that is given to any other group in the employment and the enjoyment of the ways of living that are characteristic of all the people of the Southern Piedmont, of the Mississippi Delta, of the industrial Middle West, or of the United States. It means also that as long as the Negro is denied his right to participate fully in the culture of the community, region, and nation, he is restricted in the fullest development of his talents and resources, and in turn, the community, region, and nation as a whole is deprived of the great contribution which the Negro could make to the developing culture, were he given an opportunity for participation and development.

An example of the Negro's restriction in learning and developing cultural techniques is found in the field of art. Here, the loss to the Negro and to American artistic development is tremendous. The Negro is often refused and usually discouraged in attendance at the theater and art galleries. Even his movie houses are usually shabby affairs, showing third rate films. In music, especially, the Negro has made a great contribution to American art through his truly great folk music, despite his handicaps. One has only to consider the outstanding Negro singers, composers, actors, dancers, painters, and writers, to realize the great contributions which Negroes could make if

they were given the opportunity, the guidance, and the assistance which are available to the white man.

The loss to the community, state, and nation in the development of such things as law, public health, and government, through the participation of the Negro in these fields must be great, but is immeasurable, since his participation has been almost wholly prohibited either by law or by the unwritten consent and approval of the white population.

A Possible Solution

It is only when we view the Negro-white problem as one of cultural participation in the broadest sense that the means to the solution to the problem become clearly evident. The basis of any only real solution seems to lie in the gradual processes of social change and evolution which comes about from the channeling into progressive streams the seeds of change that are inherent in the life of a community, of a region, and of a nation. Although methods and procedures affecting the change may differ from community to community, the end result should be increasing opportunity for all individuals, regardless of race, color, or social and economic class, to live, work, and be educated under conditions conducive to the maintenance of self-respect in accordance with our democratic concepts. The function of leaders in the solution of the problems is of basic importance, for progress seems to depend to a great extent upon the ability of individuals of both races to act as leaders in seeing the problem in the light of the culture patterns of both groups, and in guiding the

mass of the people to desire change and to participate in the planning and action which is necessary to effect the changes. Without the stimulation and guidance of forward looking leaders, the common man will be slow to change to allow the Negro to enjoy full participation in the culture of the community, state, region, and nation.

Through education, planning, and concerted effort which involves wide participation, this social change can be accelerated, its direction can be shifted, and its points of lag can be decreased, but again leadership is essential to the effectiveness of each of the three techniques. The dictates of Democracy and of Christianity demand, as do those of common sense, that these three processes be carried on cooperatively by members and groups of the two groups working together. A close study of the progress which has been made in many fields shows clearly the effect of the application of these principles.

The process of planning and of education implies research. It is imperative that we know what conditions exist, what resources we have, and what changes are desirable and practicable. An example of the need for research is seen very clearly in the field of health. We do not know, except through such data as that provided through vital statistics, which are often imcomplete, just what the health status of the Negro is under various conditions, nor do we know what the effect is of wider employment of Negro personnel in the Public Health Service. Before there can be planning and education for the improvement of

the health status of the Negro, these factors and others must be known. A great deal of research has already been done in such centers as the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, the Department of Social Science at Fisk, and other institutions in both North and South, and by such agencies as the Southern Regional Council and Federal agencies.

Making the results of the research known to both races is an essential basis for the desired changes. The results must be made dynamic to the people, Negro and white, not in research language and through regular research channels, but through every channel by which people are reached and influenced: the newspaper, the radio, the movie, the popular magazine and novel, and clubs and organizations. Health educators, nurses, teachers, public workers, ministers, business men, club women, and others occupy strategic positions as educators of public opinion and are potentially powerful agents for absorbing the results of research and disseminating it to the people, helping in this way to create changes in public opinion to allow the Negro his rightful place in society. There must be a far greater effort by groups of both races working together to study the problem, not only as a whole, but also in its various aspects; not only as an abstraction, but also as a personal, individual problem; not only as a national problem, but also as a problem that exists in a peculiar form in the local community. It is essantial that the results of such studies and of the thinking of the leaders

of both races reach and influence people through the popular channels. When all this is added to a more intensified, more consistent, and more concerted effort among public institutions--the school, the church, the press, and the government--then education of the American people for the solution of the Negro problem will be based on facts and will be dynamic and effective.

Planning, also, is basic to the solution of the problem. Such planning as has already been done in many community councils, in local and county planning boards, in civic organizations, in church groups, in state planning boards, in regional and national organizations should continue, but to be adequate, it will have to be done on a much wider scale. Effective planning will be concerned with the over-all picture, not merely, as so often happens, with some single project or problem. To a much greater extent it will bring together members of both races meeting in a thoroughly representative way to plan for research, education, and action. It will be concerned with both the short-term and the long-time aspects of the problem and of measure for its solution. It will utilize the technique of direct action. It will include research and the spreading of accurate information about employment, education, political participation, and health, and it will also provide methods for the improvement of conditions in these fields. Above all, this pattern of planning on local, state, regional, and national levels must be coordinated and integrated so that the processes of social evolution will go forward evenly in the same direction, with no conflict.

Concerted action is an essential next step after planning and education, for unless these techniques are followed by action, they accomplish little. It is the use which is made of them in an action program that counts as tangible gain. Again, leaders are essential in channeling the results of research and planning into education and action. The leaders may be individuals, or they may be organizations or institutions. The end result of all the research, planning, and action must be the change in attitude of the people to lead to changed action so that all individuals, regardless of race, color, social and economic class, participate freely and effectively in the culture of the nation.

Conclusion

Even this brief, fragmentary survey of the so-called "Negro problem" reveals its complexity, its tremendous seriousness in the nation, and especially in the South, and the difficulties facing us in its solution. But it reveals hope, also. Real and great progress has been made. The foundations for greater and more rapid progress have been laid. The great seriousness with which America is beginning to face its postwar problems is itself a hopeful sign.

Throughout any examination of the problem we are continually brought back to the basic considerations involved. The Negro problem is a problem in human relations. It must be faced realistically. In so far as we really subscribe to the principles of Democracy and Christianity we recognize the existing

pattern of Negro-white relations as a problem. Its solution is equally important to the Negro and to the white man. Improvement of conditions is equally the responsibility of the white man and of the Negro. The problem must be solved by the equalization of opportunity and by the affording of assistance and guidance to the individual in taking advantage of opportunity. It can be solved only as attitudes and concepts are changed. The solution must be reached on a cooperative basis and through democratic social processes. It is peculiarly a local and a personal problem. It is your problem and mine.

Margaret Price
June 15, 1945

SYNTHESIS OF CRITICISMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. The program is too idealistic--it needs an action program to back up the research.

2. The Council should chart a definite course of procedure and follow it.

3. The Council might identify itself with such problems as housing, agriculture, health, and the like, rather than with the Negro-white problem, per se, and it could this way camoflauge its real work. Progress might be slow, but possibly it would find under such a program the kind of white leadership which it seeks.

4. If the Council continues under the present plan, it might undertake an educational program designed to change attitudes of the common man, both Negro and white. It is felt that the propaganda could and should be made much more dynamic, dramatic, and appealing than it is, if people are to be jarred out of traditional ways of thinking, and acting into concern for Negro-white problems. The propaganda should be more than just justification; it should be more than just sound reasoning--it must present the problem so that the common man sees it as his problem, and as a problem which must be solved if the region and nation is to prosper.

5. It is felt that the Council is missing a great chance of educating others into belief in the principles for which the Council stands when it requires that all members subscribe to and support all the princiles. If men and women who were interested in the Negro-white problem in the traditional sort of way, and if men and women who are leaders in their communities or states in fields other than race, were included in membership, the Council could educate them into belief in its principles. It is felt that while progress might be slow, groundwork for action might be laid.

6. There was not very much criticism about the Council's stand on segregation, other than that the Council should chart a clear-cut course and stick to it, and that is should support and action program.

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Dear Sirs:

Please send to Dr. Guy B. Johnson, of the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, 3, Georgia, one copy of Rupert Vance's book, All These People.

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(Mrs. Charles D. Saxon)

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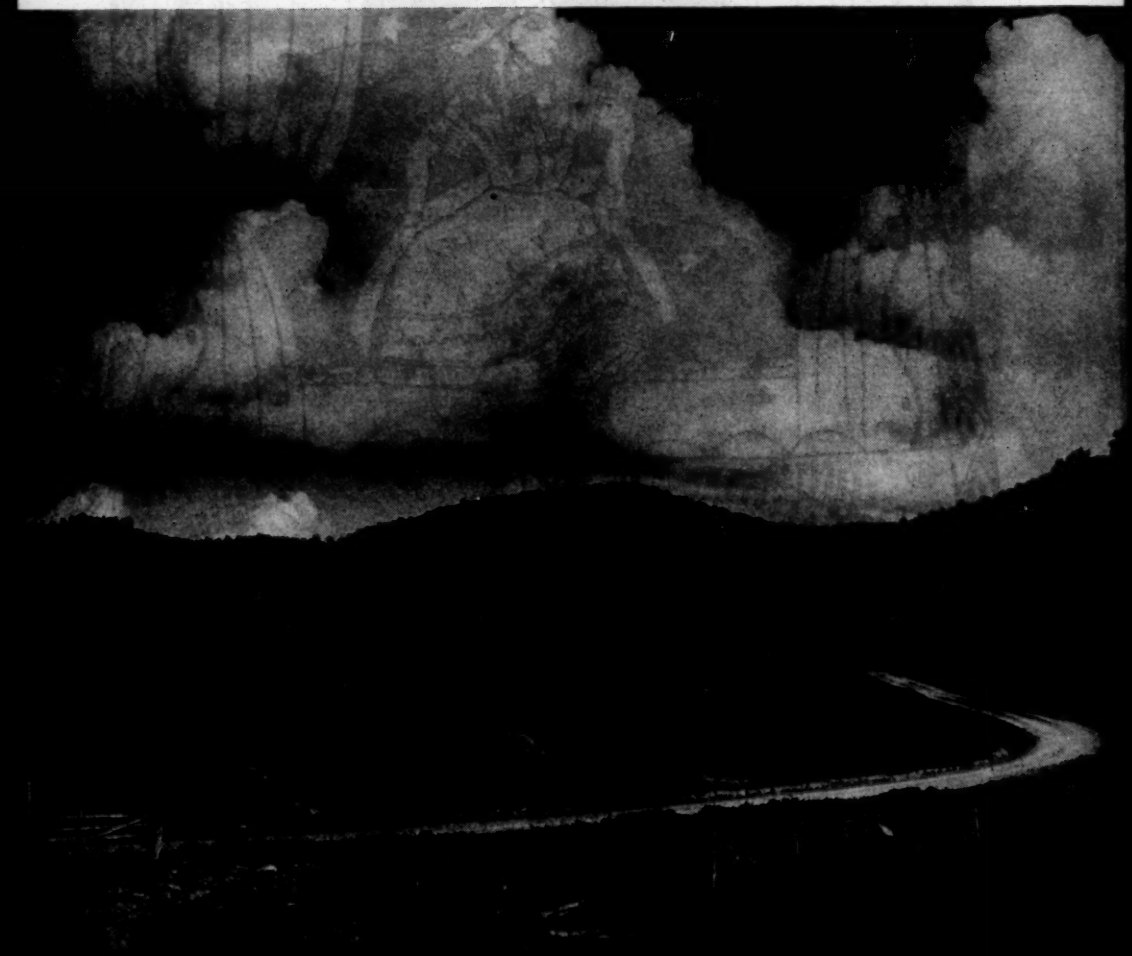

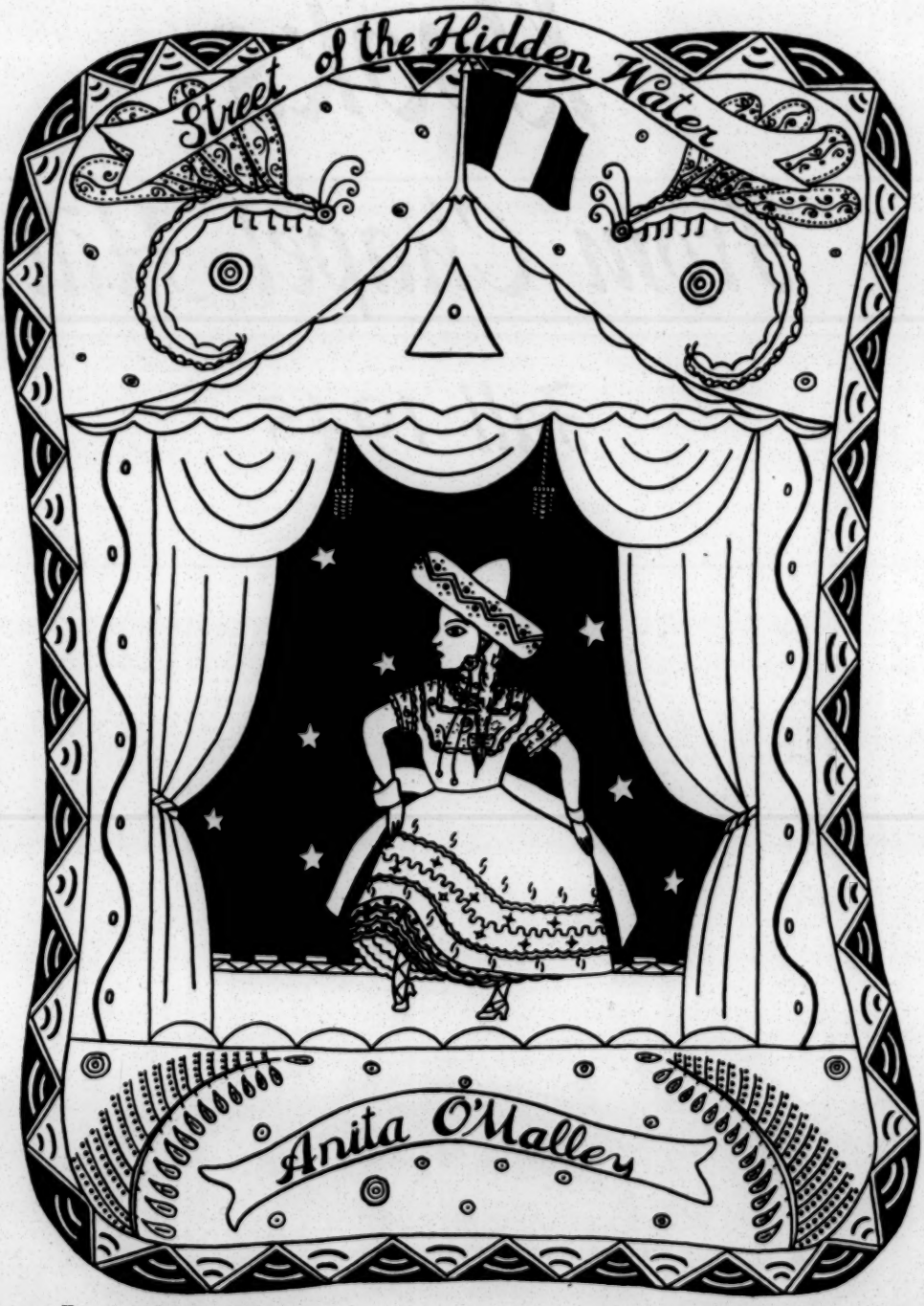

From *Mexican Village*

MEXICAN VILLAGE

By Josephina Niggli. With decorations by Marion Fitz-Simons

SEVERAL years ago the publisher asked Josephina Niggli to write a book which would give an authentic picture of Mexican village life. Miss Niggli has done this, but she has done much more. In her ten chapters she has told ten absorbing stories, rich in setting, tense in action, and warm in their sympathy with the human comedy.

The stories all center in the village of Hidalgo, one of the five towns in the Sabinas Valley in northern Mexico, and the same characters appear and reappear until the life of the village is intimately known. There is no break in passing from story to story. Alejandro Castillo, son of the Valley's richest man, is the center of one story, but he is also an important character in most of the others. Bob Webster, the *Yanqui*, whose ancestry mysteriously involves him in the life of the village, is the "outlander" through whom Hidalgo is made realizable to the outside world. The whole story, in its larger aspect, tells of the hidden conflict between Bob Webster and the village. The outcome of this conflict forms the denouement of the larger plot, which is a complex of the lesser plots.

The main interest in all the stories is the comedy or tragedy in the lives of the people, but each story has its own enveloping action of excitement and color—bullfighting, cockfighting, the Revolution, weddings, funerals, community rivalries up and down the beautiful Sabinas Valley. And pervading the whole is an authentic folk life—Christian and pagan marvellously mixed.

Mexican Village is an unusual book, hard to pigeonhole, for it has all the color and suspense of high-tension fiction and at the same time is a document on Mexican life. Through the dramatic narrative the reader sees Mexico's racial pattern, the profoundly indigenous life of the northern frontier, the effect of Revolution, the social, religious, and economic life of the village, Mexican feeling about Mexico—and about the neighbors across the Rio Grande.

Josephina Niggli was born in Monterrey, Mexico, and spent some of her childhood years in Hidalgo, where she learned to know her village and her Mexico. She has written numerous poems and plays, many of them published in Mexico City.

496 pp. 5⅜″ x 8″. September 29. $3.00.

FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING

By Barbara Wootton

DOES ALL public planning necessarily lead toward totalitarianism?

The most ardent opponents of planning agree that this is not true, but they do not bother to discuss in detail the kinds of planning in which public authorities might properly engage. They do not even try to distinguish between the desirable and undesirable kinds. They are content merely to raise again raw head and bloody bones and the public that follows them continues as ignorant as ever—only more so because prejudices are now buttressed with authoritarian mumbo jumbo.

Mrs. Wootton's discussion will not please the extremists on either side—those who believe planning will bring utopia or those who believe it will bring serfdom. By *planning* the author means "the conscious and deliberate choice of economic priorities by some public authority." She believes—contrary to arguments that have received wide circulation in recent months—that there is "a large measure of agreement between the professed objectives of all political parties . . . no party upholds or condones hunger, slum living, or unemployment." Or if there isn't genuine agreement that these evils must be corrected, "somebody is telling a crashing load of lies."

The book is short and to the point. It reveals the real dangers in planning—and the hobgoblins.

Mrs. Wootton is a distinguished English economist, author of *Plan or No Plan* and *Lament for Economics.*

176 pp. 5¼″ x 8″. October 6. $2.00

THE HUMANITIES AND THE COMMON MAN

By Norman Foerster

BASED on the argument that the spirit of the humanities should dominate the entire program of a public university, this essay undertakes to describe the naturalistic program of present-day higher education now being shaken out of its complacency by new forces, and outlines the requirements of the curriculum, the faculty, and the administration of the state university of the future.

64 pp. 6″ x 9″. November 10. $1.50.

OIL AND DEEP WATER

By Kaj Klitgaard

DANGER stands 24-hour watch on the bridge as the BO 329 makes its way in convoy across the Atlantic. Yet there isn't a major crisis, even though the ship is carrying 100-octane gasoline and irresponsible members of the crew—always claiming their "rights" and exercising their "freedom"—drop lighted cigarette butts where they please.

Most of the men in this "New Tradition" crew are fresh from the farms and Main Streets and Broadways of America. Their time at sea is measured in months, or not at all. Some have an idea of what it's all about. Others obviously don't give a damn. Untrained, undisciplined, apparently uninterested, many of them seem to have the notion that they should know—and do—as little as possible. They're considerably surprised when they first experience the satisfaction that comes from a job well done. And the Chief Mate is surprised, to. He finds himself liking the men in spite of their unconventional seamanship; and when they want to, they learn quickly and do things exceedingly well.

Mr. Klitgaard, though he is a knowledgeable old salt, does not write merely as an expert commenting on the scanty training and informality of his wartime crew. His approach is more general, more universal than that. After almost twenty years ashore he has gone back to sea again as chief mate of a Liberty ship, not for adventure or for the taste of salt air but because he feels compelled to have a part in the war, even though it is a hateful thing and he wants none of it. He writes as a man who in one lifetime has lived two lives. He is "Everyman," full of wonderment and despair over the fix the world is in, shaking his head over it, and reporting the quirks and idiosyncrasies of himself and his companions.

In his own words, this is "an exposé of human frailty and the difficulties of living, but there is also an element of humans enjoying themselves." Certainly the Chief Mate enjoys himself, even when he is blasting away at his deck hands, or the "Limies," or the New Tradition in general.

Mr. Klitgaard, a native of Copenhagen, Denmark, and an American citizen, is the author of *The Deep* and *Through the American Landscape*.

192 pp. 6″ x 9″. September 22. $2.50.

MEMORIES OF AN OLD-TIME TAR HEEL

By Kemp Plummer Battle. Edited by William James Battle

HERE is a half-century of North Carolina life, from the 1830's to the 1880's, as seen through the keenly observant eyes and the friendly humor of the man who put the State University back on its feet after the war of the sixties and remained its active president until 1891.

As a child in Louisburg in the thirties he saw (accidentally) a cockfight, was allowed to attend ("with dinner in my pocket") a general muster of the militia and heard the drum and fife play "Three Little Pigs and a Bobtailed Sow." He saw the annual corn-shuckings—"the half-dressed negroes, the quick-moving arms, the white ears of corn flashing in the blaze of the lightwood fire, Silas like a prophet of old shouting the verses and two-score lusty throats bawling out, 'Round the corn, Sallee-ee.' " He felt the "frantic excitement" when a circus came to town, and was "utterly miserable" when he could not go. Sundays were gloomy and "the final Amen a joyful sound."

In 1840 he saw the huge mass meeting of the Whigs in Raleigh. In the parade New Hanover and Craven counties were represented by "real schooners with sails, masts, and cordage, manned by boys dressed like sailors, hanging in the rigging. Franklin County had a real log cabin, with a man, painted and dressed like an Indian and brandishing a tomahawk, seated on top."

Then came Chapel Hill days, with parties, debates, Commencement, and the tax-collection gatherings at the northwest corner of Columbia and Franklin streets, where people came from far and near, where watermelons, cider hard and soft, and whiskey were consumed in quantity and political candidates harangued the crowd from "a large rock with a flat top."

As lawyer in Raleigh, as plantation owner in Edgecombe, as politician and stump speaker in ante-bellum days, as member of the Secession Convention, as president of the Chatham Railroad, as trusted public servant, Kemp Plummer Battle comments on his times, with many anecdotes and sidelights.

He began writing his "Memories" on his eighty-first birthday. His son, who has edited them for publication, is Professor of Classical Languages in the University of Texas.

Illustrated. 288 pp. 6″ x 9″. October 6. $3.00.

PUBLIC MEN IN AND OUT OF OFFICE

Edited by J. T. Salter

"HUMAN nature and the democratic process"—such might be called the theme of this symposium of twenty-seven biographical sketches and one essay. The sketches depict a variety of public careers and personalities—Henry Wallace and the late Wendell Willkie; Kerr of Oklahoma and Warren of California, who keynoted themselves into nation-wide prominence at the 1944 conventions; other prominent governors including Thomas E. Dewey and John Bricker; a member of the State Department and two ambassadors; men from both houses of Congress—Senate Majority Leader, Speaker of the House, the chairmen of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Relations, the less well-known chairman of the important House Rules Committee, among others; Nye of Dakota and Ham Fish, losers in the race of last November; a powerful boss of long standing; the President himself.

From New Hampshire to Florida to California, they include citizens of twenty states. Seasoned legislators adroit in committee rooms and alert to the advantages of compromise alongside newcomers making their first bids for eminence and public favor; veterans grown old in office and secure in reputation as well as former office-holders lately rejected at the polls; zealous advocates of a better world order and the economy of plenty, old-line conservatives, rabble-rousing campaigners and vote-getters, devoted public servants achieving the stature of statesmen—all are represented in this volume.

These first-hand sketches have been written by newspapermen and teachers of history, journalism, and political science, and they differ as much in approach and treatment as in the wide range of their subjects. Impartial scrutiny, critical analysis, documented statements of the record, highly-colored portraits, political prognostications, enthusiastic praise verging at times on uncritical eulogy have resulted in a book which in its depiction of the American democratic process is as diversified as human nature itself.

A concluding essay by Mr. Salter emphasizes the voter's responsibility in the selection of public men. For the reader who keeps up with current affairs, the student of contemporary politics, and the voter who wants to know his politicians.

Illustrated. 384 pp. 6″ x 9″. November 24. $4.00.

INTERNATIONAL CARTELS

By Ervin Hexner

WHAT are the alternatives to international cartels in world trade? In most American discussions of this subject it is assumed that cartels ought to be abolished, and other modes of conducting world trade ought to be established and maintained.

The critics of cartels are not very clear either on what it is they are criticizing or what they would have take its place. If private entrepreneurs, contrary to the notions in the textbooks, prefer to cooperate rather than compete, can they be prevented from doing so? Even if it were possible to maintain a democratic system and at the same time use the coercive methods necessary to force active competition, would this be in the public interest? If businesses are forced to continue competing, will not one business finally win over all others, thus resulting in monopoly—the very thing the critics of cartels say they wish to avoid?

Would monopoly be avoided by placing all international trade in government hands?

In this book the author is not content to deal with this problem in abstract terms. This, he argues, is the main cause of confusion on this subject. Economists have too long limited themselves to discussion of what they imagine to be principles without ever taking the trouble to secure comprehensive case studies. In this work the author describes the actual workings of cartels in over a hundred commodities, such as coffee, meat, sugar, tea, aluminum, timber, iodine, coal, petroleum, kapok, camphor, rubber, cellophane, quinine, vitamins, hormones, diamonds, dental supplies, matches, radio equipment, photographic materials, munitions, and bone glue. The principles that he discusses are derived from actualities rather than from books written from books back to Adam Smith. The book also contains first-hand information in its appendices.

Mr. Hexner, now Professor of Political Science at the University of North Carolina, is the author of *The International Steel Cartel*. He was executive director of the Coordinating Corporation of the Czechoslovak Steel Industries and in 1944 was one of the reporting delegates in the International Financial and Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods.

576 pp. 6″ x 9″. November 10. $7.50.

THE WILSON ERA: YEARS OF WAR, 1917-1921

By Josephus Daniels

IN this continuation of *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace*, Mr. Daniels tells how Wilson, having fought against war with monumental patience, finally led this country into world conflict. As Commander-in-Chief, says Daniels, he proved himself a militant fighter and strategist, and when victory came, he believed that it had made possible a warless world.

Wilson's fight for the League of Nations is vigorously told, as is the deep damnation of its defeat. In his story of the Paris Peace Conference, Mr. Daniels reveals new insights into tangled motives. Of particular interest is his "true story of the break between Wilson and House and between Wilson and Lansing." Naturally, however, his main interest is in the Navy and the Marine Corps which he directed and which, in days of peace, he worked hard to build up for days of war.

The vigor, freshness, and candor of this first-hand account of governmental inner workings in World War I and in the ensuing struggles for a world peace organization, make it vital reading today. Once again, Josephus Daniels, "the wise and friendly editor who is one of the truly democratic spirits of our time," has a great story to tell.

Illustrated. 608 pp. 6⅛" x 9⅛". November 24. $4.00.

Also by Josephus Daniels

TAR HEEL EDITOR

"An almost incalculably rich and subtle portrait of the late 19th Century South... as genuine as a thumbprint... an extraordinary and valuable record; above all, a readable one."—*Time*.

EDITOR IN POLITICS

"He is a superb story-teller... Mr. Daniels writes in 'Editor in Politics,' as always, with a simple homespun quality which is winning."—Edwin Tribble, *Washington Star*.

THE WILSON ERA: YEARS OF PEACE, 1910-1917

"A fascinating memoir by a fighting editor who knows how to use the English language."—Sterling North, *Chicago Sun Book Week*.

Illustrated. Size 6⅛" x 9⅛". Each $4.00.

THE MANSIONS OF VIRGINIA

By Thomas Tileston Waterman

HERE for the first time an architect has made a full study of the pre-Revolutionary mansions of Virginia. More than forty of Virginia's historic mansions are described in great architectural detail and are illustrated with superb exterior views and with numerous pictures of interiors—rooms, mantels, stairways, entrances, walls, and ceilings. Many floor plans and elevations are also included.

Working not only as architect but also as archaeologist and detective, the author (one of the architects of the Williamsburg Restoration), has discovered important new facts about Virginia's great houses. Previously, the designer of only one (Gunston Hall) was known. Now the authorship of whole groups of houses can be assigned on excellent architectural evidence, to three early architects: Richard Taliaferro, John Ariss, and Thomas Jefferson. The architectural style books used in the buildings can be named with certainty.

The process by which the author made these discoveries is fascinating. It involved, among other things, investigating old cellars and attics, tracing long-forgotten foundations, examining and charting ruined walls, noting early detail under "drab Victorian dress," and, above all, noting significant resemblances among the houses themselves, as well as to houses examined in England and Scotland. Gradually, the mansions of Virginia began to fall into family groups, marked by common characteristics, and a new approach to their study and interpretation became possible. Thus, in addition to fine groups of pictures and plans of such mansions as Stratford, Wilton, Mount Vernon, Westover, Mount Airy, Kenmore, Monticello, Carlyle House, Elsing Green, Rocky Mills, and many others, the reader finds new hints toward further study and enjoyment, and much information on house planning and restorations. A glossary of architectural terms is included, and an alphabetical list of mansions, arranged for ready reference, supplies the basic facts about each.

There are more than 350 superb photographs, collected by the author over a period of ten years.

Mr. Waterman is Architectural Director of the Historic American Buildings survey.

448 pages. 6⅞" x 10¼". November 17. $10.00.

MAN ON A ROCK

By Richard O. Hertz

MAN'S position in the world today—on a tiny globe surrounded with an infinity of space and time—is like that of a shipwrecked sailor. The eggs of seagulls kept the sailor physically alive, but he had to have ideas to keep him psychologically alive. He had to overcome the limitations of space by inward development in time—otherwise he would have died of sheer boredom. The machine age has emphasized accomplishments in space; as accomplishments have piled up, the world has become smaller. Today man is a prisoner of space, and is dying psychologically because of his failure to rediscover time.

This book is a powerful and convincing attack on the mechanical psychology, the mechanical economics and politics, the mechanical habits that are characteristic of all current modes of thinking. The author offers something that is not only better—it is necessary if there is to be any chance for peace and the proper use, rather than abuse, of the machine.

Mr. Hertz is Professor of Social Science at the University of Dubuque.

240 pp. 5½" x 8½". November 24. $3.00.

NOWHERE WAS SOMEWHERE

By Arthur E. Morgan

"WHAT if the great *Utopia* of Thomas More was not a product of his imagination, but a generally representative account of an actual country and its social system? What if the social system he described had long been in actual and successful existence on a vast scale; and what if the self-satisfied conclusion of 'practical' men . . . that More's *Utopia* is an impracticable dream . . . is controverted by actual facts?" The author's answer to the question he here poses is new and surprising. And upon this answer he builds up a strong case for the interaction of existing societies, which influence utopian writing, and of utopias, which, in turn, influence government. "History," he says, "makes utopias, and utopias make history."

Mr. Morgan is a former president of Antioch College and was first chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

160 pp. 5½" x 8½". November 24. $2.50.

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

Edited by Rayford W. Logan

"A BRAVE, true, heroic book."—John Haynes Holmes.

"A series of balanced, thoughtful articles on one of the most serious postwar U. S. problems."—*Time.*

"On every count this rates as a first-class book: first-class in lucidity and persuasiveness of its writing; first-class in the sheer, unbreakable logic of its argument; first-class in the high level of its moral and spiritual insight."—H. A. Overstreet, *The Saturday Review of Literature.*

377 pp. 5½" x 8½". $3.50.

OUR JUNGLE DIPLOMACY

By William Franklin Sands in collaboration with Joseph M. Lalley

"A BOOK as readable as an adventure thriller, or an exciting tale of international espionage, or both combined. It also could be a lamp to the feet and a light to the path of eminent statesmen.... Get it and read it. It's worth a dozen thrillers."—Jay Lewis, *Norfolk Ledger-Dispatch.*

"Devastating.... One of America's most important black papers."—Sterling North, *Bridgeport Herald.*

256 pp. 5½" x 8⅜". $2.50.

PATRICK GEDDES: MAKER OF THE FUTURE

By Philip Boardman. With an Introduction by Lewis Mumford

"A VIVID picture of a dynamic personality."—*Book-of-the-Month Club News.*

"Mr. Boardman's biography ... exhibits in a clear light a man who was too bright a spirit to be lost in the murk of history."—Russell MacFall, *The Chicago Tribune.*

"What a man! Boardman does him full justice."—Charles A. Wagner, *New York Mirror.*

Illustrated. 520 pp. 6¼" x 9½". $5.00.

FOREVER GROWING

By Paul Green

IN this book Mr. Green puts forth his fervent conviction that the western world is out of proportion in its reliance on science as a way of life for the spirit of man. He contends that the old red tooth and claw and survival of the fittest are poor principles to build life on, but cooperation both in nature and among men are good principles. These principles are obvious—and the proper process and method of education will help us to see and use them happily and fruitfully.

64 pp. 4½" x 7½". October 20. $1.50.

MY AUNT LOUISA AND WOODROW WILSON

By Margaret Axson Elliott

"A THOROUGHLY delightful story, with interesting side-lights and pen pictures of public figures."—Josephus Daniels, *The News and Observer.*

"A charming portrayal of a Southern childhood and an intimate picture of the First World War President."—*Saturday Review of Literature.*

"Good reading and a pleasing footnote to history."—George Harriss, *Book-of-the-Month Club News.*

312 pp. 5½" x 8⅜". $3.00.

RANGER MOSBY

By V. C. Jones

"READS like a Dumas romance."—George F. Whicher, *New York Herald Tribune.*

"One of the best books of unusual Americana of the year."—Benjamin DeCasseres, *New York Journal American.*

"Mosby's Tam O'Shanter Rebels became a bugbear to the Union, a delight to Robert E. Lee.... *Ranger Mosby* is a brisk, readable account of their adventures and of their extraordinary leader."—*Time.*

Illustrated. 360 pp. 6" x 9". $3.50.

BEHOLD OUR GREEN MANSIONS

By Richard H. D. Boerker

WHAT has happened to America's forest wealth? How much of our virgin timber is left? Why are forest fires so prevalent? Is forest destruction a cause of floods? Can private owners grow timber as a profitable crop? To what extent should government control be applied? Where would you go for a forest vacation? This book supplies authoritative answers.

Defining forest conservation as "forest restoration for multiple use," the author points out exactly how important forests are for recreation, water supply, flood control, wild life, livestock raising, agriculture, and the lumber industry. He tells what is being done by federal and state governments and by private owners and shows that it is only a beginning. "The success or failure of the job of growing a continuous supply of wood and of making America a country of green mansions most certainly rests upon the very people who are allowed to use these forests gratuitously." They must therefore be "armed with facts," so that they can "work by vote, voice, and pen to achieve results," for "good forestry can be wrecked by bad politics" and "the public conscience has not yet awakened."

Mr. Boerker, widely experienced forester and author, is a teacher of biology in the Kingston (N. Y.) High School.

Richly illustrated with photographs and maps. 336 pp. 6″ x 9″. Ready. $4.00.

WHEN WE'RE GREEN WE GROW

By Jane Simpson McKimmon

"THE FIRST state home demonstration agent of North Carolina, in a swift-running record, tells how such work has gone on in that state since 1911.... a practical example of what people can do, with the right stimulus and support... a social document and a work of reference... a shared human experience and an unconscious revelation of the personality such work needs."—May Lamberton Becker, *New York Herald Tribune.*

"Replete with accounts of individual and group achievements, and profusely illustrated, it breathes a refreshing wholesomeness throughout."—*Richmond Times-Dispatch.*

Illustrated. 353 pp. 5⅝″ x 8⅜″. $3.00.

BLACK WIDOW
AMERICA'S MOST POISONOUS SPIDER

By Raymond W. Thorp and Weldon D. Woodson. With a Foreword by Dr. Emil Bogen

"I FIND [the authors'] . . . conscientious marshalling of fact and fantasy fascinating. They . . . have combed the literature thoroughly, kept and studied black widows in their own California homes, and . . . have compiled . . . a marvelous record of human spider follies."—Lewis Gannett, *New York Herald Tribune.*

"Simply enough written so that the ordinary layman can follow every word of it. . . . The first volume to deal at full length with the Black Widow, it is copiously illustrated and altogether a thorough and admirable piece of work."—Joseph Henry Jackson, *San Francisco Chronicle.*

"If you want to give yourself a good scare and learn something at the same time pick up *Black Widow*. . . . tells everything there is to know about black spider."—Harry Hansen, *New York World-Telegram.*

Illustrated. 224 pp. 5½" x 8⅜". $3.00.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY COOPERATION

By George N. Halm

"TRACES a discernible path through the tricky maze of international monetary relations."—W. Ross Junkin, *Memphis Commercial Appeal.*

"While the author is strongly on the Bretton Woods side of the argument . . . he supplies a broad type of treatment, with a good deal of useful information."—*American Banker.*

"Eminently fair and genuinely informing."—John T. Frederick, *Chicago Sun Book Week.*

360 pp. 6" x 9". $4.00.

READING AND SPEAKING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

By H. R. Huse

AT A TIME when the subject of foreign language study is being shaken out of the moth balls and given sharp scrutiny by practical agencies, this unconventional analysis of the problem will tend to dispel both the odor of sanctity and the odor of moth balls. The author discusses the nature of the talent for speaking, the distribution of linguistic talent, the relationship of linguistic ability to immaturity, the vast difference between active and passive knowledge of foreign languages, the effect of bilingualism on mental development, the disorder in language instruction, and the battle of the various methods. He then offers suggestions for placing foreign language instruction on a scientific basis and for eliminating an enormous waste of student time and effort.

Mr. Huse is Professor of Romance Languages at the University of North Carolina.

120 pp. 5⅜" x 8¼". October 6. $2.00.

LOWELL MASON: "THE FATHER OF SINGING AMONG THE CHILDREN"

By Arthur Lowndes Rich

AS A church musician, chorus master, and pioneer in training teachers of public school music, Lowell Mason was classed among the famous educators of the nineteenth century, and his work has left an imprint which persists today in the musical life of America. This book is a detailed account of the man, of his struggles for self-education, of his failures and successes as a practising musician, teacher, and publisher. It stresses the educational aspects of his career, his methods, his theories on music teaching for school children, and his interrelationships with such figures as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Barnard, and Horace Mann.

Mr. Rich is Director of Music at Mercer University.

256 pp. 5¼" x 8½". November 24. $3.00.

ALL THESE PEOPLE: THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH

By Rupert B. Vance

TO WHAT extent is the nation's population likely to maintain itself in the future? To what extent does the nation possess unrealized human resources in the South and how can they be developed in terms of health, education, skill, and future leadership? How can we best employ these resources in the agrarian economy and how are they making the transition to the new industrial order in the South? What social policies should we adopt for the conservation and development of our human resources after the war? What is to be our national population policy and how does the South fit in? To what extent can we rely on regional national planning to realize human adequacy for the welfare of the South and the nation? These questions and many others are explored and the factual basis on which they must be answered is presented.

Mr. Vance is Research Professor in The Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

600 pp. 6¼" x 10¼". November 24. $5.00.

GERMAN LABOR COURTS

By Frieda Wunderlich and Ernst Fraenkel

A LUCID and factual exposition thoroughly documented and supported by references to official publications. The Introduction by Dr. Fraenkel is a discussion of the labor courts in the German judicial system. The body of the study presents the historical development of labor law up to 1927, an analysis of the system as it operated from then until 1933, and an account of the changes occurring under National Socialism.

The authors have a background of thorough legal knowledge and wide practical experience in matters relating to labor and social welfare in Germany. Dr. Fraenkel, now Foreign Administration Economist, Washington, D. C., served for a time as legal counsel of the German Metal Workers Union. Dr. Wunderlich, now on the faculty of the New School for Social Research, New York City, and formerly editor of *Soziale Praxis*, concerned with social legislation and labor questions, has for a number of years combined scholarly work with political activity.

272 pp. 5¼" x 8½". November 3. $3.50.

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE: A STUDY OF HIS THOUGHT, LEARNING, AND CHARACTER

By Paul H. Kocher

IN THIS study, based upon analysis of biographical documents and the dramatist's works, the author moves easily and familiarly in the fields of Renaissance theological and secular learning. The core of the inquiry is the study of Marlowe's religion. The author reconstructs, defines, and reinterprets the Baines Note. "Criticism of Christianity," he writes, "appears as the most absorbing interest of Marlowe's life, and in the plays it is the most anxiously, skilfully, and passionately reiterated theme of dramatization."

The section on Marlowe's secular interests takes up aspects of his social thinking, outlines a comprehensive theory of his psychology, examines his knowledge of astronomy, and considers his treatment of the art of war. Marlowe's personality as a changing entity is the topic of concluding chapters.

Mr. Kocher is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Washington.

256 pp. 5½" x 8½". November 17. $3.50.

THE ENGLISH DICTIONARY FROM CAWDREY TO JOHNSON: 1604-1755

By De Witt T. Starnes and Gertrude E. Noyes

BETWEEN 1604, when Robert Cawdrey published his *Table Alphabeticall*, and 1755, the year of Johnson's monumental work, no less than twenty English dictionaries appeared. In this book the authors provide a history of each of these in its numerous ramifications, and thus give a systematic account of the evolution of the English dictionary during 150 years.

The purposes and qualifications of English lexicographers, the sources of their information, the interrelationships of the English dictionaries and their relationship to other lexicons, and the development of the various departments of lexicography—these are among the topics treated in this book.

Mr. Starnes is Professor of English at the University of Texas, and Miss Noyes is Associate Professor of English at Connecticut College.

Illustrated. 304 pp. 6" x 9". December 1. $3.50.

CONTEMPORARY SPANISH-AMERICAN FICTION

By Jefferson Rea Spell

"OF SUCH pertinent and authentic information as to make debtors of us all.... excellent commentary and highly useful information."—Robert Stanley Whitehouse, *Birmingham News.*

"Highly informative and genuinely readable."—*Philadelphia Inquirer.*

"For those who do not read Spanish, or who do not have access to the works of Latin American writers, this book performs a very real service.... a 'must' volume for libraries and for every serious student of Latin American affairs."—*Boston Post.*

336 pp. 5½" x 8⅜". $3.00.

A SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF CULTURE

By Bronislaw Malinowski

"AN IMPORTANT theoretical statement on methods of sound cultural analysis."—Ruth Benedict, *New York Herald Tribune.*

"A scholar's exposition of the theory of culture in terms of the operating needs of the human organism. In addition to the theory, however, practical applications to the various requirements of mankind are analyzed and studied in comprehensible language."—*Current History.*

238 pp. 5⅜" x 8". $3.00.

SCIENCE AND THE IDEA OF GOD

By William Ernest Hocking

"IT IS sure, clear, penetrating, compact, careful and courageous. The author has convictions, but they emerge in every case as the conclusions of an acute analysis and an impressive argument. ...he writes with notable simplicity. All who have followed recent and current discussions of science and religion, will profit immensely from this little volume."—Charles W. Lowry, *The Living Church.*

136 pp. 5½" x 8". $1.50.

A STATE UNIVERSITY SURVEYS THE HUMANITIES

Edited with a Foreword by Loren C. MacKinney, Nicholson B. Adams, and Harry K. Russell

THE Division of the Humanities of the University of North Carolina offers the present symposium as a contribution to the larger sesquicentennial enterprise in which the University takes stock of its past, present, and future in the educational world. Claiming no monopoly of humanistic or liberal education, the authors conceive of the humanities not as *fields* of study so much as *modes* of study, believing that every course in a university can appropriately embody the humanistic ideal and can thus inculcate attitudes and habits of approach characteristic of informed and mature persons.

The pattern is chronological. An introductory essay traces the history of humanistic studies and attitudes in the University as revealed in its catalogues, courses of study, and the pronouncements of its faculty in the past; eleven essays discuss the humanities and the humanistic ideal in the fields of university education today; four present the views of professional men; and a concluding essay envisages the state university of the future as one whose entire program is dominated by the spirit of the humanities.

272 pp. 6″ x 9″. October 13. $4.00.

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE

Edited by Robert E. Coker

PAPERS presented in a series of meetings at Chapel Hill during the Conference on Research and Regional Welfare, which formed a part of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the University of North Carolina. Among the authors are Wilson Compton, President of Washington State College; Wilbur A. Lazier, Director of the Southern Research Institute; Russell M. Wilder, of the Mayo Clinic and Mayo Foundation; Brigadier General James Stevens Simmons, Chief, Preventive Medicine Service, Officer of the Surgeon General, U. S. Army; Avery Craven, Professor of History, University of Chicago; David E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority; North Carolina Governor R. Gregg Cherry; and President Frank P. Graham.

256 pp. 6″ x 9″. November 24. $3.00.

SESQUICENTENNIAL PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

STUDIES IN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. Edited by George R. Coffman. $3.00.

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. Edited by R. E. Coker. $3.00.

STUDIES IN SCIENCE. Edited by W. C. Coker. $2.50.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1789-1835: A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY. Edited by R. D. W. Connor. $5.00.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL: DISSERTATIONS AND THESES. Edited by F. M. Green, et al. $3.00.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN ACTION. Edited by R. M. Grumman. $2.00.

THE FIRST STATE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS. Edited by Archibald Henderson. $3.50.

PIONEERING A PEOPLE'S THEATER. Edited by Archibald Henderson. $2.00.

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL: RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS. Edited by E. W. Knight. $4.00.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

January 2, 1946

Mrs.
~~Miss~~ Alice T. Paine
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. ~~Miss~~ Paine:

So Senator Bilbo has written a book! I shall be glad to look over the manuscript. Send it on as soon as it is ready.

I know you will be glad when Mr. Wilson, your new director, takes office. I think that he is a fine person, and will make a good director for the Press.

New Year's greetings from Mrs. Johnson and myself.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Dictated 12/28/45

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS · CHAPEL HILL · N · C

December 26, 1945

RECEIVED
DEC 28 1945
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

A manuscript has been submitted to us by Senator Bilbo, entitled SEPARATION OR MONGRELIZATION, WHICH? and we are wondering if you can read it for us.

That sounds like a calm statement, but I assure you that the situation has caused a lot of vibration within our Director-less walls. However, we called Mr. Wettach, Chairman of the Board of Governors, into consultation, and it was agreed that we should secure readers for the MS, in accordance with our usual procedure.

Since Senator Bilbo wrote that he wished to quote freely from Mr. Couch's Foreword to WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, as well as for other obvious reasons, we asked Mr. Couch to read the manuscript. He agreed and it is now in his hands. He sent his opinion a day or so ago, and we expect the manuscript back shortly.

We need another reader, however, and I hope very much that you can do it for us. It is not a long manuscript and is in good condition for reading. I have not yet read it myself, but I think it is not footnoted - at least not heavily. I imagine you could go through it in two or three hours.

We expect our new Director, Mr. T. J. Wilson, to take office early in January, so that he will be on hand for a final focusing of readers' opinions.

Senator Bilbo's approach to the Press was interesting. He said he very much admired the format of WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS, and wanted his book to be as nearly like it typographically, etc., as possible.

This is, almost literally, a cry for help, but if you feel that you cannot read the manuscript, we will, of course, understand.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Johnson.

Sincerely yours,

Alice T. Paine

atp/a

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS · CHAPEL HILL · N·C

January 4, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room.432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We are sending you by insured express Theo. G. Bilbo's manuscript, SEPARATION OR MONGRELIZATION, TAKE YOUR CHOICE. We look forward to having your opinion of this work.

We are enclosing herewith a label and other material for your convenience when you are ready to return the manuscript to us.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille Varner

Lucille Varner
Secretary to the Director

encl.
v

FROM Johnson

U.N.C. PRESS, Chapel Hill, N.C., U.S.A.

Order No.

To:

The University of North Carolina Press
Bynum Hall
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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(Form 5081-J)

A.M.
P.M.

For the Company

February 20, 1946

Mrs. Alice T. Paine
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Paine:

You are no doubt wondering why I have not sent you a report on the Bilbo manuscript long before this. The truth is, I have been so much on the go for the past month that I simply could not get around to reading the manuscript.

I have at last gone over the manuscript and I am giving my opinions in the accompanying memorandum. My opinions are presented very briefly, but I thought there was no need to waste a lot of words.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

MEMORANDUM

February 20, 1946

To: University of North Carolina Press

Subject: Senator Bilbo's manuscript, Separation or Mongrelization

From: Guy B. Johnson

The desirability and practicability of colonizing American Negroes in Africa is a question which is probably worthy of objective examination. Unfortunately, Senator Bilbo's manuscript does not qualify as a serious approach to this question. It is a tract, and not a very convincing tract, unless you already agree with the author.

The manuscript is done with a certain cleverness, but it falls far short of being an effective presentation, even if one accepted the Senator's premises.

The author's "science" is atrocious. It goes counter to the whole trend of scientific knowledge about race. Practically all of the authors whom he cites are writers like Shufeldt, Schultz, DeGobineau and Shannon, who are out-dated and discredited.

Many of Senator Bilbo's remarks about persons--Negroes, Jews, and people like Mrs. Roosevelt who are sincerely interested in making this country more democratic--are in exceedingly bad taste.

Although Senator Bilbo has done a fair-to-middling job of presenting his pet idea and has written with more restraint than I had expected, I do not consider his work worthy of publication by the University of North Carolina Press.

If I may be permitted a word on policy, I should like to say that I am afraid that if the University Press published this work it would inevitably be acused of "sponsoring" Senator Bilbo's ideas. Senator Bilbo has as much right as anyone to get his ideas published, but I believe that he should either make a deal with a commercial publisher or print the book privately.

GBJ:IBT

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

March 1, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We wish to thank you very much for your excellent report on Senator Bilbo's manuscript, SEPARATION OR MONGRELIZATION--TAKE YOUR CHOICE.

Your report is an unusually helpful one and we are following your advice in rejecting the work. We appreciate very much the time you have given us in this matter.

We enclose herewith our check for ten dollars in payment for your services on this manuscript.

Again, thanks for your aid.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille Varner
Lucille Varner
Secretary to the Director

encl.
v

UNC Press

March 6, 1946

Mr. Thomas J. Wilson, Director
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thank you for your letters of February 20 and February 27. I did not give you a prompt reply to the earlier letter because I knew that the Bilbo manuscript and my memorandum about it were on their way to the Press at the time you wrote me. I trust that the manuscript arrived safely. It would be a shame for such a valuable piece of work to be lost!

On the matter of finding a good author for a book on the churches and the Negro, I am sorry to say that I know of very few people who could do an authoritative and objective work on this subject. Perhaps I should not say it, but the best material on this subject that I know of is the lengthy memorandum which my wife prepared for the Carnegie-Myrdal study of the Negro in America. She has wanted very much to get the work ready for publication, but since we moved to Atlanta she has been engaged in full-time work as Executive Secretary of the Georgia Conference on Social Welfare. She cannot say at present when she might be able to get back to her real interest, research.

Dr. W. A. Smart, of Emory University, is a good scholar and historian on religious matters. If he could find the time to undertake the work, I am sure he would do a good job. Others who might be considered are Dr. Edward A. McDowell and Dr. O. T. Binkley, both of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. If I think of other possibilities, I shall write you again later.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.
February 27, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I believe that you know we have been considering for publication a manuscript called THE AMERICAN CHURCHES AND THE NEGRO by W. D. Weatherford of Fisk University. We have now had a very conclusive report on this manuscript from a reader whose opinion we trust completely. The opinion is definitely negative as to the value of this present book and leaves us with no choice but to reject it. However, the same opinion and advice we have had from a lot of people, lead us to think that the subject is worth a good book. Do you have any suggestions as to people who might be able to turn out a really first class treatment of this theme? I should greatly appreciate hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson
Director

tjw v

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 20, 1946

Mr. Guy Johnson
95 East Wesley Road
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Senator Bilbo is getting a little insistent about knowing our decision regarding his book. I think actually we might have given it to him much earlier but, for the sake of the record, I should like to know your opinion as soon as you can give it to us.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson
Director

tjw v

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS · CHAPEL HILL · N·C

March 8, 1946

RECEIVED
MAR 11 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of March 6 came in this morning. It reminded me that I have owed you a reply, for sometime, to your letter of February 20. I am awfully glad you brought to my mind the project concerning the possibility of a book on the American Indian by Dr. La Barre. That idea is excellent and we shall certainly try to follow it up. I have heard of La Barre for a long time and know his reputation to be excellent. I will also learn whether he intends to do anything in writing about his war experiences.

Thanks also for the information about possible authors for a good book on American Churches and the Negro. We have to ponder over this a little longer, but the ~~suggestion~~ subject interests me a lot and I shall hope to do something with it.

Many thanks to you.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson
Director

tjw v

September 13, 1946

Mr. Thomas J. Wilson, Director
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wilson:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 28. I would have answered sooner, but I have just recently returned from a vacation and am gradually digging through the correspondence which accumulated during my absence.

I am enthusiastic about the magazine which you have described in your letter. I know that various ventures of this sort have been tried and that they have usually failed, but I believe that the South has now developed to the point that it will support this kind of publication.

I shall be glad for you to use my name as one of the interested persons, and we will be glad to help publicize the magazine at the proper time through our monthly paper, New South.

I think that the editorial slate from which the editorial board is to be selected is very good. The only criticism I might have is that it is a little weighted in favor of the upper South. Such names as Harnett T. Kane, Thomas Sancton and Hodding Carter might help to put the proposal across in the deep South.

It is quite possible that I shall be in Chapel Hill sometime late in October. If so, I certainly want to come to see you. In the meantime, very best wishes for the success of your plans for the new magazine.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MJ

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

August 28, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Early this spring the idea of creating a new popular magazine to serve the South began to circulate and to gain enthusiastic backing among a group of us here in Chapel Hill. This magazine has been thought of as a quarterly, to be published by the University of North Carolina Press. It would be of and for the whole South, rather than Chapel Hill or North Carolina only. It would publish creative literary and artistic work, as well as articles of political, historical, scientific, economic, social, and literary analysis. It would represent no one point of view to the exclusion of others, but would rather attempt to present a true cross-section of enlightened opinion. Its staff would be composed of an Editor, two Associate Editors, an Executive Editor, and a board of twelve Consulting Editors, drawn from the entire region and as representative as possible of the range of content desired for publication. This idea as a whole has the approval of the University Administration, but the magazine would not be in any sense an official publication of the University of North Carolina.

Obviously the large question in determining the feasibility of publishing the projected magazine is the financial one. In order to answer that question, a Finance Committee has been appointed which is now drafting a prospectus to be submitted to potential donors of funds. Though no attempt is to be made until fall to name the Editor and his staff, it is believed that the job of raising money will be much easier if the prospectus includes a tentative slate from which the various editors may later be selected. This tentative editorial slate, which includes your name, is as follows:

Hartley Carter

Agatha Adams	Archibald Henderson	William T. Polk
Barry Bingham	Harriet Herring	Harry K. Russell
Marjorie Bond	S. H. Hobbs	Phillips Russell
W. T. Couch	A. P. Hudson	Archibald Rutledge
C. C. Crittenden	Guy Johnson	Don C. Shoemaker
Virginius Dabney	Edgar Knight	J. C. Sitterson
Donald Davidson	Helmut Kuhn	Walter Spearman
Mark Etheridge	Hugh T. Lefler	Hudson Strode
Norman Foerster	Clare Leighton	B. L. Ullman
Paul Green	Frances Gray Patton	Rupert B. Vance
Lodwick C. Hartley	H. C. Nixon	Newman I. White
Clarence Heer	Rembert C. Patrick	Harry Wolf

The prospectus now being prepared will include more of the finan-

cial and editorial plans for the new magazine than can conveniently be included in a letter. A copy of this prospectus will be sent you as soon as it is printed. Meanwhile, I should add that we do not intend to launch the periodical hurriedly or without due preparation. Enough excellent material for at least four quarterly issues must, according to present intentions, be in view before the first issue is published. Enough money to provide for all costs for five years must be obtained before publication is begun.

The members of the group interested in the new magazine are anxious to obtain your help in making further plans, as well as permission to use your name in the manner indicated. I trust you will be willing to cooperate with us, and, as chairman of the committee preparing the prospectus, I hope you will give me your views at your early convenience.

Respectfully yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson, Director
The University of North Carolina Press

tjw s

September 19, 1946

Mr. Thomas J. Wilson, Director
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wilson:

I would like very much to read the Ford manuscript, but I am afraid I shall have to beg off this time. My schedule for the next two months is so heavy that I simply cannot promise to do justice to the manuscript. I am terribly sorry.

I believe that Dr. John Gillen, who has recently joined the Sociology Department there at the University, could give you a very good estimate of the value of Ford's manuscript. Another suggestion is Dr. Arthur Raper, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MJ

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

September 17, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We have here a manuscript called FIGHTING WITH WORDS by Nick Aaron Ford, which is a sort of history and analysis of the Negro's use of writing and speaking, etc., to advance his cause. The manuscript has been read a couple of times here and seems to have promise, but we are not definitely certain of our attitude toward it or of the possibilities of its standing on its own feet financially.

Would you be able to read this manuscript for us within the next month or so? I would greatly appreciate your help in the matter, since I feel certain your opinion would be of value to us. Please let me hear from you at your early convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson
Director

tjw f

March 11, 1947

Mr. George F. Scheer, Sales Manager
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Scheer:

Thank you for the letter concerning the new book, published by the University Press, entitled Into The Main Stream by Charles S. Johnson.

I am sure that this book is an excellent one and we shall be glad to do what we can to encourage its distribution. We can review it in New South and if you will supply us with about 5000 circulars we shall be glad to use them.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:ms

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

March 6, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Today under separate cover we are sending you an advance copy of our book INTO THE MAIN STREAM by Charles S. Johnson, to be published on April 12. We are taking the liberty of sending this complimentary copy to you because we are confident that it is the sort of book in which you personally and the Council at large are interested, aside from any comment or evaluation of the work of the Council contained in its pages.

I am not sure how much you may know about the plan and text of the book. As its subtitle indicates, it is a survey of the best practices in race relations now developing in the South. New patterns and advances in Negro citizenship, community relations, employment, health, education, housing, art, and entertainment, the press, the church and religion are reviewed for all the southern states by reporters in the field, as well as by the use of newspaper and other published sources. It is actually a new approach to race relations, for one of its fundamental purposes is the presentation of better practices which are often ignored in favor of the drama of "noisy anti-race demagoguery." While it will give heart to those who have worked for better understanding, it does not fail to make plain that there is still a long way to go. Perhaps, in short, I might say that it is a summing-up of gains so far.

We hope that after examining the book you will feel that you personally and your Council can give us aid and support in the distribution of the book throughout our region and the country at large. We should be very glad to know your comments.

Very sincerely yours

George F. Scheer

George F. Scheer
Sales and Advertising Manager

gfs k

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

April 8, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
Courtland Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Rec'd Apr. 10.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The University of North Carolina Press has in contemplation at the present time a book dealing with certain aspects of Southern labor about which I should like to talk with you and concerning which I should very much like to have your suggestions. I expect to be in Atlanta during the early or middle part of next week. I shall get in touch with your office and hope very much that you will be in town and that it will be possible for us to get together.

Very truly yours,

John Fries Blair

John Fries Blair
The University of North Carolina Press

jfb/b

Had lunch with him Apr. 15. Discussed a book which Press wants to do on labor in South
GBJ

April 29, 1947

Mr T.J. Wilson, Director
The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Mr Wilson: Thanks for your letter okaying our use of the Catawba Valley matter in Dr Vance's book. We shall credit the material as you ask. It will be some months, probably, before we can work up the material and illustrations for the special issue.

It seems I'm imposing on you more than I intend. I have Dr Charles S. Johnson's permission, conditional upon your own, to reprint the introduction to Into the Main Stream in the forthcoming issue of our publication, New South. Dr Johnson's book is reviewed in the April issue.

His introduction is such an apposite statement of the approach of the Southern Regional Council that we'd like to print it. We hope, too, that by doing so we may encourage a fair number of our 3,000-odd readers to read his entire book; so I think I can say we may be able to help its sale somewhat.

We would, of course, fully credit your press. If you can give me your okay on this, I'd appreciate it by collect wire so that I may proceed with getting it into type.

Thanks for your good cooperation.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick
Public Relations Director

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS · CHAPEL HILL · N · C

April 25, 1947

RECEIVED
APR 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Ray Warwick
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Warwick:

Pursuant to the letter written you on 23 April by Professor Rupert B. Vance, I am writing to confirm his statement of the willingness of The University of North Carolina Press to permit you to quote freely from the Catawba Valley section of his book, ALL THESE PEOPLE, in the pamphlet you are planning.

I must ask you, however, to acknowledge the source of your material exactly as follows:

> Reprinted from ALL THESE PEOPLE by
> Rupert B. Vance by permission of
> The University of North Carolina Press.
> Copyright, 1946, by The University of
> North Carolina Press.

This statement can appear on the copyright page of your pamphlet or on the page on which your quotation from Mr. Vance begins.

Very truly yours,

Thomas J. Wilson

Thomas J. Wilson
Director

tjw f

May 21, 1947

The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

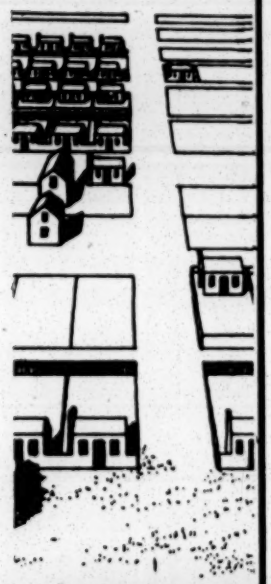
Please send us one copy of Georgia: A Short History, by E. Merton Coulter, giving us the advantage of any special discount available to an educational, non-profit organization of this type.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r



The State of Georgia

and how it got that way . . .

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Georgia's last twelve years have been the most important years of all—socially, politically, economically. And here is the only up-to-date one volume history of the State of Georgia that objectively covers not only its formative years but also that recent newsworthy period of turmoil and change. It's fascinating reading about a fascinating state — from the time when Benjamin Martyn wrote propaganda to lure pioneers to this rich, new country — through the Arnall administration. And this is reading that makes clear the reason why Georgia and Georgians are what they are.

Dr. Coulter, distinguished writer and teacher, has related in one short volume the most consequential, dramatic and colorful happenings of more than four centuries in the sand-clay plains, the red Piedmont hills, and the rugged mountains of the land of peaches and Coca-Cola.

James Oglethorpe, Mary Musgrove, James Habersham, Alexander Stephens, Henry W. Grady, Eugene Talmadge, Ellis Arnall — all the colorful characters who have made Georgia what it is move through this vivid story of a great state, its time and its people.

GEORGIA: A Short History

by E. MERTON COULTER

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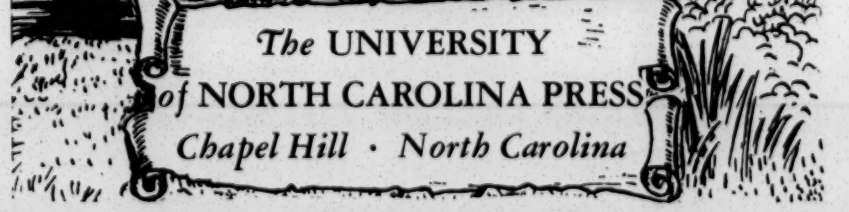

The UNIVERSITY *of* NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill · North Carolina

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
BOX 510
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Please send me ..... cop..... of GEORGIA: A SHORT HISTORY by E. Merton Coulter at $4.50 per copy.

Cash enclosed..... Name .....

Send C.O.D..... Address .....

Bill me..... .....

Univ. of NC Press

May 13, 1948

Miss Porter Cowles
University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Cowles:

We still have not found a publisher for the Georgia manuscript.

This letter is to release whatever shadowy indenture may have been made for the paper for the book.

We are grateful for your willingness to be of help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

37 - Univ of N.C. Press

June 14, 1948

University of North Carolina Press
Chapel, North Carolina

Dear UNC Press:

This reviews our telephone conversation this morning regarding the proposed compilation volume by Cullen Gosnell and G. Mitchell.

In the absence of Miss Cowles until July 6, we assume that decision as to whether the University of North Carolina Press will print the book can not be made until some few days after that date. Nevertheless, we are earnestly in hopes that meanwhile the Press will use energetic measures to obtain the several opinions of the several specialist readers who presumably are at work on the manuscript.

Professor Gosnell tells me that he believes Miss Cowles had every hope of getting a decision as to the volume before June 1.

Gosnell has had a show of interest from one or two other publishers. We assume it is now desperately late to get the volume out for use this autumn, were it to be handed to another publisher.

We modestly think that the book is a sure shot and cheap to produce successfully, and we continue, therefore, to hope that Chapel Hill will take it and will get it printed during midsummer.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Copy to Mr. Cullen Gosnell

UNC Press

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

April 6, 1951

RECEIVED
APR 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

I am sending you under separate cover an advance copy of Wilson Record's THE NEGRO AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY, which we are publishing on April 28. I consider it one of the most important books this Press has recently published and a model of conscientious fact-finding and scrupulously fair presentation. I do hope you will have an early opportunity to read it and I will appreciate it greatly if you will let me know what you think of it.

Sincerely yours,

Lambert Davis

Lambert Davis,
Director

LD/c

I know you will want to do something with this book. Let me have your ideas.

August 4, 1954

Dr. Gordon Blackwell
Institute of Social Sciences
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

Somebody in Charlottesville sent me your good speech there for the Virginia Teachers.

I liked it very much, and I am glad you did it and said the things you did.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

March 7, 1955

Miss Helen Parker
University of North
Carolina Press
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Dear Miss Parker:

Short word of thanks for your good letter of February 28th.

We look forward to receiving a copy of "The Urban South" and will be sending marked copies of New South as that and other books from the UNC Press are noted.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

Chapel Hill, N. C.

February 28, 1955

Mr. Harold C.Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Lambert Davis has turned your letter of February 23rd over to me. We are both delighted with the improved format of the New South. This note is just to let you know that a copy of THE URBAN SOUTH has been sent you and that we are putting you on our review list for books of a similiar nature.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Parker

Helen Parker
Promotion Director

HP:bh

May 17, 1955

Dictated May 16

Mr. Gordon W. Blackwell
Director
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

A couple of us here have read nearly all, or good long stretches of Charles Mangum's manuscript.

It is a difficult manuscript to decide the best use for. I am not a lawyer and don't know how lawyers get their facts together, but I should think that it would be helpful to lawyers having cases in any of the fields covered by the book. I do not think that it would have very wide appeal beyond legal circles. Accordingly, I would hope that it could be published by a law journal or a law school. Failing publication, I think it would be helpful to people carrying legal and organizational jobs in any of these fields, if the book were available in mimeographed form -- say three or four hundred copies. Unfortunately, I haven't got the staff or the money to help with turning out such a mimeographed edition.

If the manuscript were to be prepared for printing, or even for mimeographing, I should think it would be of much help if the chapters could be broken down into a lot of subheadings. Often that would mean cracking a long section into two subheads or three. Also, the book really ought to have a mountainous index. It is a reference book and not a narrative; and those who will turn to it will be much assisted by a careful index.

Mangum has done mountains of work on it, and I would like to see his work made available. Unfortunately, I haven't got any way that the Council could help on getting it out.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

April 29, 1955

MAY 3 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Charles Mangum tells me that you have indicated interest in reading his manuscript on "The Negro and The Law, 1940-1954." We are sending you a copy under separate cover.

Since we undertook the sponsorship of this project more than a year ago, I have been hopeful that this would be the sort of thing which SRC would be interested in publishing. I hope you will read it with this in mind.

Although the University Press published his earlier book on this subject in 1940, the present piece is more on the order of a brochure and is not the sort of thing which the Press usually publishes. It is against our policy to publish directly through the Institute since we do not get into the business of distribution and collections. I would think that if SRC should undertake to publish this, you would have enough sales to at least break even. If you cannot do this, is there any way by which you and the Institute could jointly publish this, with your agency handling distribution and collections? If we put money into its publication, it would have to be with the hope that a good part of our investment could be returned through the proceeds of sales.

Or perhaps you have other ideas as to how this could be published. We shall greatly appreciate your suggestions.

Cordially yours,

Gordon W. Blackwell

Gordon W. Blackwell
Director

GWB:ep

May 25, 1956

Mr. N. J. Demerath
Research Professor and Chairman, ORG
P. O. Box 630
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Nick:

I haven't acknowledged your very welcome last letter, largely because I've just been to New York and thought I might have some interesting information to relay. I spent a good while at the Fund for the Republic with Frank Loescher and others. Frank asked me to convey his regards to you.

Our various studies are going ahead reasonably well. We are preparing the findings of our desegregation survey for publication, which was the main reason for the New York trip. Phil Hammer's industrialization study is under way and should yield some basic information that will transcend the race question in importance. We are also about to launch a couple of one-man field inquiries into the nature and leadership of the resistance movements.

Your comments on the suffrage study were much appreciated. As a result of my talk with Alex Heard, I've altered the approach a bit to emphasize such spot studies as you suggest. We now have personnel lined up in about seven of the twelve states, and I'm working on prospects in the others. Incidentally, Wayne Kernodle is going to be away this summer and couldn't take on Virginia, but he made some very helpful recommendations, one of which should work out.

When we have progressed a little further, I will probably be calling you to see if there is any chance of our arranging for another get-to-gether - a less hectic one this time! Meanwhile the very best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

P.S. I have made note of Mr. Fein as a potential resource.

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

ORGANIZATION RESEARCH GROUP
BOX 630, CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
TELEPHONE 2616

May 29, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

John Hope and I were both in attendance at the Applied Anthropology meetings in Boston over the weekend. This gave us a chance to talk about the Council program. And, it also reaffirmed my high opinion of John as a wise and effective man. Incidentally, he was elected a vice-president of the Society.

Your letter sounds as though you are moving along in good shape. I will be happy to talk with you or meet with you anytime after June 22nd. We are leaving town Saturday for a week of visiting in New England and two weeks of sailing on the Chesapeake.

Sincerely,

Nick

N. J. Demerath
Research Professor
and Chairman, ORG

NJD/sc

June 14, 1957

Miss Anne Queen
Y.M.C.A. - Y.W.C.A.
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Anne:

This is indeed sad news to be writing to you but it is in connection with a request for aid similar to what you have performed in the past. Florence Irving is leaving us July 15, to return to North Carolina.

Needless to say we are very sorry to lose Florence.

We are wondering if you could perform the same kind of service as you did when you located Florence for us.

We thought of Jolee Fritz and wondered if she would be interested in coming back south again. Do you have her present address, and if there is any one else whom you know who would work out here at the Council, we would appreciate hearing from you.

When are you coming to Atlanta to see us and to get the gifts that we held for you on the return trip that never came off.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

June 25, 1957

Miss Anne E. Queen
Y. W. C. A. - Y. M. C. A.
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Anne:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my request. I am sorry that Jolee is not available now, but I am writing Miss Revelle.

Will you be at Chapel Hill this summer? There is a bare chance that I might get by the Hill sometime this summer.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Young Men's Christian Association

The University of North Carolina

Chapel Hill, North Carolina

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DEAN OF STUDENT AFFAIRS

June 19, 1957

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I regret to hear that Florence will be leaving; however it will be good to have her back in North Carolina. What are her plans.

I have one person to suggest, she is Nancy Revelle, McIver Dormitory, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Nancy is a graduate student in History and I have no idea whether she will be willing to give up her graduate work. However, if she did she would be excellent.

Jolee Fritz has just accepted a job with the American Friend Service Committee in Columbus, Ohio.

I do not know when I will get to Atlanta but please save my gifts, if you get to Chapel Hill, I am going to ask you to bring them.

I am going to ask Walter Spearman and Pete Ivey if they have any suggestions as to persons who might be interested in your job. I will arrange to talk to Guy Johnson.

Give my greetings to Fred and Bill.

Sincerely yours,

Anne

Anne E. Queen

AEQ:mc

November 8, 1957

The University of North Carolina Press
Chapel Hill,
North Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send us one copy of "Racial Discrimination and Private Education" by Arthur S. Miller. We are enclosing our check (No. 1419) in the amount of $3.50 to cover cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encl. (Check)

LWD
In case you didn't see this
mf

June 12, 1959

Mr. Walter Spearman
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Walter:

Thanks for your good letter. It was a real treat to see you again after so many years -- and, more important, to plan with you an exciting project.

Les and I are glad to hear that the research is going well. If you need anything further from here, let us know.

We have discussed the question raised by Pete Ivey of the News Bureau and both feel that it would be best to withhold any publicity until we can release the report itself. Then we can all pitch in to get it a good ride in the press.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

June 9, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Mr. Leslie Dunbar.
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED JUN 10 1959

Dear Both of You:

First of all, thanks for your finehospitality and warm welcome when I was in Atlanta last week. I could not think of an organization or a pair of bosses I'd rather work with in this torrid month of June. I enjoyed my time spent in the office very much — and also the lunches we had together, complete with planked seafood and excellent conversation, even though part of it had to be devoted to Army life and Camp Lee, Va.

Yesterday and today I have dug out all the newspaper files that we had in the office that can be used on our project and have started going through them. Tomorrow on to the additional files in the library here and the next day I hope to check on Duke University.

North CarolinaCollege in Durham has a complete file of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, which I am welcome to make use of. The only remaining uncertainty is the Charleston News and Courier, but I have now collected what we have here andwill see if either Duke or N.C. College might possibly have more. If anything is missing, I shall write to the News and Courier office to request the missing copies.

Last Saturday morning, before I left Atlanta, I had a good visit with Eliza Paschall — and a long talk about Walter. She showed me some of the fine lettersxx she had received from the various organizations Walter had worked with — andthey were eloquent. She has already sold their big house andbought a smaller one near Emory. It has been a most trying ordeal, I know, but she and the children seem very well adjusted and are moving forward with their plans now.

Today I was talking to Pete Ivey, director of our UNC News Bureau, about the project I was working on; and he wanted to release a news story on it. However, I told him I thought you might prefer to have nothing released on it until you had the finished manuscript, but told him I would inquire what your opinion might be. Do you have anyfeeling one way or the other?

Now back to work — and thanks again for all your splendid help. I hope we will come up with something worth while.

Sincerely,

Walter

Walter Spearman

BC: Mr. J. M. Dabbs

October 26, 1959

Dr. Keith McKean
North Carolina State College
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. McKean:

Mr. Dabbs has shared with us your very interesting manuscript "Civil Rights and Science," which I am returning enclosed.

The analysis is a stimulating and insightful one, and I wish I could offer the Council's services as publisher. But, as Mr. Dabbs has probably suggested, this kind of scholarly analysis is simply not within our province.

I should think and hope that one of the professional journals would see the merit of publishing the manuscript.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. (Manuscript)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RECEIVED SEP 24 1959

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

September 23, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am sending under zseparate cover a manuscript sent me, with my permission, by Dr. Keith McKean, of the North Carolina State College. He wanted my criticism and my opinion of the possibility of its publication by SRC. I discouraged him when I talked with him this summer at Blue Ridge, but mainly because I thought it was a full-length book. Having seen it, I doubt if it's any longer than the pamphlet on voting you've just published. But it looks to me in the main like an essay, of which so far as I know we've published none, and not like an informative pamphlet. I would appreciate it, however, if you, or Dunbar, or whoever you say would look over it. I think it's interesting, it probably would be helpful if thoughtful Southerners would read it, though, as I told him, I'm somewhat doubtful and confused about the prominence he gives to the history of abstract thought in section 2. Of course, he could sharpen the whole thing up. The question I'm asking you is whether it is all all within the province and capacity of SRC.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs
President

in number, are in effect the governing body.

December ~~19~~ 18, 1959

Mr. Richard L. Simpson
Research Associate
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Simpson:

Enclosed is the questionnaire which you sent us some time ago. It has been particularly difficult to answer the questions therein since the Council is not a general membership organization. To add to the confusion our "members," some eighty in number, are in effect the governing body.

Also enclosed is a list of our officers and "members."

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

November 16, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 19 1959

Gentlemen:

This is to invite you to participate in a research project now being conducted at the University of North Carolina.

We are studying voluntary associations throughout the United States, to find out how they fit into, and contribute to, the democratic way of life. Social scientists have theorized about the role of voluntary associations in the individual's life--and have made case studies of particular organizations--but no one has systematically inventoried the goals, activities, and organizational structure of a wide variety of voluntary associations.

We are sending this letter to a randomly chosen sample of voluntary associations in all parts of the United States. The kind of information needed, we feel, can come only from the leaders themselves of these associations.

Complete anonymity of participating organizations will be preserved. The names of organizations will not be mentioned in our analysis, and care will be taken so that no organization can be identified.

Your participation will consist of these steps:

1. Filling out and returning the enclosed questionnaire in the enclosed post-paid envelope.

2. Sending us, if you have them available, a list of affiliated chapters or local units, so that we may contact two or three of these, chosen at random from your list.

3. Sending us, if you are at liberty to share it with us, any list of membership you may have available. A list for a single chapter would be sufficient. We will then contact two or three members chosen at random from this list.

If you are not able to comply with all of these requests, please return the questionnaire anyway. If you cannot answer every question in the questionnaire, please answer as many as you can. If you send us lists of chapters or members, these lists will not be shown to anyone but the research staff of this project. The lists will not be used for commercial solicitation of any kind.

The findings of our study will be made available to participating organizations on request. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Simpson

Richard L. Simpson
Research Associate

RLS:bm

Enclosures

January 6, 1960

Mr. Richard L. Simpson
Research Associate
Institute for Research in Social
Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Simpson:

You are right in assuming that the list of SRC officers and members included in my letter of December 19th constitutes our permission for you to contact those whom you select in regard to your current study.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

Dear Mr. Simpson:

You are right in assuming that the list of SRC dfficers and members included in ~~oxxx~~ my letter of December 19th constitutes our permission for you to contact those whom you select in regard to you current study.

If we can be of further assistance please let us know.

SincPA

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL

January 1, 1960

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for filling out and returning our questionnaire on voluntary associations, and for your letter of December 19.

I can understand the difficulty you encountered in answering some of the questions which were written with a different kind of organization in mind. In view of this difficulty we especially appreciate your answering as many questions as you did.

We also appreciate your sending the list of officers and "members." Assuming that your sending the list constitutes permission, we shall probably send questionnaires to a randomly chosen few of these.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Simpson

Richard L. Simpson
Research Associate

June 17, 1960

Professor Walter Spearman
Department of Journalism
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Walter:

Here at last is an advance copy of the report on the press. (As to the cover, I'll only say that Les handled it; he's currently on vacation.)

It took a long time to get it out, but we're most pleased with the job you and Sylvan did. I think the pamphlet will be a popular and useful one.

We're planning to release it to the press for Monday morning papers, June 27. I've given it a special push with the newsmagazines, for their press sections. We're also planning to send it to all the journalism schools, to at least a selection of newspaper men, and, given Sylvan's concurrence, to the Southern Nieman Fellows Association membership.

Do you have additional suggestions, either for the news release or for complimentary distribution of

the pamphlet? Of course, we will supply you with copies for your own use.

With appreciation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. -- As a matter of course, we will send the pamphlet to our board, other agencies, and various key people.

HCF

November 8, 1960

Dr. George B. Tindall
Associate Professor of History
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Tindall;

Please forgive my delay in answering your recent letter; I have been away from my desk far too much lately.

We were pleased to receive a copy of The Southerner as American, which sets exactly the tone that we feel is most useful. There will be a review soon in New South.

I appreciated, too, the copy of your letter to Mr. Dabbs with respect to William Nicholls' book. Mr. Dabbs will be here this week, and we will be discussing your interesting suggestion with him. If we can work out an SRC project of the sort you suggest, I'll be writing you further.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1960

October 20, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

My thanks for the extra copy of the recent issue of NEW SOUTH giving the results of the survey of convention facilities. I found the results rather disappointing, and I still suspect there are more opportunities in specific instances than the convention bureaus and hotels are willing to admit openly. Also, the thing is in constant flux. I hope you will find it possible to set up this survey on an annual, or at least biennial, basis. I have sent a copy to Ben Wall, Secretary of the Southern Historical Association, at his request, to be copied and sent on to the members of the Council of the Association.

You were on the mailing list for a copy of THE SOUTHERNER AS AMERICAN, edited by Charles G. Sellers, Jr., and published by the UNC Press. I have not yet seen a reference to it in NEW SOUTH. It is a volume that I think would be of interest to your readers and I hope you will call it to their attention.

Sincerely yours,

George B. Tindall

George B. Tindall
Associate Professor
of History

HCF:
MA is doing a review for me for NS.
gc

January 14, 1963

Mr. Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina — file
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

I have heard from Mr. DeVinney and the answer is no. His response was interested but for two reasons negative. He said that the Foundation was not prepared to make a simultaneous second grant to SRC, and I can understand this. As to granting money to the researchers, which I had said in my letter was equally satisfactory, he pointed out that Rockefeller does not make grants "directly" to predoctoral research.

I suppose some organizational device or sponsorship might be worked out that would make another try more promising with either Rockefeller or elsewhere. Quite frankly, Don, I don't want to tackle it. I am so loaded down with work that I simply can't organize myself enough to try to organize somebody else. I still think we would profit by having the collaboration and the interest of academic political scientists, and I believe that there are research opportunities here that are of real importance. But, reluctantly, we are going to let the matter rest.

If you or anybody else wants to take the initiative or if there are any ways at all in which VEP can be of use, let us know. We would be delighted to come along and to respond.

Thank you for the bibliography. I am trying to get through it. Thank you also for the vitae on Bowman. I passed it on to Wiley Branton with a strong suggestion that he consider it.

All the best to you and Maggie.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

(LWD letter to Mr. DeVinney of January 11, 1963)

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

December 12, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is the brief bibliography I promised. I know of nothing else of value remotely related to the kind of research which might emerge from the Voter Education Project.

w/ w Brunton

Enclosed also is a vita on Lewis Bowman, the young man I mentioned over the telephone. It is somewhat out of date, but if you are interested in considering him for a position, you can write him for an up-to-date version.

Lew was an able student, one of the best I have taught here. This evaluation of his academic performance is widely shared in the department, as the fellowships and awards he has won on the basis of departmental vote indicate. He sets high standards for himself, works diligently to attain them, and is never entirely satisfied with the results.

His duties as Staff and Field Director of the Negro Political Participation study required highly varied research skills (which are described in his vita), the exercise of considerable professional judgment, and the direction of a staff which has fluctuated in size from two to seven or eight research assistants. He handled these responsibilities extremely well. The study's biggest administrative crisis (a case of interviewer cheating) occured while Jim Prothro and I were in Mississippi; Lew handled this delicate matter with an extraordinary sense of responsibility, justice, and discretion.

Lew did most of the work on the four community studies which are a part of the Negro Political Participation Study and his dissertation, which should be completed by June, is based on this work he did for us. This experience might be of considerable value to you, especially if your plans to enrich the research aspect of the Voter Education Project materializes.

Finally, Lew Bowman is a pleasant, frank and friendly young man. A native of Western North Carolina, he combines a dedication to the cause of racial justice with a careful, hard-headed, and objective approach to research. Both Jim and I have great respect for him as a man and as a political scientist.

Merry Christmas to you, Peggy, and the children.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Matthews

February 26, 1963

Mr. Walter Hollander, Jr.
Associate Professor of Medicine
Department of Medicine
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hollander:

Thank you for your letter of February 5. I am glad that you and Jack Nelson were able to get together. He is, I think, the best resource you could have had.

Please let us hear from you from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

THE SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE

PA
LD

February 5, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 11 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I just wanted to let you know that thanks to your efforts there was a message awaiting me when I arrived in New Orleans, and I was subsequently put in touch with Mr. John T. Nelson, Jr., who briefed me very thoroughly on the racial situation in New Orleans and more particularly on the prospects for desegregated hotel facilities, which was my particular concern. I learned from him that two cases are now pending in the federal courts which challenge the Louisiana statutes prohibiting hotels and motels from providing room accommodations for both negroes and whites under the same roof; that he, Mr. Nelson, is entirely confident these statutes will be held unconstitutional; and finally, that although this will not of itself require hotels to desegregate, it is his conviction that most of the larger ones will do so very promptly. I gathered from him and from others with whom I spoke that the hotels in New Orleans are suffering economically as a result of a large decrease in the number of national conventions being held in New Orleans.

Again, many thanks for your help without which I would not have been adequately informed prior to the council meeting of the organization of which I was the chairman.

Sincerely,

Walter Hollander, Jr.

Walter Hollander, Jr., M.D.
Associate Professor of Medicine
(Past Chairman, Southern Section
American Federation for Clinical
Research)

WH:dbk

June 18, 1963

To: LWD
From: Minnis
Subject: Comments on Matthews proposal for Negro political science fellowships at North Carolina.

On the whole I would be in favor of this proposal but for one factor--I would fear that other programs that others are contemplating would be of considerably more merit and I wonder if the Mathews proposal would be likely to absorb funds which would otherwise go to these other programs. For example, I know that Bob Moses is now working on a program whereby students would embark upon a college career of six or seven years in which alternate years would be spent in the field working in the various action programs conducted by SNCC. In the Moses program a special social science curriculum would be set up at Tougaloo designed to give theoretical meaning and balance to the fiedl experiences of the students. As I understand it, Moses has already secured the acceptance of this program by Tougaloo and is now working on financial support. I suspect he will be seeking such support from thesame sources mentioned by Mathews. I think the Moses program has a really promising potential for preparing Southern Negroes to lead their people in the necessary direction. In this respect I think it is far superior to the Mathews program, for these reasons:

(1) The Moses program would provide not only intellectual training but also a practical experiential background in the social and economic problems which political leadership must deal with. It would be much less likely to develop a "leadership class" primarily involved with its own interests, rather than theinterests of the people;

(2) I do not agree that political science, as it is usually taught (to the exclusion of the subject-matter of the other social science disciplines) "has more to teach Negro youths about their future civic roles than any other single discipline." Furthermore, the political behavior sub-discipline has thus far ignored the social and economi implications of its subject matter, preferring to treat it from the point of view of psychology. This peculiarity ensures that problems and solutions will be viewed as internal to human organisms rather than as behavioral manifestations of the socio-economic environment. So long as political science refuses to relate its subject matter to practical solutions to social and economic problems, it is not likely to develop leadership that is intellectually prepared to resolve those problems.

(3) Academic political scientists have not thus far distinguished themselves as leaders of popular movements and I doubt that, without a fundamental change in their institutional environment, they are likely to produce such leaders among their students. In short, I think the Mathews program would be directed toward ~~an elite~~ developing an elite clique who would be largely out of touch with the masses of Negroes and who would regard them--no matter how well this might be hidden--with disdain.

If there were an infinite universe of support upon which programs of this kind could draw, then I should recommend that all angles be used, and that programs like Mathews suggests be included. But, of course, the universe is far from infinite, and I just don't see the promise in developing further the type of intellectual eunuch which constitutes a very large proportion of our graduate school production, when there is a possibility of devoting funds to more promising programs.

Would it be possible that Mathews and Chapel Hill could be interested in the Moses-type alternative ?

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

June 10, 1963

file

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a draft proposal to establish a special fellowship program at Chapel Hill for Negro graduate students and professors of political science. Would you be willing to give us your candid reactions to the idea? If it is a good idea, does the proposal make the the best case for it?

We are planning to send the final version of the proposal to one of the national foundations. The Field and Taconic Foundations are among those we are considering. How do you think they would view such a proposal? Whom should we contact on their staffs? Do you have any other ideas about sources of funds?

If you are too busy to write a reply, or your reactions are too lengthy or complex easily to commit to paper, call me collect at 942-4763, Area Code 919, and we can talk over the entire project.

Give my best to Peggy.

Sincerely,

Donald R. Matthews

DRM:bb
Enclosure

Negro Fellowship Program Proposal
3rd Draft
June 8, 1963

The Department of Political Science of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill proposes the establishment of a special fellowship program in political science for Negro postgraduate students and professors from the southern states. It is proposed that the program begin in September, 1964 for a six year period. The foundation support required for such a program is $91,500.

The need for such a program, and the ability and desire of the Department of Political Science at the University of North Carolina to provide it, are described below. A description of the proposed fellowship program and a tentative budget make up the remainder of this proposal.

THE NEED FOR CIVIC EDUCATION OF SOUTHERN NEGROES

Negroes are participating in the politics and government of the South in rapidly increasing numbers. For example, Myrdal and his associates estimated that almost 250,000 Negroes—5 per cent of the adult nonwhite population of the former Confederate states—were registered to vote in 1940.[1] Today over 1,500,000 southern Negroes, or almost one-third of those meeting the age requirement, are registered voters.[2] Negro political organizations have grown up at a breakneck pace since Smith v. Allwright in 1944. Negro public officials—both elected and appointed—are becoming increasingly common, especially in the cities of the "upper" and "peripheral" South. The evidence indicates that these revolutionary developments will continue in the years ahead.[3]

Education has not kept pace with these changes in southern life. Almost all Negroes still attend segregated educational institutions, from the first grade through college, and this unfortunate circumstance is likely to remain the case for some years. Following the lead of Booker T. Washington and the wishes of white benefactors and controllers of Negro educational institutions, the emphasis in Negro education in the South is vocational, not civic. Before Smith v. Allwright the neglect of the political education of southern Negroes was a realistic adjustment to the hard facts of their existence—very few Negroes would participate in the political process. Under present day conditions, this neglect of Negro political education is a potentially dangerous anachronism.

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[1] G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. 488.

[2] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959 Report and 1961 Report, Vol. 1, "Voting."

[3] See D. R. Matthews and James W. Prothro, "Social and Economic Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South" and "Political Factors and Negro Voter Registration in the South," American Political Science Review, Vol. LVII (March and June, 1963).

This imbalance in the education of southern Negro youths is particularly unfortunate at the college level. College students are the future leaders of their race, and their competent performance of political roles is critical to the prospects for their own race, region, and the nation. Without politically competent leadership, the present drive further to increase the rate of Negro political participation struggles under a major handicap: empirical studies demonstrate that an educated and economically independent leadership class enhances the electoral participation of all Negroes in southern communities.[4] Southern politics is still predominantly a politics of fluid factionalism, a situation which makes it unusually difficult for all voters—but especially the more poorly educated ones—to determine where their self-interest lies.[5] If southern Negroes are to vote themselves equality and racial justice, their votes must be organized and led. Finally, the dilemmas of minority group leadership are unusually difficult and require quite extraordinary political skills to solve.[6] Thus, the need for political and civic education, particularly on the college level, is a major one.

The Poverty of Political Science at Southern Negro Colleges

The proper content of an adequate political and civic education has been endlessly disputed.[7] Certainly, however, a general liberal arts training is called for. Beyond this, political science is an especially appropriate subject for intensive and specialized study by students facing major civic responsibilities in the future. We do not for one moment argue that political science is the only academic discipline with anything to teach future Negro leaders, or that all undergraduate students of political science should or, in fact, do become community leaders. We do believe, however, that our discipline has more to teach Negro youths about their future civic roles than any other single discipline and that students of political science tend to be considerably more active and effective in political and community affairs than the average college graduate.

Very few students study political science at predominantly Negro institutions of higher learning in the South. A recent random sample of Negro students enrolled in predominantly Negro institutions in the states of the former Confederacy found the following distribution of academic majors among undergraduates:

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[4] op. cit.

[5] This is the central theme of V. O. Key, Southern Politics (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949). See especially Chapter 14.

[6] The work of Kurt Lewin is especially interesting on this subject. See W. Bell, R. J. Hill, and C. R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 87ff for a review of the literature.

[7] T. H. Reed and D. C. Reed, Preparing College Men and Women for Politics, (New York, Citizenship Clearing House, 1952) for a controversial set of proposals.

Table 1

ACADEMIC MAJORS OF NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS
ENROLLED IN "PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO" INSTITUTIONS
IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES[8]

Field of Academic Major	%
Humanities	9.8
Social science (excluding political science)	18.2
Political science	0.8
Physical science	18.5
Education	27.7
Business administration	6.8
Agriculture	1.5
Engineering	2.6
Other vocational (journalism, nursing, home economics, etc.)	12.2
Don't know, no answer	1.9
Total	100.0%
N	264

One reason for this apparent lack of interest in political science at these schools is that political science is rarely taught in them. Only ___ of the ___ predominantly Negro institutions have separate political science departments. ___ of these offer the M.A., and ___ the Ph.D. degree. The political science professors and departments which do exist are relatively poor, even by the eroded standards of the South.

The Failure of "Predominantly White" Institutions to Train Negro Political Scientists

The departments of political science at "predominantly white" universities in the South are the most likely institutions to alter this situation, by training an increasing number of Negroes to teach political science. The "white" universities in the South—or at least some of them—already have the staffs and facilities necessary to provide quality graduate education. And their students are more likely to remain in the region than those attending northern and western institutions.

The reasons why so few Negroes apply for admission to graduate work in the departments of political science of the predominantly white institutions in the South are numerous. Some of these students understandably want "to get out" of the South at almost any cost. The poor quantity and quality of

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[8]Data from the University of North Carolina's Negro Political Participation Study, Negro College Student Survey.

instruction in political science at the Negro schools leads few of the brighter students into the field. Some may not be fully aware of the fact that the doors of these institutions are now open to Negroes and that the generosity of private foundations and the National Defense Education Act have greatly eased the financial burdens of advanced study.

The reasons why so few of those who do apply are actually enrolled is another matter. At UNC, for example, we are caught up in a ferocious nation-wide competition for graduate student talent. Without good graduate students we cannot attract and hold a first-rate faculty. As a graduate department we are judged by the caliber of our products. Thus the more outstanding students we can attract to Chapel Hill, the better our faculty, the better the training we provide, the better our reputation, and the more good students we can attract in the future! Caught in this vicious cycle, the Negro applicants do not stack up well. Generally from culturally deprived families and graduates of inferior schools, most Negro applicants are poor risks to a prudent department dedicated to academic excellence.

Virtually all Negro applicants require a substantial fellowship or assistantship in order to attend graduate school. These awards are strictly limited in number and are badly needed in order to attract superior students. So long as the competition for superior students remains so vigorous and the number of fellowship awards available so limited, Negro candidates will rarely win the financial assistance required for them to continue their studies at Chapel Hill, despite the department's desire for Negro graduate students.

We are confident that the same process goes on in other departments of political science in the region.

THE DESEGREGATION OF FACULTIES IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

Up to this point, the discussion of the need for more Negro teachers of political science has been based upon the premise that higher education in the South will remain highly segregated. In the short run, this seems to be a realistic assumption. In longer range perspective, however, a gradual desegregation of the students and faculties in all southern institutions of higher education is to be expected. The special fellowship program proposed here should facilitate this process rather than hinder it.

At the present time, faculty strength in political science is so uneven between the "predominantly white" and "predominantly Negro" institutions that rapid desegregation of the faculties would result in white domination of the discipline at most institutions. More and better trained Negro political scientists in the South would facilitate and speed-up the process of faculty desegregation, and help eliminate the only justifiable argument against it.

Moreover, it is not our intention to <u>require</u> Negroes trained in the proposed fellowship program to teach in the South or at predominantly Negro institutions. Rather we intend to seek the best teaching positions for them that their talents and accomplishments merit, regardless of the section of the country or the nature of the school. We, therefore, expect that some of these men might end up teaching in the North or at predominantly white institutions

in the South. While these Negro scholars and teachers would not thereby directly contribute to the alleviation of the need for civic education for Negroes in the South, they could perform another important function--the integration of college and university faculties.

The number of Negro faculty members in non-southern institutions is shockingly low. A recent survey found the following situation at leading institutions in the North and West:[9]

Harvard University--No Negroes in permanent tenure ranks

Yale University--No Negroes of professorial rank

Princeton University--One Negro professor

Columbia University--No Negro full professor

University of Chicago--Five or six Negro full professors

University of California at Berkeley--"Several" Negroes on the faculty at unspecified ranks

Massachusetts Institute of Technology--One Negro assistant professor

University of Minnesota--One full professor, two assistant professors, "perhaps other" Negroes on faculty

New York University--"At least two" Negroes on faculty

Indiana University--Four Negro assistant professors on faculty

While evidence is not available, we doubt that this situation is appreciably better at less well known colleges and universities outside of the South. No Negroes presently teach political science at "white universities" in the South.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AT UNC

The University of North Carolina and its Department of Political Science are peculiarly well suited for the training of Negroes in political science.

The University under the leadership of such men as Frank P. Graham, Howard Odum, Rupert Vance, Alexander Heard, Guy B. Johnson, and many others, has earned a reputation for enlightened concern and outstanding scholarship on the South and its racial problems. The University was peacefully integrated in 19__ and now a significant number of Negro students are enrolled in all its schools and divisions.

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[8] New York Times, April 14, 1963.

The town of Chapel Hill, in which the university is located, possesses an almost unique degree of desegregation in its public schools, eating establishments, and the like. The racially "liberal" attitude of the university permeates the town.

The Department of Political Science is one of the fastest growing on campus—both in terms of the size of its staff and student enrollment, and its reputation for quality and achievement. The graduate faculty of the department now consists of 15 members, and 80 full-time graduate students are in residence. The quality of the graduate students, judged in terms of Graduate Record Examination scores, is high. For example, the average political science graduate student today ranks in the top 10 per cent of all those taking the GRE verbal aptitude test. The department draws its graduate students from the entire country (about half are from the South) and has placed its graduates at such schools as Amherst, Antioch, Dartmouth, MIT, Michigan, and Stanford as well as throughout the South. The department thus possesses the largest—and we believe the best—graduate training program in political science in the South and one of genuine national stature.

Since 1960, two members of the department—Professors Donald R. Matthews and James W. Prothro—have been engaged in a major study of Negro political participation in the South. As a result of their efforts, the department now possesses the largest body of data on Negro political behavior ever collected, an on-going research interest in the subject, and valuable contacts with the Negro academic community. The students supported by the proposed fellowships would not necessarily specialize in the study of Negro politics—indeed we believe that it would be desirable if some did not. However, the presence of the study, its principal investigators and data in the Department of Political Science at Chapel Hill, is a unique resource which should prove especially attractive and valuable to Negro fellows we seek.

Since 1957 the department has been experimenting with new ways of teaching political science, and to encourage undergraduates to more active and informed political participation. The Political Studies Program, the institutional embodiment of this experimentation, has instituted and perfected a "laboratory method of instruction," student internships, and other innovations in instructional methods which have drawn nationwide attention and praise. As a result, we believe that our students will be unusually effective and imaginative teachers.

Beginning in September, 1963, the department will become the North Carolina affiliate of the National Center for Education in Politics (formerly) the Citizenship Clearing House) which is directly and continuously involved in the problem of making more college students active and effective citizens. This relationship will provide modest financial support for the activities of the Political Studies Program and result in valuable communication and contacts with other teachers of political science interested in making the teaching of political science more meaningful to the next generation's leaders.

In addition to these special opportunities and facilities, the department offers curricula leading to the Master of Arts or Doctor of Philosophy degree in political science. These are adequately described in the graduate school Record and in the department's publication entitled Political Science at Chapel Hill. They will not be further described here.

THE PROPOSED FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

It is proposed that a post-doctoral fellowship be awarded to one Negro political scientist teaching in the South each year for six years, beginning in 1964-65.

The teaching load and administrative burdens carried by the faculties at Negro colleges and universities is inordinately high, allowing little if any time for the development of new knowledge or for the conduct of research. When this fact is combined with generally inferior initial training, the routine to poor performance of political scientists at Negro institutions is understandable. We believe that a year spent in supplementing prior graduate training or developing new areas of competence by auditing courses and seminars, conducting research and writing would have a major stimulating effect upon the younger political scientists at the Negro colleges. Almost immediate pay-offs in improved teaching and enhanced professional reputations should be expected. There would be no formal set of requirements for these post-doctoral fellows; rather each program would be worked out individually, according to the fellow's interests and needs.

We also propose to award pre-doctoral fellowships beginning in 1964-65. These students would be enrolled in our regular curricula leading to the M.A. or Ph.D. degree. Between candidates for the two degrees our preference would be for potential Ph.D.'s--the normal departmental policy--but we would like to reserve the flexibility to make occasional awards to unusually deserving M.A. students as well.

We propose to make one such award in 1964-65, which could be renewed annually up to four years for a Ph.D. candidate or for a second year for an M.A. candidate. A second award would be made in 1965-66 and a third in 1966-67, each renewable up to a maximum of four years. Thus three Ph.D.'s or six M.A.'s--or some combination of the two--would be fully trained by 1970. This is not a large number of political scientists. On the other hand, the availability of the proposed fellowships may attract enough high quality Negro applicants for us to support additional Negro graduate students from funds other than those requested here.

Explanation of Budget

A proposed budget is attached. An explanation of each item is given below.

Promotion and Recruitment--A new program of this sort will require aggressive promotion through correspondence, publications, and occasional recruiting trips to Negro college campuses. In some cases, a personal interview with a fellowship applicant may be necessary or desirable. We therefore ask for $500 for promotion and recruitment to be spent during 1963-64 in anticipation of the beginning of the program in September, 1964. Thereafter, the promotion and recruitment costs should diminish. The estimated total cost of promotion and recruitment during the six year period is $1,500.

Post-Doctoral Fellowships--The stipend for the post-doctoral fellowships is set at $6,000 for the academic year, an amount which we estimate is roughly equivalent to the nine month salary of a junior political scientist at a Negro college in the South. The tax exemption on the fellowship should off-set the costs of moving to Chapel Hill for a year. The total cost of six post-doctoral fellowships is $36,000.

Pre-Doctoral Fellowships--We propose a stipend of $2,500 per academic year (plus $500 for each dependent) for the pre-doctoral fellows. This stipend is identical to the awards made under the National Defense Education Act, with the exception that it could be renewed for an additional, or fourth, year. Awards of this magnitude permit a student entirely without other means to devote full-time to his graduate studies. They are competitive with the best graduate appointments available in the United States. Twelve annual awards--to be made to from three to six students--are envisioned at a total cost of $36,000.

Special Training and Research Expenses--An additional $1,000 per year is budgeted for each post-doctoral fellow to cover the costs of their research or of special training and facilities they will require. An identical amount is budgeted for the pre-doctoral fellows to cover the costs of special tutoring in foreign languages or statistics if required, summer research training and internships, and dissertation and thesis expenses. The total special training and research expenses are estimated at $18,000 for the six year period.

PROPOSED BUDGET

Budget Item	Academic Year 1963-1964	1964-1965	1965-1966	1966-1967	1967-1968	1968-1969	1969-1970	Total
Promotion and Recruitment	$ 500	$ 250	$ 250	$ 250	$ 125	$ 125	—	$ 1,500
Post-Doctoral Fellowships	—	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	$ 6,000	36,000
Pre-Doctoral Fellowships	—	3,000	6,000	9,000	9,000	6,000	3,000	36,000
Special Training and Research Expenses	—	2,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	3,000	2,000	18,000
Total	$ 500	$11,250	$15,250	$19,250	$19,125	$15,125	$11,000	$91,500

memo from vernon e. jordan, jr.

Les,

This maybe a good idea and worthwhile, but I have serious problems with the idea of a <u>special</u> fellowship program for <u>Negro</u> grad students.

November 27, 1963

Mrs. Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina — free
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Maggie:

Peggie, unfortunately, will not be able to come with me to Durham, but she did appreciate your invitation. She will let you know so properly some day.

I am delighted that you all are going to have a party for Franklin Williams, and that I may come. I have got to be back at the office at 3:00 pm on Thursday, but I suppose there's a morning plane out of there.

Best to Don, and see you next week.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
Speaking engagements
1964
File
Unc. N.C.

May 14, 1964

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

If all right with you, I'll let you know closer to the date about my travel schedule. My indecision has two causes. One is that Franklin Williams may have some plans to work me while I am up your way. The other is the possibility that I may drive up, with Peggy and Tony with me.

That was another good piece you and Jim wrote in the Journal of Politics. Your book is going to be one of the few important ones.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj

May 4, 1964

TO: Alex Heard
Jack Peltason
Tom Pettigrew
Franklin Edwards
Charlie Grigg
Lew Killian
Jim Wilson
Lew Dunbar

FROM: Don Matthews and Jim Prothro

Enclosed is a copy of the preliminary schedule we have worked out for the June 8-13 Research Conference on Negro Politics. Please let us know if the date of your appearance or the title we have given to your presentation needs to be altered.

We hope that each of you will be able and willing to participate in the discussions which immediately preceed and follow your presentation. We have marked the sessions we hope you will be able to attend (in addition to your own) on your copy of the schedule.

Finally, let us know your travel schedule so that we may make reservations for you at the Carolina Inn.

It looks as if we shall have an able group of students in attendance. If you know of any promising young students of Negro politics we have failed to invite, we would welcome your suggestions.

We look forward to seeing you in early June.

P.S. Please claim tax exemption when buying your ticket. Fill in the University of North Carolina as the paying institution.

Schedule

Research Conference on Negro Politics

Sponsored by the Negro Political Participation Study
under grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to the
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
June 8-13, 1964

Donald R. Matthews
James W. Prothro
Study Directors

June 7	Social Preliminaries: cocktails, dinner.
June 8	Discussion of Research Proposals.
June 9	Negro Political Participation in the South: The Combination of Survey, Aggregate Data, and Community Study Techniques Donald R. Matthews James W. Prothro
June 10 A.M.	Southern Politics: General Research Problems Chancellor Alexander Heard Vanderbilt University
P.M.	Research on Attitudes of Political Elites: Southern Judges and School Desegregation Dean Jack Peltason University of California at Irvine
June 11 A.M.	Analysis of Psychological Dimensions of Southern Race Relations Professor Thomas Pettigrew Harvard University
P.M.	The Contributions of Sociology to an Understanding of Negro Political Behavior Professor Franklin Edwards Howard University
June 12 A.M.	Biracial Approaches to Racial Crisis Professors Charles Grigg, Lewis Killian Florida State University
P.M.	Negro Political Leadership Professor James Q. Wilson Harvard University
June 13 A.M.	Research on Race in Conjunction with Action Programs Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director Southern Regional Council

File
Univ. of N.C.

June 5, 1964

Professor Donald R. Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

I cannot get up until Friday morning. I am arriving United #603, landing at 9:05, and should be able to get to Chapel Hill by 10:00 a.m. So, if you could reserve a single for me Friday night, I would be grateful.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Lv. Pl. 1:35 Am
ar. 9:05

T

27.70
22.70
6.00
6.00
3.00
3.00
75
75
2.00

71.90 T

File: Univ. of N.C.

June 15, 1964

Professor Donald Matthews
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Don:

I enjoyed it, and most especially enjoyed seeing you and Jim and your wives again. You all must be bushed.

I am enclosing ~~my~~ airline receipts. Expenses seem to be as follows:

<u>Travel</u>

Atlanta-Raleigh (6/12/64) (United, one-class)	$ 27.70
Raleigh-Atlanta (6/13/64) (Eastern, tourist)	22.70

<u>Taxis</u>

Home to airport (6/12/64)	6.00
Airport to home (6/13/64)	6.00
Airport to Carolina Inn (6/12/64)	3.00
Carolina Inn to airport (6/13/64)	3.00

Meals

Lunch (6/12/64)	.75
Breakfast (6/13/64)	.75
Lunch (6/13/64)	2.00
	$ 71.90

All the best

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Travel

Atlanta - Raleigh - 6/12/64
(United, one-class)
- 27.70

Raleigh - Atlanta - 6/13/64
(Eastern, tourist) - 22.70

Taxi

Home to airport 6/12/64 - 6.00
Airport to home 6/13/64 - 6.00
Airport to Carolina Inn 6/12/64 - 3.00
Carolina Inn to airport 6/13/64 - 3.00

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

Meals

Lunch 6/12/64 - .75

Breakfast 6/13/64 - .75

Lunch 6/13/64 - 2.00

File
Univ. of N.C.

June 23, 1964

Miss Barbara Bright
Research Assistant
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Bright:

In response to your letter of June 18 to Mr. Dunbar, I am pleased to furnish you with his social security number as follows:

218-03-2250.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Rec'd 6/19/64

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

June 18, 1964

MI-Phila
218-03-2250

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please send us your social security number at your earliest convenience so that we can complete forms required for your conference stipend.

I'm sorry this wasn't looked after while you were here.

Sincerely,

Barbara Bright

(Miss) Barbara Bright
Research Assistant

/bb

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

July 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

We are writing to express our gratitude for your willingness to give your time to our research conference and our appreciation for the fine contribution you made to its success. We think we can safely call it a success because we are echoing the sentiments of the student participants in our appraisal. They felt the session with you to be particularly helpful.

We should have written sooner, but we have been devoting the summer to writing manuscript rather than letters. With Don packing for his year's leave in California and Jim being sucked into the duties of Acting Chairman of the department, we have reached a stopping point, like it or not. The fact that we can write enthusiastically about the conference after such a lapse at least proves that our gratification was not short-lived.

Hope you are having a pleasant summer.

Sincerely,

Don

Jim

Donald R. Matthews
James W. Prothro

DRM;JWP:bb

December 15, 1965

Mr. Paul E. Green
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Green:

Several years ago the Council established a category of Life Fellows to honor those distinguished Southerners whose contributions to the region had been truly and uniquely outstanding.

At the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 16 this year, the Council voted unanimously to elect you a Life Fellow.

I am grateful for the opportunity of informing you of this move, and we shall be honored if you accept.

Enclosed is a citation setting forth the Council's action.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Life certificate)

See North Miss Carson

June 26, 1968

Miss Virginia Carson
1202 Brooks Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina 27607

Dear Miss Carson:

I sincerely regret that we do not have funds available to support the program you outlined in your letter of June 24th. The program itself sounds very valuable. Please let us know if we can be of any other help to your program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

1202 Brooks Ave.
Raleigh
North Carolina 27607
June 24, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta
Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

When the Kerner Commission report came out this spring, some concerned students at the University of North Carolina, Chapel H ill formed a dialogue group to discuss the racial crisis. This group, about half white and half black, met for several weeks and explored many sides of the racial problem. Finally we started asking, what can we do on our own campus? Under the guidance of the YM-YWCA at Carolina, we have set up a symposium for next October entitled, "The Negro Revolt - Impact on American Institutions." Let me outline what we have in mind.

We are planning a three day program with big name speakers, films, and discussion groups. Eric Lincoln is definitely coming to open the symposium, and we are negotiating now with Ralph McGill and Charles Evers. If we can get all three of these men, I think we will have a balanced program with wide appeal. The film of Black Like Me is scheduled for one afternoon, and we are also trying to get several copies of No Handouts for Mrs. Hedgepath from the North Carolina Fund. In an effort to go beyond a lecture program, we will promote small discussion groups in the residence halls after the main speakers. We plan to inwite several local leaders to participate in the whole program and help with these discussion groups. We also want to use trained facilitators to guide the discussions and help each participant get the most benefit. Facilitation is a new technique for working with groups somewhat like sensitivity training. A facilitator knows how to get people to talk about themselves and their feelings and how to keep a discussion focused on the issue involved. We have talked to Steve Sunderland from the National Training Laboratory, a part of the Institute for Applied Behavioral Sciences. He works with both the facilitation technique and the racial issue, so he is ideal for our program. He has offered to come two days before our symposium next fall and train fifteen (15) students as facilitators. Since two of the residence colleges will already have a group of trained facilitators next fall,

these fifteen new facilitators will take care of the other discussion groups nicely. Our goal in this symposium is a lot of individual awakening and some action following from that. I sincerely believe that facilitation can reach and guide our participants better than any speech, and I hope we can get Steve to come next fall and help us.

By now you must have guessed why I am writing. We are working on a limited budget, and we need some more financial help. We have contracted with other organizations to sponsor the main speakers, but there are many smaller expenses which we must pay. If Steve Sunderland comes next fall, he will cost $300 (for three days) plus expenses (plane fare from Washington). The Residence Colleges involved are willing to put in some of the money, and if so, would you be willing to help with the rest? I have talked with Will Allred of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, and he is very interested in our program. I'm sure he would try to explain this facilitation idea to you. In addition, John Neely, who is co-chairman of the project, will be working in Atlanta all summer. Perhaps he could meet with you and discuss our plans more fully. You really would get a better picture from his.

I hope you will get in touch with John and give us what ideas and assistance you can. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Virginia Carson

Virginia Carson

LWD ✓
MF

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

December 11, 1959

Office of the Dean

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please accept this belated but nonetheless grateful acknowledgement of your letter of November 25 and the addressograph tapes therein referred to. The special issue of our law review containing the Symposium, which has encountered an unbelievable series of delays in the printer's office, is now promised for next week. It seemed sensible, however, to defer distribution until after the Christmas rush subsides. At that time, I will be happy to send you 200 copies, as requested.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

November 25, 1959

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Vernon Eagle has advised me that the proceedings of your institute on race relations are nearing publication and that you are considering effective distribution. At his suggestion, I am sending you addressograph tapes showing the names and addresses of Southern state school superintendents and local superintendents in communities of 6,000 or more population.

Other categories that occur to us are mayors of Southern cities (perhaps over 25, or 50,000), state attorneys-general, and deans of education and law schools in Southern colleges and universities. (For our mailings to the latter, we use the Education Directory of 1958-59, Part III, "Higher Education.")

Vernon Eagle also said we might hope to receive about 200 copies for distribution to our board members and state councils. We would be most grateful for them.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Vernon A. Eagle

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Jan 7, 1960

Dear Harold,

I hope you will try <u>this</u> Bible Belt for a change — & come to our Feb. 14th conference. We need a Southern current — a soft, moderated one. We're inviting several other foundation people — to entice you further. The enclosed may interest you.

As ever,

Hanni

February 3, 1960

Via Air Mail

Dr. Joseph O'Meara, Dean
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Thank you for your latest communication regarding the conference of February 14.

The schedule that the airline is working out for me will put me in South Bend on North Central at approximately 8:50 P. M., February 13. I am scheduled to leave South Bend on an early morning flight, February 15. It seems I must stay over two nights in order to be present for the full day's session.

I will appreciate your having the necessary reservations made for me at the Morris Inn.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

Make Reservations

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

January 30, 1960

Office of the Dean

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Let me add that, unhappily, we are not now in position to give you any assurances with respect to travel expenses.

Cordially,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Notre Dame Law School Tentative date: February 14, 1960

Preliminary List of Guests Invited

All Senators and Representatives in Congress from Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan

The Attorney General of the United States, or his designee
The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, or his designee
The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, or his designee

The Members of the Commission on Civil Rights
The Staff Director and Acting Deputy Staff Director of the Commission on Civil Rights

Senator Thomas Hennings, Chairman, Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, or his designee
Representative Emanuel Celler, Chairman, House Judiciary Committee, or his designee

The Deans, or their designees, of the Law Schools of the University of Indiana, the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, the University of Kentucky, Ohio State University, and the University of Michigan

The Chairmen, or their designees, of the State Advisory Committees of the Commission on Civil Rights, for the States of Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio and Michigan

Professor Wylie H. Davis, University of Illinois College of Law, Urbana, Illinois
Professor Ralph Fuchs, University of Indiana Law School, Bloomington, Indiana
Rev. William J. Kenealy, S.J., Professor of Law, Loyola University Law School, Chicago, Illinois
Professor Willard Wirtz, Northwestern University Law School, Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Herman Edelsburg, Chairman, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, The Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Lester Granger, President, The National Urban League

Rev. Martin Luther King, President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Frances Levenson, Executive Director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, New York City

Judge Justine Wise Polier, Justice of the Domestic Relations Court, New York City

Mr. Shad Polier, Chairman, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress

Mr. James H. Scheuer, President, Citizens Housing and Planning Council, New York City

Mr. Earl B. Schwulst, Chairman, Commission on Race and Housing, President, Bowery Savings Bank, New York City

Mr. Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr., President, Board of Education of the City of Chicago, President, Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago

Mr. Vernon Eagle, Executive Director, The New World Foundation, Chicago

Mr. Dean Rusk, President, The Rockefeller Foundation, New York City.

Dr. Robert K. Carr, President, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio; Executive Secretary, The President's Committee on Civil Rights, 1947.

Notre Dame Law School

CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

February 14, 1960

AGENDA

9:30 - 10:00	Welcome--President Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
	Opening Remarks--Dean Joseph O'Meara Congressman John Brademas
10:00 - 12:00	1. Protecting the Right to Vote
	Opening statement by Professor Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
12:15 - 1:45	Lunch--Talk by President Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Member, Commission on Civil Rights
2:00 - 3:30	2. Assisting School Desegregation
	Opening statement by Professor Bernard J. Ward
3:30 - 3:45	Recess
3:45 - 4:45	3. Equal Opportunity in Housing
	Opening statement by Professor Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
4:45 - 5:15	4. Other Problems of Civil Rights
5:15 - 5:30	5. Summary and Conclusion
5:30 - 6:30	Reception at Morris Inn

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

January 16, 1960

Office of the Dean

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am delighted to know that you will attend our Civil Rights Conference, which has now been definitely scheduled for Sunday, February 14.

I will have to let you know later whether any funds are available to cover all or part of those attending the Conference.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

VIA AIR MAIL

January 13, 1960

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

The one-day conference on civil rights should be extremely useful, and I am happy to accept your invitation to attend.

Particularly for trips outside the South, we ordinarily must limit staff participation to expense-paid occasions. But if funds are not available for that purpose, a conference of this importance will certainly warrant an exception.

My preference would be February 14, but I could be present on either date.

I shall look forward to further word from you. Meanwhile, all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

B.C. Harris Wofford

Suspend till 2/8/60

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

January 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are planning a one-day conference on the recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights and on civil-rights measures pending in Congress. Our thought is that, before Congress takes action on this subject in the next session, it would be helpful to have as much discussion of the issues as possible between legislators, members of law-school faculties and other persons professionally concerned with the problem.

A conference on this subject, arranged by the University of Buffalo and the University of Buffalo Law School and presided over by Senator Javits, was held in Buffalo on December 16. Senator Javits described it as very valuable to him and the other legislators who attended. Our hope is to provide the occasion for a similar exchange of views between legislators and law teachers from Indiana and the neighboring states of Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky and Ohio.

The Honorable John Brademas, Congressman for this District, has agreed to help me lead the discussion. Members of the Notre Dame Law Faculty will present a five-minute oral summary to open the discussion of each of the items shown on the attached tentative agenda. The rest of the time will be devoted to discussion and questioning by the participants, including the Dean of the law school of the state university in each of the States above mentioned, or a member of the faculty designated by him.

We are also inviting as participants a number of persons professionally or officially concerned with civil rights whose views would make a contribution to the discussion.

I am writing to invite you to attend this conference and to spend the night, either before or after the conference, as our guest, at the Morris Inn on the campus.

Tentatively we are planning the conference for Sunday, February 14. Alternately, we will consider Lincoln's Birthday, February 12. Both dates would come just before the Senate is scheduled to begin debate on civil rights legislation. If you are interested, I need to know whether you can come on the 14th, or the 12th, and which date is preferable. We do not know at this point whether any funds will be available to assist with travel expenses to and from South Bend. If you would need such assistance in order to participate, please let me know the approximate amount.

As time is of the essence, your immediate response will be appreciated. I will then write you promptly regarding final plans.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:mc
encl.

FOR THE AVE MARIA
March 5, 1960 issue

Rec'd 3/14/60

Conference on Civil Rights

by Harris Wofford, Jr.
Associate Professor
Notre Dame Law School

On the eve of the Senate debate on civil rights, the Notre Dame Law School held a one-day conference on pending civil-rights legislation, thus inaugurating a new form of collaboration between law makers and law teachers.

"In every area of our national life today there is need for greater and greater wisdom," said Father Theodore Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame, in welcoming the some fifty participants from the halls of Congress and the major law schools in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky.

Joining in the discussion on February 14 were one Senator, Paul Douglas of Illinois, one Governor, Mennen Williams of Michigan, five Congressmen, the legislative assistants of a number of other legislators, the general counsel of the House Judiciary Committee, the Assistant Deputy Attorney General, two members of the Civil Rights Commission, and some eighteen professors of law. All national legislators and governors of the six-state area had been invited to attend or to send staff representatives.

"Our thought," said Notre Dame Law Dean Joseph O'Meara, "is that, before Congress takes action on this subject, it would be helpful to have as much discussion of the issues as possible between legislators, members of law-school faculties and other persons professionally concerned with the problem."

Congressman John Brademas, who helped Dean O'Meara lead the discussion called the conference "a pioneering effort in the development of public law." He said that several Members of Congress intended to include the full transcript of the conference in the Congressional Record in order to make the discussion immediately available to all other legislators and key legislative draftsmen. He urged that "this cooperative experiment" be extended to other legislative issues.

In fact, this Conference on Civil Rights was but the latest of a series of meetings on public-law subjects sponsored by the Notre Dame Law School. In December 1953, the law school held a symposium on "Legislative Investigations," concentrating on safeguards for witnesses; in April 1958, a symposium on "The Role of the Supreme Court in the American Constitutional System"; and in May 1959, a symposium on "The Problems and Responsibilities of Desegregation." In April of this year there will be a symposium on "Labor Union Power and the Public Interest." The papers prepared for each of these meetings appeared in the Notre Dame Lawyer.

The new feature of the February 14th conference was that, instead of prepared papers being delivered by guests in the form of lectures, there were brief, summary statements of each of the subjects on the agenda by members of the law-school faculty followed by roundtable discussion by the participants.

With Congressional debate to begin the next day on right-to-vote legislation, over half of the discussion was devoted to the problem of protecting

voting rights. The other two subjects discussed were the problems of assisting school desegregation and achieving equal opportunity in housing.

"We have our differences as to method and timing," said Dean O'Meara, "but the central idea, the affirmation of equal opportunity for all, is not only part of the American dream but a built-in and essential feature of the fundamental law of the land. That is a postulate of this Conference. We are met to consider how best to bring the promise of the Constitution to fulfilment."

In addition to setting a possibly important precedent for formal collaboration between law schools and public officials, the Conference brought into focus some key questions concerning pending legislation and showed a considerable measure of agreement on certain points. A recurring theme was the need for the responsibilities in this matter to be shared more fully by the legislative and executive branches. The Government of the United States is propelled by three great engines, but in civil rights it has been flying on only one engine -- the federal judiciary. This, agreed the participants, is not a problem for the courts alone but for all three branches of government. A simple resolution by Congress affirming the principle of desegregation would be a step forward, said a number of participants.

On the question of right-to-vote legislation, there was general agreement on the following points:

1. There must be a federal body -- either a court or administrative agency or the President -- empowered to make a finding as to the existence of a pattern or practice of voting discrimination in particular districts.

2. There must be some effective federal machinery for the registration of persons in such districts who are denied their right to vote by reason of their race or color.

3. This federal process of registering disfranchised persons must be no more cumbersome or onerous than the state's existing process of registering other voters.

4. Such federal registration must be effective for both federal and state elections.

5. To assure that those thus registered will be permitted to vote, enforcement must be available through federal-court injunctions.

6. The time for the state to challenge the qualifications of a person thus federally registered should come when the person appears to vote, so that, pending decision on the challenge by the federal courts, his vote can be cast and his ballot impounded and held for subsequent inclusion in the count.

These points should be useful criteria for legislators considering various bills and amendments in the coming weeks. But contributions to the general intelligence on a particular issue and to the common good are not measured merely in short or specific terms. As President Eisenhower has said, "Every American who helps, even in the smallest way, to make equality of opportunity a living fact, is doing the business of America."

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

To Participants and Others Interested in The February 14th Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights:

The full transcript of the Conference on Civil Rights was, on motion of Congressman Brademas and 18 other Congressmen, printed in the Congressional Record (Daily Edition) in two sections. The full voting-rights discussion and background memorandums and the luncheon talk by Father Hesburgh appear in the Record for February 29, 1960, pp. A 1706-A 1734. The education and housing discussions appear in the issue for March 8, 1960, pp. A 2003-A 2017. Parts of the transcript have been quoted extensively in the Senate debate.

The full transcript as printed in the Record is being reprinted now and will be available shortly. You will be sent a copy. Upon request we would be happy to send you other copies or to send copies to persons whose addresses you send us. Bulk quantities are available free to interested organizations for their distribution as long as the supply lasts.

I am enclosing a copy of an article on the Conference by Professor Wofford. A more extensive summary of the discussion will appear in the next issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer.

Joseph O'Meara
Dean

amendments. I ask unanimous consent that this report may be printed at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON VOTING RIGHTS FROM THE NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS, FEBRUARY 8–10, 1963

(Participants in the conference were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, voter education project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, the Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, industrial relations section, Princeton University; Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, attorney, Washington, D.C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, attorney, Durham, N.C.)

The conference considered needs for new or improved congressional legislation to strengthen education, employment, and voting rights and opportunities. A full report of the conference's conclusions with recommendations for new legislation in the fields of education and employment will be issued later. This preliminary report sets forth the consensus reached regarding the need for additional voting legislation, because the conferees understood that this was a matter of current legislative interest.

The conclusion of the conference was that discrimination against voting rights is an abuse which can be amply and sufficiently corrected by the authority and powers now possessed by the executive department and by the Federal courts. Further legislation at this time would be, therefore, unnecessary and the inevitable legislative struggle to enact it could well hinder the prompt and thorough enforcement of present law.

Recent examples conclusively demonstrate that a number of southern communities do not yet intend to permit free Negro registration. The obstructions used are many. They include acts of private violence, such as church burnings in two counties of southwest Georgia, and several shocking cases of violence against persons or personal property, in the same area of Georgia and in Amite and Sunflower Counties of Mississippi. There have been, as well, instances where officials have violently treated registration workers, as recognized in the Federal action brought, unsuccessfully, against a police official of Terrell County, Ga. Retaliatory arrests have been common against registration workers, on charges as frivolous and essentially contemptuous as loitering, when in a moving automobile. In counties of the Mississippi Delta, water service and tax exemption of Negro churches used for registration meetings have been discontinued, and distribution of Federal surplus food commodities cut off. There is harassment and intimidation by private persons as well. Negroes asserting their constitutional rights have frequently been discharged from jobs or had their local credit suspended.

These tactics describe a system whereby, standing between the Negro and his constitutional right, there is massive intimidation calculated to induce acute personal insecurity. To the Negro of one of these counties, national authority and power must, even now in 1963, seem far less real than that of his hostile community.

In most of such areas, and particularly in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi there is the added factor of literacy requirements administered unfairly and with deliberate intent to disqualify all or almost all Negroes applying. Cases under the laws of 1957 and 1960 have demonstrated that this problem can be reached by Federal courts. The abuse continues, however, and in Mississippi is aggravated by a statutory requirement of publication of names of applicants for registration, thus advertising every Negro seeking to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship. Louisiana has revised its literacy tests to make them more resistant to Negro success. The suit filed some months ago by the Department of Justice against the State of Mississippi, but not yet brought to trial, may strike at the roots of the literacy test problem; it almost certainly, however, will be long in the courts.

Voting discrimination is a national disaster, and its demise a necessity for national self-respect. The problem must, therefore, be seen clearly and candidly. As of now, voting discrimination occurs, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant defiance of constitutional and statutory rights. Systematic enforcement of present law can provide full relief.

The objective should be that, by the next Federal election, voting discrimination will be everywhere eradicated. Remembering that flagrant discrimination occurs in only a fraction of southern locales, achievement of the objective through the forthright use of executive and judicial authority is not unrealistic.

Throughout Southern States today, an unprecedented and determined effort is being made by Negroes to broaden the electorate. In many parts of the South this is altogether a matter of self-help. But in the areas of discrimination, Negro efforts to register are met by determined resistance from both official and private sources, and Federal help is absolutely required. Given the fact of this uniquely intensive Negro effort, there can be clearly foreseen a multiplication of incidents requiring Federal attention. The Federal executive should enforce strictly the Federal right to register and vote, as these rights are claimed and asserted by large numbers who never before have done so, in communities which never before have tolerated them.

The Federal executive has ample authority to secure voter registration from all manner of obstructions. Lawlessness may be contained and disarmed. The clear Federal presence is provided at the first sign of obstruction or intimidation. To this end, Federal marshals can forthwith be dispatched to the scene. Federal attorneys can move without delay to secure protective orders from the courts. To contain the spread of unlawful obstruction, the protective authority of Federal courts and law enforcement officials must be clear and present, so as to denote the certainty of the Federal commitment.

Nor can the Federal protection be limited to guarantee of physical security for persons and possessions. Where authorities employ economic threats or sanctions, or conspire with private parties to this purpose, the executive can move swiftly and surely. Where necessary, protective injunctions can reach the entire local officialdom. Economic retaliation can be redressed by Federal supports for the victims. Any Federal privileges cannot be continued for Constitution violators. They must be reminded that the executive authority reaches far and it reaches deep, when fundamental rights are in jeopardy.

REPORT ON VOTING RIGHTS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, a very important conference was recently held at Notre Dame University by skilled and concerned legal experts in the field of civil rights. After 3 days of discussion, the conferees agreed upon the following statement which I believe deserves to be carefully considered by all those who believe that the Federal Government should seek, by affirmative legislation, to give greater substance to the constitutional rights supposedly guaranteed to all citizens by the 14th and 15th

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Cong Record
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File Notre Dame Conf.

A principal means for achieving nationwide enfranchisement inheres in the authority of Federal courts. The Department of Justice has recently filed numerous suits where registration officials continue to bar qualified Negro voters. In these cases the courts have ample power.

But a long road lies between the filing of a suit and the actual enfranchisement. In the brief months until the 1964 elections, numerous pending suits must be tried and resolved. Decrees must be entered and fair registration provided in time to allow thousands of previously disfranchised voters the right of the ballot. Present efforts will not achieve this goal. Also, there has to be candid recognition that some district judges have not been interested in the expeditious settlement of civil rights cases. The Department of Justice must more urgently seek to bring its cases to trial, even over the reluctance of busy or unenthusiastic Federal judges. Decrees can be sought which will provide more meaningful relief to all previously denied their constitutional rights. Where literacy tests have been instruments of abuse, their continued use can be enjoined. Registration powers can be taken from the hands of officials who have flouted the Federal Constitution. The Government must seek not merely to unlock the doors of the voting booth for Negro citizens, but to open the doors as clearly as they were previously closed to Negro applicants.

Finally, the time has come for Federal recognition of power and obligation to assist by affirmative support the enfranchisement of Negro citizens. By encouraging the registration of populations previously barred from the ballot, the Government could to some extent redress past injustices. By posters in Federal buildings and on Federal mail trucks, the President can communicate the message of liberty. Thus can we replace the ingrained image of official discrimination, to announce that Government has opened the polls for our minority citizens.

The means of defiance are varied and potent, but the combined power of Federal courts and executive is greater by far. In these circumstances another effort at congressional voting rights legislation appears misguided. No new law is now required, while two recent enactments and the reservoir of executive authority are yet to be wholly tested. Another legislative debate could only serve to obscure the magnitude of available authority to achieve the necessary objective.

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the President

March 6, 1963

Cable Address "Dulac"

TA
MJ-file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a copy of my letter to Dr. Williams. As usual, what I would like to do is rather impossible because of what I have to do. I know you will understand.

It was wonderful having you here for our conference. Do come back again soon.

With all best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Th. M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the President

CABLE ADDRESS "DULAC"

March 6, 1963

Dr. T. Franklin Williams
405 Whitehead Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Williams:

I received your thoughtful and challenging invitation, and do wish that I could be with you, but the dates you mention coincide with commitments I already have made with the Rockefeller Foundation of which I am a Board member, and the later possible dates coincide with a trip I must make to Chile on behalf of the Peace Corps.

I share your great admiration for Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman of our State Advisory Committee, and I do wish you would give him my very best congratulations on this occasion, and believe me when I say how sorry I am that I cannot be with you to help honor Mr. Smith for the fine work he has done and is still doing.

With all best wishes, I am

Very cordially yours,

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President

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June 21, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Yes, I'll certainly come down to Washington on the 27th or 28th if you want me. I agree that the report could be very timely right now.

All the best.

Sincerely,

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP'sk

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NOTRE DAME LAWYER

NOTES
LEGISLATION & ADMINISTRATION
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Notre Dame Conference on Congressional Civil Rights Legislation

Reprinted from Vol. 38, Notre Dame Lawyer
Page 430

JUNE, 1963

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NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE ON CONGRESSIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION — A REPORT

This is the report of a conference on problems of Congressional civil rights legislation held at the Notre Dame Law School February 8 - 10, 1963. By fortunate coincidence, as the report was completed Congress had already before it a civil rights bill backed by unusually strong Presidential support.

This circumstance has had, of course, its difficult side for the preparers of this report, the least of which has been revising an earlier draft in order to take account of the Administration's measure. In fact, most of the provisions of the President's proposal (except Title II) were debated, at least in general terms, by the conference, and a consensus reached about them.

A more basic difficulty will be apparent when we note that the working premise of the Notre Dame Conference, as laid down by Dean Joseph O'Meara in our first session, was that we should frame recommendations without regard to anyone's views of their political chances. This is, therefore, a report of the consensus we reached as to what Congress *should* pass, not as to what it possibly or probably might pass.

We continue to believe that this was a sound approach. We do, of course, recognize that the legislative decision this year will be made on the Administration's bill. Perhaps, nevertheless, what is reported here will be helpful to Congress as it deliberates, and will help the country understand better the problems and the results which may be expected from various legislative approaches to them.

The conference was limited to three subjects: schools, employment, and voting. We have, therefore, no recommendations or reflections to report on the public accommodations part of the President's program (Title II).

This report states the consensus of the conference. The extent of agreement reached through extensive discussion was impressive, and except at a few points the consensus was well-nigh complete. This was all the more notable, because many differing views had been brought to the meetings.

The conferees participated as individuals, not as representatives of their organizations. They included, in addition to Dean O'Meara, Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (as observer); Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (as observer); John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina. We had also the benefit of consultation with President Hesburgh, and the gracious, friendly hospitality of the Notre Dame campus.

Introduction

The crisis of America's race relations has become almost unbearably intense, and its causes are interlaced with countless characteristics of our history and our social structure. These are propositions for which any elaboration, at this time, would be redundant.

The present crisis is not the first in our history. Crises in race relations, as in the other relationships of men with men, are not necessarily caused by worsened conditions; the opposite may in fact be so. But as long as the relationships enclose and nurture discontent on one or both sides, periodic crises will occur. The present crisis is far less brutal and violent than that of 1917 - 1921. It has probably been accompanied by no deeper or more widespread moral self-scrutiny, religious debate, or intellectual and literary study than went with the racial crisis of Civil War days.

Those crises passed, and after each the condition of Negro Americans was still bad. What is primarily different about the present crisis is that it is not likely to pass until a new equilibrium acceptable to Negroes is reached. Earlier crises ended when white people tired of them; this one will not.

The pressure of this fact, or perhaps the realization of it, has much to do with creating the contemporary emotional urgings of both Negroes and whites, the all too facile bandying about of such concepts as "hatred" and "revolution," and the obsessive overvaluation of the strength of the Black Muslims. On the other hand, prudence, if nothing else, dictates the working assumption that no person has reason to have an attachment to a constitutional system if its processes fail to make real its guarantees.

If Congress had no other reason to act to end the crisis, this would be sufficient: unless the crisis is overcome, the Constitution as we know it will bend. Concepts such as federalism, and universal obedience to the courts, and Presidential deference to the legislative will of Congress, have already been affected. There are reasons at least as good, and some of us will think even better, for Congressional action: these have to do with justice and friendship and religion. But Congress has a special responsibility to defend and protect the Constitution.

Political science distinguishes between the "deliberative" and the "representative" functions of a legislature. Congress is our representative body, and there is no other which can so express and certify the national will. As long as Congress is silent, civil rights has something of a bootleg aspect. Congress has not been altogether silent. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 and the poll tax amendment are of value, but at the most they give protection, and a laggard one at that, for but one right. What the country urgently needs, and what American constitutionalism is weakened by the absence of, is an unambiguous registering of the national will in behalf of racial justice, as only Congress in its representative role can do.

The subsequent pages of this paper are hopefully intended to help Congress in its deliberative role; i.e., in defining and framing its policies. In this field of civil rights, and at this time, Congress by deliberating and enacting will also be representing, supplying the will and the resolution that can put the crisis behind us.

The times require, in other words, not only that Congress act wisely, but

that it act — and act with dispatch, and without ambiguity or timidity. But if in its drive to represent the national will, Congress does not act wisely, the outcome could be bitter. Congress passed voting laws in 1957 and 1960 which were not suited to achieve their goals, and have not done so. Their failure has contributed to the present crisis, because those laws brought disillusion on top of high hopes.

In order to act effectively, Congress should be guided by certain principles that include the following:

(1) Congress should legislate not for the appeasement of crisis, but for the solution of it.

(2) Administrative actions, when appropriate and constitutional, are more effective and less piecemeal than judicial remedies.

(3) Where possible and suitable, it is good federal practice to draw support from state and local governments in the administration of federal programs.

(4) In some problem areas, the national interest is best served by local solutions. In such problem areas, Congressional action is not appropriate when there is a realistic prospect of a prompt solution at the local level.

Equal Rights to Public Education

The first point above is especially pertinent in 1963. Congressional action at this time ought to begin with schools. We say this with all the emphasis we can.

There are at least five reasons for this priority.

First, nine years have now passed since *Brown v. Topeka* declared a constitutional right of all American children, a right still wantonly flouted or ignored. In support of it, and in the face of overt defiance, the Presidency was until the fall of 1957 indecisive and since has been inadequately empowered. Congress has done nothing.

The decision was responded to by eleven southern states with defiance, lawlessness, and at times near rebellion. In a sense, it is a sign of the basic strength of American society that defiance so intense and widespread was able to be contained without rupture of national bonds. The federal courts and the Presidency, aided by enlightened opinion in the South, have by now decisively weakened the political resistance. Nevertheless, through evasion or inaction, more than two-thirds of the biracial school districts of the eleven southern states have as yet made no start toward school desegregation; 99% of the Negro children of these states are still in segregated schools; and in three states — Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina — not even a token start has yet been made.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 was received by Negro citizens as a promise and as an earnest of a new life for them in our common country. A very large cause of the current crisis is the disappointment which followed. Our high court had spoken — and was not obeyed. The good will of our people had been invoked — and did not respond.

There is, therefore, a symbolic importance to the schools issue which none other has. In no other area can Congress so clearly and unambiguously represent and register a national decision in affirmation of equality. Furthermore,

if Congress were to act in another area, *and did not in this one,* recalcitrant school districts would have reason to believe that Congress does not disapprove of their policies.

Second, education has an intrinsic value, both for the individual and for the nation, of unsurpassed importance.

Third, education is basic to the durable achievement of other civil rights. It affects employment opportunities and voting eligibility and the intelligent use of the ballot. It affects housing patterns (and is affected by them). It determines and will determine the quality and the temper of Negro communal leadership.

Fourth, there should be no hesitation in saying that our needs go beyond civil rights, and that a better integrated society is a social, political, and moral imperative. The American people need to live more happily with each other. Our public schools weave the web of society as no other institution does.

Fifth, school integration brings forth the hard, but basically important, issues. (The extension of employment opportunities does also.) To desegregate transportation, or restaurants and hotels, or professional associations requires little more than a decision to stop doing one thing and do another. These decisions are socially and morally necessary, but the Negro and white people of this country would both delude themselves if they expected these decisions to go far toward solving our racial inequities. To solve them, or even to begin to do so, the country must see clearly and face the gigantic problems of our disadvantaged people. Whenever school desegregation in a community gets beyond token dimensions, that community will unavoidably confront the cultural wrongs it itself has created, and will, we think, be brought to an awareness that something must be done about them.

To summarize then, school legislation deserves priority because of its symbolic value, because of the intrinsic cultural importance of education, because education is basic to the achievement of other civil rights, and because the integration of schools has profound and beneficial social consequences.

The bill first introduced by Senator Clark and Representative Celler in 1961* sought to achieve these objectives. It has provided the leading ideas which have guided discussions since 1961, and which the conferees at the Notre Dame Law School believed basically sound. In important respects, however, we did differ from Clark-Celler.

The principal features of the Clark-Celler approach are (1) the requirement of a desegregation plan by those school districts which use race as an assignment criterion; (2) the filing of the plan with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who is empowered to grant financial and technical assistance to aid in carrying out the plans, if he determines that the plans are legally satisfactory; similar assistance would be available to certain other districts; (3) a requirement of "at least first-step compliance" immediately; and (4) power for the Attorney-General to bring suits in federal district courts to compel compliance.

We believe that Congress should prepare an enactment which would embrace the following purposes:

(1) A start must be effected, with provision for federal enforcement, in

* S. 1817, 87th Cong., 1st Sess. (1961).

the more than 2000 biracial school districts that have made no beginning.

(2) The completion of the desegregation process should be facilitated, in accordance with sound educational precepts.

(3) Neither federal legislation nor administration should impede the initiation of suits by private plaintiffs in federal courts, or prejudice the outcome of their suits.

(4) Nor should the federal role inhibit the reaching of local desegregation solutions by local consensus.

Of the above purposes, Nos. 3 and 4 have definite implications for northern school desegregation. Congress cannot at this time, however, wisely legislate to meet directly the northern questions (i.e., segregation not resulting from explicit governmental policy), and should not, therefore, try. Constitutional rights and principles have not yet been sufficiently clarified by adjudication, and professional controversy still somewhat obscures the educational merits of various solutions. Moreover, there is no reason at this date to suppose that local solutions cannot be satisfactorily and readily attained. (See principle no. 4, page 432 *supra.*)

Congress should candidly legislate for the southern problem, and the premier objective should be to effect start. To this end, Congress should impose an affirmative duty on every public school board to operate the schools under its jurisdiction on a nonracial basis. To assure this, formally recorded desegregation plans should be required of every biracial district, not already under court order, where initial assignment of school children is by race, or where, regardless of assignment policies, no Negro and white children are in fact in school together. The plan should be a document of public record. Its recording should be completed shortly after enactment, and certainly in not more than 60 days; more time is not required: there is nothing arcane about desegregation planning, and there exists an abundance of experience to consult.

The effect of this would be a Congressional finding and declaration that "all deliberate speed" means "now."* No defendant in a school desegregation case could henceforth plead time.

No purpose would be obviously served by requiring that the plans be filed with any office in Washington. There are good reasons why they should not be. Unless the federal office were to review and evaluate them, there would be no need for it to be custodian. Administrative review would be unfortunate. What pleased the Secretary of HEW would tend to please a federal judge, and the rights of a Negro plaintiff to seek redress in a federal court would become progressively, and merely, formal. His remedy would be through his Washington lobbyist, not through his local lawyer.

The Attorney-General must be empowered to intervene in pending school litigation, and, more importantly, to bring suit in the name of the United States to effect prompt desegregation starts, through civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction against school boards depriving or threatening to deprive individuals of their equal protection rights. The affirmative duty should be defined in the statute in such

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* Cf. The Supreme Court's gloss in *Watson v. Memphis,* 10 L.ed 2d 529 (1963).

a way as to preserve in full the freedom of action of private plaintiffs,* and to give at least tacit Congressional recognition to the impossibility of the Attorney-General filing suits in as many as 2,000 districts (in the unhappy and unlikely chance that would be indicated), and the consequent desirability of his bringing suit in the most strongly resistant areas.**

The Attorney-General should proceed on his own investigation, as he does in voting violations under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.† He should not have to await on complaints; the privilege of private counsel for private complainants should be fully preserved and should suffice. Congress has a specific constitutional mandate to enforce the terms of the 14th Amendment;†† by a statute such, as is recommended here it would do so by affirming the duty of school boards to operate nonracial systems; the Attorney-General can and should, consequently, be made responsible to combat violations which he discovers. We need to remember that *Brown v. Topeka* is not a limitation on the power of Congress; the Supreme Court proscribed denial of an *individual* right. This does not inhibit Congress from going beyond to a general protection of the right.

The simple, yet conclusive, reasons for placing this responsibility on the Attorney-General are to expedite the desegregation process, bring to bear national authority, and relieve Negro plaintiffs, organizations, and lawyers of some of their heavy psychological and financial burdens.

To do an effective job, the already overstrained staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice will have to be strengthened. The present Administration has considerably enlarged that staff and its function since January 1961, but has done so in part by using personnel from other Divisions. The Administration should ask Congress for the money needed to staff adequately the Civil Rights Division, and Congress should provide it.

The right of private plaintiffs to bring suit should not, we repeat, be impaired or diluted by new statutory authority for the Attorney-General. The law of school desegregation is evolving through the courts, and in terms of individual rights, not public policies. Whether the nation would have been better off had it a decade ago approached the issue differently, through statutes rather than decrees, is an interesting but now practically irrelevant question. It did not, and now is too late for constructive change. The atmosphere for freely litigating and adjudicating individual claims to rights should be carefully preserved. There are still many unanswered 14th Amendment questions, particularly in connection with northern desegregation but also in the South. Hard and fast rules are, of course, impossible, but we would suggest that the Attorney-General plan his cases to spread and consolidate judicial interpretations already secured, and that the definition of new legal concepts to be sought be left to private plaintiffs and their attorneys.

The authority and the duty to bring suits in behalf of the United States

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* Cf. § 310 of S. 1731; also Sec. 1602 of S. 772, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. introduced by Senator Clark.

** Cf. The formula "materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education." S. 1731, sec. 307 a2.

† P. L. 85-315, sec. 131 (c); cf. also Sec. 108 of S. 1209 (88th Cong., 1st session), introduced by Senator Kuchel and others, which would confer on the Attorney-General the power and the duty in school cases recommended here. The approach of S. 1209 to this problem is, therefore, much to be preferred over that of the Administration's bill.

†† U.S. Const., amend. XIV, § 5.

are indispensable and already far too long withheld. Yet the Congressional requirement of "plans" is, if anything, even more worthwhile. It would put a positive duty on local people, and the country badly needs to begin thinking of school desegregation in those terms. While we believe that the Supreme Court in *Cooper v. Aaron** in 1958 did affirm this duty, nobody speaks the national will as does Congress. There are persuasive grounds also for believing that such a mandate from Congress would be obeyed in a great many school districts, and that much litigation could thereby be avoided.

To give further impetus to the integration process, the federal government should offer, on application to the Secretary of HEW, financial assistance to school districts making their first starts, or to districts, whether of the South or the North, revising their systems in the direction of more integration.

Assistance should be limited to specific projects proposed by the local school administrators, and should be strictly limited to projects facilitating the desegregation process. Examples might include programs of teacher preparation, special tuition for Negro students to help overcome the academic handicaps of their inferior schooling, and special training for Negro teachers to help overcome the academic shortcomings of their training. The assistance, which could be either by grant, loan, or both, should be based by the Secretary on a finding that the project as described and planned by the local administrators would make a substantial contribution to the success of desegregation.

*The Secretary should be instructed by the statute to adopt as his criterion of "desegregation" a unified school system. Only those projects should qualify which look toward, and are integral parts of a plan toward, the full integration of faculties, administrators, facilities, and the assignment of all students without regard to race; and which envision this accomplishment within a reasonably short period.***

Other forms of federal assistance, not reasonably connected to such technical projects as are mentioned above, should not be offered by Congress. So-called "compensatory" aid has sometimes been proposed, even to the inclusion of construction costs. We think there is a moral flaw in such proposals, and that they also rest on an unproven, and we suspect unprovable, premise; viz., that integrated schools exceed the cost of "separate, but equal" schools.* Furthermore school desegregation law should not be a means of importing federal aid to education through the legislative back door for some school districts only. Construction can be adroitly used to freeze or even to reverse the process of desegregation and this is a second reason for not allowing federal cost assistance.

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* 358 U.S. 1, 1619 (1958).

** Although otherwise the technical assistance provisions (Sections 301-306) of the Administration's bill seem to us soundly planned, they do rest on a definition of "desegregation" (Sec. 301b) which may well be soon obsolete. There are cases pending, some for a long while, which go beyond the bill's definition as "assignment . . . without regard to . . . race." Several northern cases seek, in effect, a finding that the 14th Amendment right is a right to attend a biracial school. But there are also cases in the South which go further than the assignment question and which argue that the 14th Amendment confers a right to attend a school system which is organized and administered throughout, without regard to race.

* There might be a case for compensation had the South in fact provided equal schools. The logic would be that southern states had acted on the understanding that *Plessy v. Ferguson* was the law of the land, and therefore merited assistance when the constitutional issue was settled to the contrary in 1954. Whatever the force of this argument, it is lost both by the failure to provide equality between 1896 and 1954, and by noncompliance after 1954.

Several bills before the 88th Congress, including the Administration bill, would extend and broaden the functions of the Commission on Civil Rights, and would direct it to become a clearinghouse for information and a supplier of technical advice and assistance to those responsible for school desegregation (and other civil rights matters). As stated in S. 1117 and H. R. 5456, the CCR would

> serve as a national clearing house for information, and provide advice and technical assistance to Government agencies, communities, industries, organizations or individuals in . . . the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

We think there is much merit in the proposal, though as pertains to education the respective roles of the Commission and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be carefully distinguished.

Finally, Congress should, of course, repeal that section of the Morrill Act** which countenances segregated land grant colleges. The provision is anachronistic, and we believe of no legal standing or force now; consequently, we think the Administration has been lax by its continued observance of it. Congress should, nevertheless, remove this stain.

Moreover, probably the largest federal investment in education is represented by the vast federal research programs. In these various programs, Congress has imposed no dictates on the President or his subordinates as to choice of recipient. It is and has been the executive who often chooses to spend funds at segregated institutions, and it is the executive who has the responsibility to stop doing so.

Equal Employment Rights

Private property rights have historically included an employer's rights to select his employees. Even with complete legal freedom, however, employers have been strongly influenced in their hiring policies by the pressures of popular opinion and custom, and by the prejudices (or supposed prejudices) of customers and other employees. Such restrictions on the employer's freedom to hire as he pleases do not need to be organized in order to be effective. In contrast, members of minority groups can exert influence on the employer only by organizing (e.g., a boycott) or with the assistance of law.

Federal law has for some years restricted the employer's freedom to discriminate against union members, to hire children, to employ women on prejudicial terms, and to pay substandard wages or to work overlong hours.

With this history, there is no obvious reason why the question of the rights of private property should again be debated. It would seem that unless one were prepared to argue for the repeal of these other restrictions on the employer's freedom, he could not legitimately contend for a right to discriminate on racial or creedal grounds.

On the other hand, racial and creedal discrimination does in a unique way

** And should do likewise with similar provisions of law in other fields, such as the Hill-Burton Act. These goals would be realized by Section 601 of the Administration bill.

involve the prejudices not only of the employer himself but of his customers and other employees. Very probably, both the extent and the durability of this prejudice are exaggerated. But regardless, when the employer's prejudice is reinforced by that of customers and fellow workers, the economic situation of the minority group member is especially hopeless, and especially deserving of legal protection. A democratic government has no higher task than the protection of the weak.

The government of our democracy has indeed impelling reasons to combat employment discrimination. These may be summed up under the three heads of developing talents and skills, enlarging national purchasing power, and the continuing obligation of America to build an open, fluid society.

There is little need to dwell here on economics. The drastic and rapidly recurring transition in technology and in distribution methods, the imperative of an expanding market in order to sustain economic growth, the pressures of population, and the steady obliteration of regional economies all point to an inexorable need that people be equipped with marketable skills and talents and that they be enabled to earn well in order to buy well. Our national self-interest coincides with Negro aspirations for employment opportunities.

A sound democracy must be a society open to talents. In simpler days, of industrial adolescence, abundant land, and scarce people, government had only to leave alone in order for talents to flourish and find their levels. Modern government has to hold back and clear away the weeds and the clutter of a matured and complicated society that choke some of our people from the chance to develop themselves. Job discrimination is a particularly obnoxious growth, and one which is practically insuperable through individual effort. And as Mr. Robert Weaver has said, "Discrimination in housing and public places and in education is degrading and insulting. But discrimination in employment robs a man of the daily bread for himself and his family."*

No one should suppose that an antidiscrimination law will in itself end the employment hardships of Negroes. It will not. We have an enormous problem of disadvantaged people, embracing perhaps a tenth or even more of our citizens who are undereducated, wrongly trained, and culturally distorted. These people, who are of all races, are poorly prepared to accept employment opportunities, and their rescue from inaptitude is a mammoth national task which nearly all governmental bodies have as yet combined in shirking. President Kennedy, in his message of June 19, 1963, coupled manpower training with civil rights. Congress should give unstinted consideration to this part of the message, and to the bills now before it to carry out the training program.

Yet if nondiscrimination is not a specific cure, discrimination has been a specific cause. It has to be removed, in schools, in employment, in housing, and at the polls, or else there can be no general progress in the well-being of our disadvantaged people, or their ability to add to the common good.

We can conveniently look at the employment question under several categories:

1. federal employment;
2. employment in interstate and foreign commerce;
3. employment by federal contractors;

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* As quoted in the *New York Times,* June 5, 1963.

4. employment by state and local governments;
5. employment by state and local governments, and by private institutions, for work financed by federal funds.

(1) There is no need for Congress to legislate regarding discrimination in federal employment. The President has sufficient authority to set standards in the Civil Service, and he has the clear responsibility to prevent discrimination. President Kennedy has gone further, and the present Administration has conscientiously and vigorously made a special effort to recruit and place Negroes in nontraditional jobs, and to hire in larger numbers. Much progress has, accordingly, been made toward fairer representation, and toward enhancing the aspirations of Negroes by the visible evidence of real opportunities. The President has only persuasive authority over certain independent agencies, but that is usually enough; if he should find that it is not, he could report his difficulties to Congress. In federal employment, the responsibility is the President's, and Congress should not dilute it by presumptive acting.

(2) Acting under the commerce clause, Congress should ban discrimination by all businesses engaged in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce. The law should contain a prohibition against discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin, and a complaint procedure available either to the complaining individual or an organization acting in his behalf and at his request. The prohibition should extend not only to discrimination in hiring, but also to discrimination in recruitment; promotion, demotion, or transfer; layoff and dismissal; compensation; selection for training, including apprenticeship; membership in employee organizations; seniority rights; and access to all plant or office facilities.

The responsibility for administering the law should be vested in the Department of Labor. We think this preferable to a commission-type administration (an FEPC) because it would permit vigorous enforcement through established regulatory procedures. Enforcement of fair employment is a natural adjunct to the Labor Department's enforcement of wages and hours standards or other federally imposed standards on employers.

This means that the Department should not only act on complaints, but should by appropriate regulations establish suitable enforcement, inspection, and educational programs. Enforcement should include the power to order specific alterations of practice, and to issue cease and desist orders.

A complaint procedure is half meaningless unless it is, as it usually is not, expeditious. Congress should consult the experience of the various state anti-discrimination commissions now operating, as well as that of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. One suggestion that Congress might consider is a provision that all complaints be heard initially by authorized regional or district officials, or by specially assigned officials in case of overcrowded dockets; that a decision must be given within 30 days of filing of complaint; and that in the event of employer appeal against a decision, the individual should during the appeal period have the benefits of the examiner's finding.

We think there should be no elaborate appeals procedure, available either to the employer or the individual. Appeals should go directly from the examiner to an impartial appeals board, and its decision should be final, subject only to

review by a federal Court of Appeals confined to questions of law and due process. A similar appeals procedure would suffice for contesting the orders of an inspector enforcing the Department's regulations.

An interesting question is the relationship of a federal fair employment program to the state programs now operative, with enforcement powers, in 20 states.* We think federal programs should not preempt satisfactory state programs, even for firms in interstate or foreign commerce, unless there is a clear-cut administrative advantage. This should not be beyond the skill of legislative draftsmen to provide, nor should cooperative administration be beyond the ingenuity of federal and state officials. An approach to a like question is taken by the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, which expressly negates an inference of federal pre-emption in those situations where the federal agency has not assumed jurisdiction, and thereby permits parties to obtain relief under state law, Washington has enough to do without doing a job that the states can do as well or better. It may well be that both employer and minority group member would prefer a state administration close at hand, to a remote and impersonal federal.

(3) Employment by federal contractors is a special case. Appropriately, federal contractors should, in virtue of their relationship to the government, make a special contribution to the national need to utilize and develop fully our manpower. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has diligently established a compliance system under Executive Order 10925 and, operating on the base of a statute applicable to all interstate commerce, the Committee could drop its policing functions and concentrate on the much discussed but rather nebulous "affirmative" requirements of the Executive Order. It could, in other words, demand from contractors, and aid them in effecting positive programs to bring minority group members into full participation in the national work force, on the premise that firms doing business with the government enter thereby into a partnership of national goals. Of the various techniques the Committee and, under its guidance, federal offices have already devised, we are especially impressed by the Defense Department's staff of Intergroup Relations Specialists, working in the field with contractors. No separate legislation seems required, the President having clear enough authority through his procurement power. Certainly, however, the President should ask for and Congress should grant funds necessary for the Committee, instead of using funds, as at present, appropriated for other purposes; if a statutory foundation for the Committee would facilitate this, that legislation should pass.

Furthermore, by control of appropriations both for the Committee and — more importantly — for the statutory programs over all employment in interstate and foreign commerce, Congress would be in a position to terminate. This is as it should be. We should not suppose an everlasting need for antidiscrimination measures. It may be an enduring part of human psychology to pay as little as one can for as much as one can get, and therefore a wage and hour law will always be useful. But to believe that racial prejudice is similarly basic to

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* Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin. Antidiscrimination laws, with little or no enforcement power, exist also in Idaho, Indiana, and Kentucky.

human nature is morally self-defeating. Our conviction must be that once the discrimination barriers are broken, and minority members are equipped to hold their own, there will be in a free society neither the desire nor the possibility of re-erecting the old walls.

(4) Does employment discrimination by state or municipal bodies fall under the ban of the equal protection clause? The question has not been adjudicated but the trend of recent decisions is clearly in that direction.

(5) A quite different question is presented by state or local programs financed in whole or in substantial part by federal dollars. The temptation to discuss this issue at length is considerable, for some of the racially discriminatory uses of federal money are shocking, through a great variety of outlets including but unfortunately not limited to the National Guard, the U. S. Employment Service, Hill-Burton hospital construction, the several federal highway programs, the multitudinous federal farm offices, air terminals, and many others. But many words might serve only to obscure the simplicity of the matter. It ought to be axiomatic that wherever money from the common treasury goes within this country, the Constitution goes along. It is unthinkable that the use of federal money to favor some of us and disfavor others of us could be rationally defended. This is so clear that to many it is not at all clear that any legislation to this end seems needed: the President, it would seem, has no right to spend money which will yield racial discrimination. The hard job of enforcement would be made more feasible, however, by Congressional action. A prohibition on discrimination by state and local governments or their contractors or agents, on all projects financed in whole or in substantial part by the federal treasury, should be included in the proposed fair employment act,* and administered by the Department of Labor, with the added sanction of a funds cutoff to insure compliance.

Voting Rights

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were addressed principally to voting rights. That these first civil rights acts in four generations were concerned with voting, evidences its centrality among our civic values as well as our civic shortcomings. The problem of voting rights has been long and familiarly before us, and has been thoroughly documented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;** further description here would be superfluous.

From the history of the last few years, some conclusions and inferences can be drawn, which we state seriatim:

(1) With the exception of a few pockets of discrimination against American Indians and Mexicans the denial of voting rights is a problem peculiar to certain areas in southern states and to their Negro residents. The problem is not even regional in scope: in extensive areas of the South, and the most populous one at that, Negroes today register and vote freely. Legislation of general

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* Sec. 601 of the Administration's bill could accomplish this end. The President's Executive Order 11114 of June 22, 1963, also will help.

** See *Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights,* 1959. *Voting,* 1961, U.S.C.C.R. Report. *Hearings Before the U.S.C.C.R., Voting,* 1959 (the Alabama hearings). *Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina,* U.S.C.C.R., 1962. See also: *Civil Rights-1959,* Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Parts I-IV.

application, such as the Administration's literacy bill of 1962,** would supersede state laws all over the country in order to reach abuses that are state-wide in at most only two or three states, and which are virulent in parts of not more than three others.†

(2) Voting discrimination and low Negro participation are not always equivalent. In the states of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, where there are today only isolated and passing discriminatory practices, Negro participation is low but is remediable by education and organized effort; the same is true of large areas of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and scattered areas of the other three Deep South states. The evil of discrimination is confined, in other words, to certain communities of the Deep South where the constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers.†† These are, and should rationally be regarded as, outlaw communities. Our federal system will be less seriously challenged by federal power brought to bear directly on these communities, than by federal laws which supersede state laws everywhere.

(3) This is not meant to preclude federal regulation of elections, or the establishment of federal standards when, in the judgment of Congress, they are necessary or desirable. There is, we think, outstanding merit in the bill introduced by Senator Hart at each Congress since 1959.* Senator Hart's bill authorizes the federal administration of registration and primary and general elections for U.S. Senators and Representatives in any district where a Congressional Election Commission "determines that unless such election is conducted by the Commission, persons having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the Congressional District is located are likely to be denied their right . . . to cast their votes and to have them fairly counted." On the sound premise that Congress has full authority under Article I, Sec. 4 of the Constitution to regulate elections of its own members, the proposed Commission would act solely at its discretion and without any recourse to the courts. It would, however, *follow state law* in registering eligible voters.

(4) The Hart bill goes to the key issue, as the Administration's 1962 literacy bill did not. The tool of discrimination is not the literacy laws of southern states, but their immoral and illegal administration, coupled with the physical intimidation and economic coercion of Negroes. Nor would the proposed sixth-grade literacy presumption of the Administration's 1963 voting bill** reach the extra-legal threat of violence or economic reprisal, and there is every prudent

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** The Senate rider to H. R. 1361, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (1962).

† At least two bills are before the 88th Cong., 1st Sess. which would implement the 14th amendment by reducing the House representation of states depriving eligible persons of the franchise: S. 1644 introduced by Sen. McNamara; and H. R. 6801, introduced by Rep. Stratton. To the same end is *Lampkin v. Hodges,* filed May 28, 1963 before the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia.

†† See Report of the Mississippi Advisory Committee, *Report on Mississippi,* January 1963, U.S.C.C.R. Report; Voter Education Project, press release of March 28, 1963 on 64 Mississippi atrocities.

* S. 1281, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (1963).

** S. 1731, § 101(b). See also the Administration's earlier bill, S. 1283, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (1963).

reason to suppose that communities which now illegally administer literacy requirements would resort to these extra-legal methods if their practices were set aside by a federal rule. Enactment of the sixth-grade presumption would provide a salutary device, but we caution against overly optimistic expectation of its value.

(5) In 1959 the Commission on Civil Rights proposed that federal registrars be appointed by the President in counties found by the President to practice discrimination.† Congress chose, instead, in the Civil Rights Act of 1960 to invoke the judicial process. Experience does not suggest that this was wise. Voter registration is, after all, a ministerial act. The courts' proper and necessary function is to protect individuals from illegal treatment by the functionnaires commissioned to register their names. To ask the courts to do more than this, to ask them — as the Act of 1960 does — to look into the complex whole of a county's or state's practices and ascertain what "pattern" exists, to ask them to supervise the registration of deprived persons or even to register them directly, all this is a heavy and unnatural load on the judicial process. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 were intended to facilitate Negro registration, but they were poorly designed for that purpose. It is sufficient to note that of the 40 voting cases filed under the Acts of 1957 and 1960, only 19 have reached decisions, and of the 30 cases filed since January 20, 1961, only 9 have been decided.

We seriously question, therefore, whether Congressional effort should be expended on the further refining of a basically defective approach. The Administration's present effort to do so (Sec. 101c) seeks by extraordinarily, almost monstrously, complicated means to make judicial administration perform a ministerial service. The effort should be to get the voting question out of the courts, not more deeply into it.

(6) The Acts of 1957 and 1960, imperfect as they are, do provide legal means for federal suppression of the grosser violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments. The Department of Justice has enforced them conscientiously and, with additional lawyers, could do yet more. (Amendment of the laws would be far less helpful than would appropriations making possible more attorneys in the Civil Rights Division.) As previously said, voting discrimination occurs now, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and instructions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

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† *Report of the U.S.C.C.R.*, 1959, p. 141.

Moreover, the Attorney-General may seek through the courts appropriate orders to prevent any parties from interfering with the registration or voting process.* We are, therefore, glad to note that the Department of Justice in *U. S. v. Greenwood,* now pending before the federal district court of northern Mississippi, has taken the position that freedom of assembly in connection with voter registration is a right within the power of the Attorney-General to make secure.**

Conclusion

There is an urgent need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in favor of equality is clouded and imperfect. The voting legislation of 1957 and 1960 has not achieved this end. It reaches only the issues of discriminatory application of state laws, or vicious interference with the exercise of the federal voting right. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 fall short of a Congressional affirmation of equality as an attribute of national and state citizenship.

For reasons which are now a part of history, but also for reasons of intrinsic value the first Congressional action should, above all, include a strong, well-designed school desegregation law. We propose that this have the following elements:

(a) "Desegregated schools" should be defined as those which accord each child the right to attend a nonracial school system.

(b) The primary aim of legislation, at this time, should be to effect starts in those biracial school districts of the South which have made no beginning.

(c) To this end, each school board having jurisdiction over such a district would be required to prepare and make public a desegregation plan.

(d) Further, the Attorney-General must be authorized to bring desegregation suits in the name of the United States, and to intervene in cases brought by private plaintiffs.

(e) And further, technical assistance from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to facilitate desegregation should be available to school districts, South and North, for projects specifically related to the desegregation process.

(f) The right of private plaintiffs, through counsel of their choosing to bring desegregation suits, should be carefully preserved.

The Notre Dame conference considered also the fields of employment and voting.

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* The argument made above in paragraph 6 was stated earlier by the Notre Dame Law School Conference in a preliminary statement submitted to the President on February 12, 1963, and subsequently inserted by Senator Douglas in the *Congressional Record* for February 19, at page 2388. The statement urged a more extensive use of executive powers to cope with voting discrimination, and the employment of additional methods to expedite cases and to bring them to satisfactory results. The statement was documented at the request of his conferees by G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin, in a memorandum submitted to the Civil Rights Division on March 15, 1963.

** Senator Javits introduced a bill (S. 1693) on June 11, 1963, which would give statutory authorization for injunctions to prevent deprivation of rights by officials or private persons in Albany or Birmingham-type situations that are not clearly related to voting rights. Comments by distinguished law professors regarding the Constitutionality and need of the bill are printed in the *Congressional Record* for June 11 at pages 9970-9972.

Congress has waited long to act in enforcement of the 14th Amendment. When it at last does so, it should direct its action toward fundamental causes of racial inequity. The President's proposals for manpower training go to this problem. But without effective legislation to ban job discrimination, they will not be enough. A fair employment law is required.

The law should be administered by the Department of Labor (not by a new commission), and should cover all phases of the employment process of firms engaged in or affecting interstate and foreign commerce. The law should reach also employment, of all descriptions, carried on by state or local governments and by private institutions for work financed in whole or in part by federal funds.

We recommend further that, by several means, the law should rely on administrative regulations rather than quasi-judicial methods for enforcement. We think that this can be realized by incorporating the administration into the Department of Labor, and bringing the whole structure of the Department into responsibility for the work.

We propose that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity be continued, and that it press strongly to bring governmental contractors into partnership with the national government through affirmative actions that specially contribute to the development of job skills among Negroes and other minorities, and their full utilization.

In the third field — voting discrimination — the Notre Dame conference strongly believes that additional legislation is not a sufficient remedy.

The problem is neither nation-wide nor region-wide. The condition which requires federal attention is the lawlessness that exists in a relatively small number of outlaw communities of the Deep South.

This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

We have here, in short, a problem of enforcement, and the President's power is adequate, strengthened by the Acts of 1957 and 1960, to create conditions which permit every citizen, freely and without fear, to register to vote, to cast his vote, and to have it honestly counted.

This is the centennial year of Emancipation. It is also the year when Negro patience with systematized social deprivation has finally broken. It is the year for Congress to act.

October 9, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I share your good feelings about the responses about the conference, and have forwarded the letters to Mr. Clareman. I look forward with eagerness to publication.

I hope that you have been well.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

September 30, 1963

RECEIVED
OCT 2 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I enclose letters received from key members of Congress to whom I sent a pre-publication copy of the report on our Civil Rights Legislation Conference. This really seems to me to be a surprisingly good response.

After reading, I shall be obliged if you will send these letters to Mr. Jack Clareman, Christopher Reynolds Foundation, 6 East 45th St., New York 17, New York, with the request that he return them to me after he has looked them over.

Hope all is well with you.

With all the best,

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw
Encls.

November 13, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I should have written much sooner to thank you for thinking to send us 50 copies of the conference report. We have mailed most of them out to various people.

I would like to compliment the student editors on the fine job they have done.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 6, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I believe you will find the enclosed letter from Judge Tyler interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

December 10, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Yes, I did find Judge Tyler's letter interesting and thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of it.

With the Season's Greetings and all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

November 3, 1964

Mr. Jim Silver
Professor of History
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Mr. Silver:

Mr. Dunbar has asked that I send you the following addresses:

1. Dr. Robert Spike
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

2. Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Executive Secretary
Lawyers' Consitutional Defense Committee
156 Fifth Avenue - 9th Floor
New York, New York

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Sandra L. Walker
Secretary

SLW

March 3, 1966

Professor William Foster
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

This is merely to thank you for the opportunity to attend the Notre Dame Conference. It was good to have this time with you and the others, and I benefitted a great deal from it.

Come see us sometime.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 3, 1966

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
South Bend, Indiana 46556

Dear Dean O'Meara:

This is to thank you again for your hospitality and for the opportunity to attend the Conference. I found it very stimulating and informative, and am grateful for having been a part of it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bring up
Feb. 8

February 4, 1966

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I do plan to be at the February 18-20 conference and look forward to meeting you at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 1/24/66

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

TELEPHONE 284-6626

January 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I think we can assume that civil rights proposals will be forcefully pressed in the near future and it is not unlikely that legislation or executive action of some kind will ultimately come into being. This imposes on all of us the responsibility to contribute in whatever way we can to sound, constructive action in this area. For this reason the Notre Dame Law School is happy to be able to host a Civil Rights Conference to be held at Notre Dame on February 18-20, 1966, and I take great pleasure in formally welcoming you as a participant in that conference.

It is my understanding that you have received from Professor G. W. Foster, Jr., a memorandum entitled "Conference Ground Rules and Housekeeping Details" setting out the format of the conference. Of course, if you have any questions we shall be glad to try to answer them.

Is any there material Dep. PA here?

We are planning a dinner for all the participants at 6:30 p.m., Thursday, February 17 in the Morris Inn. I hope you will be able to join us then. We have made arrangements with the Morris Inn for each participant to share a room with a fellow participant during the conference. I look forward to welcoming you to the campus next month.

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cc

Take feeder
Notre Dame Ethics
" Conf on Civil Rights - 1966

return GOP

MJ

February 4, 1966

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Bill:

Whatever the travel schedule, I shall make every effort to be at Notre Dame in time for dinner.on February 17.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Recd 1/28/66

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

January 25, 1966

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

A more or less final list of invitees to the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights is attached. In another ten days we hope to have the three background papers in the mail to each of you, and arrangements for the conference seem to be in excellent shape from all appearances.

We will expect you to get into Notre Dame sometime Thursday evening, February 17, and our session will commence the following morning at 9 a.m. A room is reserved in your name at the Morris Inn on the Notre Dame campus (though you will probably share it with another conferee).

It will be good to see you.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:glh

Enclosure

Civil Rights Conference Invitees

The following 24 persons have agreed to accept invitations to the Notre Dame Civil Rights Conference (and apart from Dean O'Meara, Professor Broden and Father Lewers who presently reside at Notre Dame) all others plan to arrive at the Morris Inn on Thursday, February 17, and to depart Sunday, February 20, 1966:

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Arnold Aronson, Executive Director
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Professor Carl Auerbach
University of Minnesota Law School
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Berl Bernhard, Attorney
1875 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Wiley Branton
Special Assistant to the Atty. General
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Professor Thomas Broden
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Vernon Eagle, Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

John Feild
U. S. Conference of Mayors
1707 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
Univ. of Wisconsin Law School
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Eli Ginzberg, Director
Conservation of Human Resources
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Professor Robert Harris
University of Michigan Law School
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Vivian Henderson
President, Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Frank S. Horne
N. Y. Housing & Redevelopment Board
2 Lafayette Street
New York, New York 10007

Father William Lewers, CSC
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Burke Marshall, General Counsel
International Business Machines
Armunk, New York

Joseph O'Meara, Dean
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

John de J. Pemberton, Executive Dir.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Professor Dan Pollitt
Univ. of North Carolina Law School
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

John Silard, Attorney
1631 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

William Taylor, Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
17th and Pennsylvania, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Professor Daniel Thompson
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

John Wheeler
Mechanics & Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Bring up Feb. 8, 1966

file

MJ - bullet to Pres

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

December 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We are delighted, Paul, that you will be able to attend the Notre Dame conference February 18-20. A memorandum is enclosed to pass along some of the ground rules for the affair.

We set up the budget for the conference on the assumption that about half of the conferees would be able to charge their expenses in attending the conference to the organizations to which they are attached. Three years ago Leslie Dunbar charged SRC for his trip to a similar conference, and if you can do the same, it will be helpful to us. If this cannot work out, however, let me know promptly and we will see to it that a way is found to get you to Notre Dame.

Again, I am glad you are coming. It will be good to see you.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:glh

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

December 21, 1965

Memorandum

TO: Conferees, 1966 Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights

FROM: G. W. Foster, Jr. GWF

RE: Conference Ground Rules and Housekeeping Details

The 1966 Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights will be held February 18 through 20. The opening session will commence promptly at 9:00 am on Friday and the closing session will end at noon Sunday. All sessions will be in the Morris Inn on the Notre Dame Campus and rooms will be reserved in the name of each conferee at the Morris Inn for the nights of February 17 through 19 (Thursday through Saturday nights).

The Conference will follow closely the pattern of the quite successful Notre Dame Conference of February 8-10, 1963. This time, as before, the Conference will focus on Federal responsibilities for civil rights. Well in advance of the Conference discussion papers will be distributed to the invited conferees. Two substantive topics - employment and housing - and the procedural question of improving the organization of existing Federal civil rights activities will be considered at the Conference. The authors of the discussion papers will be:

John Feild, U.S. Conference of Mayors (Employment);
Prof. Robert Harris, University of Michigan Law School (Housing); and
Prof. Carl Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School (Organization of Federal civil rights activities).

The papers and later the Conference itself will discuss what further Executive action can be taken under existing legislative and constitutional powers; and what further legislative authorization should be sought. It is not the Conference aim to draft Executive Orders or legislative bills; rather it is to attempt definition of problems, suggest courses of action, allocate responsibilities for action and assign priorities for steps to be taken.

The Conference will be conducted on an off-the-record basis. All discussion will concentrate on the suitability of solutions for solving particular problems. Or, put another way, the political acceptability of any proposal will not be a Conference concern. The objective is to produce the best ideas possible, and not just the best ideas which might be politically feasible.

Somewhat fewer than 25 invited conferees will participate. Following the Conference a report of the findings and conclusions will be prepared by Harold Fleming of Potomac Institute and the Conference Report will appear in The Notre Dame Lawyer, from which reprints will be made. A reprint copy of the 1963 Conference Report is enclosed as an example of what is intended for the 1966 Conference.

Expenses

The Conference is operating on a limited budget. Wherever possible invited conferees are urged attend at the expense of the organizations with which they are regularly associated. Conferees unable to do this will be reimbursed from Conference funds for their out-of-pocket expenses in attending, including of course the necessary transportation by commercial carriers. No conferee should, however, come

at his own expense. To assist me in managing the Conference budget I would appreciate having each invitee let me know promptly whether he will look to Conference funds to cover the expenses of his attendance.

Travel Plans

Each invitee should arrange his own travel plans. You should plan on reaching Notre Dame Thursday evening, February 17, and can plan on departing from the South Bend airport at any time after 1:00 pm, Sunday, February 20.

Room Reservations

Guaranteed reservations will be made at the Morris Inn in the name of each conferee for the nights of Thursday through Saturday. If your plans cannot conform to these reservations, you should contact the Morris Inn directly. The address is The Morris Inn, Notre Dame, Indiana, and any communication should refer to the Civil Rights Conference of February 18-20, 1966.

If you have further questions: Write, or phone me collect at the University of Wisconsin at any time up to the morning of Thursday, February 17. (Thereafter direct calls to Prof. Thomas Broden, Notre Dame Law School.) The Madison Area Code is 608. My office telephone is 262-1815 and my home phone is 238-8995.

File Notre Dame Conf Feb. 1966

July 25, 1966

WAB:rb

Mr. Joseph O'Meara
Dean, Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Dear Dean O'Meara:

This will acknowledge receipt of 25 preprints of the report of the Conference on Civil Rights held at Notre Dame last February.

I will distribute most of my copies to interested individuals and feel that any names of groups or agencies which I might send you would merely duplicate recommendations from Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council, where I worked before coming to government.

With kind personal regards.

Very truly yours,

WILEY A. BRANTON
Special Assistant to the
Attorney General

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

File
Notre Dame Conf.

July 26, 1966

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
NBore Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Enclosed are two lists: (1) those of the members of the Council,(2) the officers and directors of the Councils on Human Relations in the southern states. We would be grateful if you would share copies of the reprints with these individuals, all of whom would be very interested in the proceedings of the Conference and the ideas proposed.

Let me thank you again for having the opportunity to attend such a valuable and stimulating meeting.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

(1)

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

TELEPHONE 284-6626

July 13, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I enclose herewith for your use 25 preprints of a report of the conference on Civil Rights held at Notre Dame February 17-20.

We have approximately 2,000 preprints and would like to use them in the most effective fashion. Could you give some thought to persons and groups who should receive preprints. If you will send the names and addresses to me I shall see that your suggestions are carried out.

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M/cc
Enc.

NOTRE DAME LAWYER

Notre Dame Conference on Federal Civil Rights Legislation and Administration: A Report

Preprinted from
Vol. 41, Notre Dame Lawyer

NOTES
LEGISLATION & ADMINISTRATION
RECENT DECISIONS
BOOK REVIEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE
NOTRE DAME LAW SCHOOL

File Notre Dame Univ.

MJ

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

TELEPHONE 284-6626

August 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Dean O'Meara has referred your kind letter of July 26 to me. First let me thank you for the mailing lists. Copies of the report went to all persons on the mailing list today.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Assistant Dean

TFB/cc

Separate mailing:

24, #5 vol. 23, #4 1968

New South: Vols. 1,2,3,~~4~~ Fall, winter, spring, summer, 1969.

September 11, 1969

Dr. Samuel Shapiro
Department of History
University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Dear Dr. Shapiro:

We are sending you the last four issues of New South and placing your name on our mailing list to receive other SRC publications.

Requested 9/11/69 via Tom

Enclosed is a copy of our Publications List. If you will indicate on the list which of the items you feel would be useful to you, we will be happy to send them without charge.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Department of History
283-7266

September 5, 1969

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Owing to Professor James Silver's leave of absence this coming year to teach in Florida, I am taking over his course in Afro-American History. He has showed me some of the excellent materials on current racial and social problems in the South put out by your Council, and suggested I write to ask to be placed on your mailing list. Since I am coming to this course with no previous experience in that area, and since the situation in the South is changing so rapidly, I would be most grateful to have available any current or back issues of your publications, and any other information about the work of the Council.

Professor Silver suggests that, now that he is to return to a southern teaching position, he might be able to work directly with the Council once again. He will be teaching in the Department of History, the Universityof South Florida, Tampa, Florida.

Very truly,

Samuel Shapiro

(Dr.) Samuel Shapiro

SS:cmr

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME
Department of Public Information
James E. Murphy, Director

60/8

For release in AM's, Sunday, January 24th:

Notre Dame, Ind., Jan. 23 --- Members of Congress and law school deans from Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Ohio, Wisconsin and Michigan are among those invited to participate in a Conference on Civil Rights to be held at The Notre Dame Law School February 14th (Sunday), Dean Joseph O'Meara announced today.

Representatives of several federal agencies and departments also will take part in the sessions which will explore the recommendations of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and study civil rights measures pending in Congress. O'Meara said the one-day conference is designed to stimulate discussion and an exchange of views among legislators, members of law school faculties and other persons professionally concerned with civil rights problems.

Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Notre Dame president and a member of the Civil Rights Commission, will welcome participants at the opening session (9:30 a.m.) and address the conference luncheon. Rep. John Brademas, of Indiana's Third Congressional District, and Dean O'Meara will lead the several discussion periods.

Three major civil rights areas will be explored during the Notre Dame conference. "Protecting the Right to Vote" will be the subject of the first session. An opening statement of the problem will be presented by Prof. Harris L. Wofford, Jr., of the Notre Dame Law School and former legal assistant to Father Hesburgh on the Civil Rights Commission.

The second conference session will be devoted to the subject of "Assisting School Desegregation." Notre Dame law professor Bernard J. Ward will outline the problem in an opening statement.

"Equal Opportunity in Housing" will be the third major subject of the conference. Discussion will be preceded by a survey of the problem presented by Prof. Thomas F. Broden, Jr., of the law school.

The conference will close with a reception at The Morris Inn on the campus.

, end

PRE-PUBLICATION COPY OF ARTICLE TO BE PUBLISHED IN AN EARLY ISSUE OF THE NOTRE DAME LAWYER

file

This is the report of a conference on problems of Congressional civil rights legislation held at the Notre Dame University Law School February 8 - 10, 1963. By fortunate coincidence, as the report was completed Congress had already before it a civil rights bill backed by unusually strong Presidential support.

This circumstance has had, of course, its difficult side for the preparers of this report, the least of which has been revising an earlier draft in order to take account of the Administration's measure. In fact, most of the provisions of the President's proposal (except Title II) were debated, at least in general terms, by the conference, and a consensus reached about them.

A more basic difficulty will be apparent when we note that the working premise of the Notre Dame Conference, as laid down by Dean Joseph O'Meara in our first session, was that we should frame recommendations without regard to anyone's views of their political chances. This is, therefore, a report of the consensus we reached as to what Congress should pass, not as to what it possibly or probably might pass.

We continue to believe that this was a sound approach. We do, of course, recognize that the legislative decision this year will be made on the Administration's bill. Perhaps,

nevertheless, what is reported here will be helpful to Congress as it deliberates, and will help the country understand better the problems and the results which may be expected from various legislative approaches to them.

The conference was limited to three subjects: schools, employment, and voting. We have, therefore, no recommendations or reflections to report on the public accommodations part of the President's program (Title II).

This report states the consensus of the conference. The extent of agreement reached through extensive discussion was impressive, and except at a few points the consensus was well-nigh perfect. This was all the more notable, because many differing views had been brought to the meetings.

The conferees participated as individuals, not as representatives of their institutions. They included, in addition to Dean O'Meara, Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (as observer); Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney,

Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (as observer); John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina. We had also the benefit of consultation with President Hesburgh, and the gracious, friendly hospitality of the Notre Dame campus.

INTRODUCTION

The crisis of America's race relations has become almost unbearably intense, and its causes are interlaced with countless characteristics of our history and our social structure. These are propositions for which any elaboration, at this time, would be redundant.

The present crisis is not the first in our history. Crises in race relations, as in the other relationships of men with men, are not necessarily caused by worsened conditions; the opposite may in fact be so. But as long as the relationships enclose and nurture discontent on one or both sides, periodic crises will occur. The present crisis is far less brutal and violent than that of 1917 - 1921. It has probably been accompanied by no deeper or more widespread moral self-scrutiny, religious debate, or intellectual and literary study than went with the racial crisis of Civil War days.

Those crises passed, and after each the condition of Negro Americans was still bad. What is primarily different about the present crisis is that it is not likely to pass until a new equilibrium acceptable to Negroes is reached. Earlier crises ended when white people tired of them; this one will not.

The pressure of this fact, or perhaps the realization of it, has much to do with creating the contemporary emotional urgings of both Negroes and whites, the all too facile bandying about of such concepts as "hatred" and "revolution," and the obsessive over-valuation of the strength

of the Black Muslims. On the other hand, prudence, if nothing else, dictates the working assumption that no person has reason to have an attachment to a constitutional system if its processes fail to make real its guarantees.

If Congress had no other reason to act to end the crisis, this would be sufficient: unless the crisis is overcome, the Constitution as we know it will bend. Concepts such as federalism, and universal obedience to the courts, and Presidential deference to the legislative will of Congress, have already been affected. There are reasons at least as good, and some of us will think even better, for Congressional action: these have to do with justice and friendship and religion. But Congress has a special responsibility to defend and protect the Constitution.

Political science distinguishes between the "deliberative" and the "representative" functions of a legislature. Congress is our representative body, and there is no other which can so express and certify the national will. As long as Congress is silent, civil rights has something of a bootleg aspect. Congress has not been altogether silent. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 and the poll tax amendments are of value, but at the most they give protection, and a laggard one at that, for but one right. What the country urgently needs, and what American constitutionalism is weakened by the absence of, is an unambiguous registering of the national will in behalf of racial justice, as only Congress in its representative role can do.

The subsequent pages of this paper are hopefully intended to help Congress in its deliberative role; i.e., in defining and framing its policies. In this field of civil rights, and at this time, Congress by deliberating and enacting will also be representing, supplying the will and the resolution that can put the crisis behind us.

The times require, in other words, not only that Congress act wisely, but that it act -- and act with dispatch, and without ambiguity or timidity. But if in its drive to represent the national will, Congress does not act wisely, the outcome could be bitter. Congress passed voting laws in 1957 and 1960 which were not suited to achieve their goals, and have not done so. Their failure has contributed to the present crisis, because those laws brought disillusion on top of high hopes.

In order to act effectively, Congress should be guided by certain principles that include the following:

(1) Congress should legislate not for the appeasement of crisis, but for the solution of it.

(2) Administrative actions, when appropriate and Constitutional, are more effective and less piecemeal than judicial remedies.

(3) Where possible and suitable, it is good federal practice to draw support from state and local governments in the administration of federal programs.

(4) In some problem areas, the national interest is best served by local solutions. In such problem

areas, Congressional action is not appropriate when there is a realistic prospect of a prompt solution at the local level.

EQUAL RIGHTS TO PUBLIC EDUCATION

The first point above is especially pertinent in 1963. Congressional action at this time ought to begin with schools. We say this with all the emphasis we can.

There are at least five reasons for this priority.

First, nine years have not passed since Brown v. Topeka declared a Constitutional right of all American children, a right still wantonly flouted or ignored. In support of it, and in the face of overt defiance, the Presidency was until the Fall of 1957 indecisive and since has been inadequately empowered. Congress has done nothing.

The decision was responded to by eleven southern states with defiance, lawlessness, and at time near rebellion. In a sense, it is a sign of the basic strength of American society that defiance so intense and widespread was able to be contained without rupture of national bonds. The federal courts and the Presidency, aided by enlightened opinion in the South, have by now decisively weakened the political resistance. Nevertheless, through evasion or inaction, more than two-thirds of the bi-racial school districts of the eleven southern states have as yet made no start toward school desegregation; 99% of the Negro children of these states are still in segregated schools; and in three states -- Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina -- not even a token start has yet been made.

The Supreme Court's decision of 1954 was received by Negro citizens as a promise and as an earnest of a new life for them in our common country. A very large cause of the current crisis is the disappointment which followed. Our high court had spoken -- and was not obeyed. The good will of our people had been invoked -- and did not respond.

There is, therefore, a symbolic importance to the schools issue which none other has. In no other area can Congress so clearly and unambiguously represent and register a national decision in affirmation of equality. Furthermore, if Congress were to act in another area, and did not in this one, recalcitrant school districts would have reason to believe that Congress does not disapprove of their policies.

Second, education has an intrinsic value, both for the individual and for the nation, of unsurpassed importance.

Third, education is basic to the durable achievement of other civil rights. It affects employment opportunities and voting eligibility and the intelligent use of the ballot. It affects housing patterns (and is affected by them). It determines and will determine the quality and the temper of Negro communal leadership.

Fourth, there should be no hesitation in saying that our needs go beyond civil rights, and that a better integrated society is a social, political, and moral imperative. The American people need to live more happily with each other. Our public schools weave the web of society as no other institution does.

Fifth, school integration brings forth the hard, but basically important, issues. (The extension of employment opportunities does also.) To desegregate transportation, or restaurants and hotels, or professional associations requires little more than a decision to stop doing one thing and do another. These decisions are socially and morally necessary, but the Negro and white people of this country would both delude themselves if they expected these decisions to go far toward solving our racial inequities. To solve them, or even to begin to do so, the country must see clearly

and face the gigantic problems of our disadvantaged people. Whenever school desegregation in a community gets beyond token dimensions, that community will unavoidably confront the cultural wrongs it itself has created, and will, we think, be brought to an awareness that something must be done about them.

To summarize then, school legislation deserves priority because of its symbolic value, because of the intrinsic cultural importance of education, because education is basic to the achievement of other civil rights, and because the integration of schools has profound and beneficial social consequences.

The bill first introduced by Senator Clark and Representative Celler in 1961* sought to achieve these objectives. It has provided the leading ideas which have guided discussions since 1961, and which the conferees at the Notre Dame Law School believed basically sound. In important respects, however, we did differ from Clark-Celler.

The principal features of the Clark-Celler approach are (1) the requirement of a desegregation plan by those school districts which use race as an assignment criterion; (2) the filing

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*S. 1817, 87th Cong., 1st Sess.

of the plan with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who is empowered to grant financial and technical assistance to aid in carrying out the plans, if he determines that the plans are legally satisfactory; similar assistance would be available to certain other districts; (3) a requirement of "at least first-step compliance" immediately; and (4) power for the Attorney-General to bring suits in federal district courts to compel compliance.

We believe that Congress should prepare an enactment which would embrace the following purposes:

(1) A start must be effected, with provision for federal enforcement, in the more than 2000 bi-racial school districts that have made no beginning.

(2) The completion of the desegregation process should be facilitated, in accordance with sound educational precepts.

(3) Neither federal legislation nor administration should impede the initiation of suits by private plaintiffs in federal courts, or prejudice the outcome of their suits.

(4) Nor should the federal role inhibit the reaching of local desegregation solutions by local consensus.

Of the above purposes, Nos. 3 and 4 have definite implications for northern school desegregation. Congress cannot

at this time, however, wisely legislate to meet directly the northern questions (i.e., segregation not resulting from explicit governmental policy), and should not, therefore, try. Constitutional rights and principles have not yet been sufficiently clarified by adjudication, and professional controversy still somewhat obscures the educational merits of various solutions. Moreover, there is no reason at this date to suppose that local solutions cannot be satisfactorily and readily attained. (See principle no 4, page 3 above.)

Congress should candidly legislate for the southern problem, and the premier objective should be to effect starts. To this end, Congress should impose an affirmative duty on every public school board to operate the schools under its jurisdiction on a non-racial basis. To assure this, formally recorded desegregation plans should be required of every bi-racial district, not already under court order, where initial assignment of school children is by race, or where, regardless of assignment policies, no Negro and white children are in fact in school together. The plan should be a document of public record. Its recording should be completed shortly after enactment, and certainly in not more than 60 days; more time is not required: there is nothing arcane about desegregation planning, and there exists an abundance of experience to consult.

The effect of this would be a Congressional finding and declaration that "all deliberate speed" means "now."* No defendant in a school desegregation case could henceforth plead time.

No purpose would be obviously served by requiring that the plans be filed with any office in Washington. There are good reasons why they should not be. Unless the federal office were to review and evaluate them, there would be no need for it to be custodian. Administrative review would be unfortunate. What pleased the Secretary of HEW would tend to please a federal judge, and the rights of a Negro plaintiff to seek redress in a federal court would become progressively, and merely, formal. His remedy would be through his Washington lobbyist, not through his local lawyer.

The Attorney-General must be empowered to intervene in pending school litigation, and, more importantly, to bring suit in the name of the United States to effect prompt desegregation starts, through civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction against school boards depriving or threatening to deprive individuals of their equal protection rights. The affirmative duty should be defined in the

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*cf The Supreme Court's gloss in Watson v. Memphis, decided May 27, 1963.

statute in such a way as to preserve in full the freedom of action of private plaintiffs,* and to give at least tacit Congressional recognition to the impossibility of the Attorney-General filing suits in as many as 2,000 districts (in the unhappy and unlikely chance that would be indicated), and the consequent desirability of his bringing suit in the most strongly resistant areas.**

The Attorney-General should proceed on his own investigation, as he does in voting violations under the Civil Rights Act of 1957.*** He should not have to await on complaints; the privilege of private counsel for private complainants should be fully preserved and should suffice. Congress has a specific Constitutional mandate to enforce the terms of the 14th Amendment;**** by a statute such as is recommended here it would do so by affirming the duty of school boards to operate non-racial systems; the Attorney-General can and should, consequently, be made responsible to combat violations which he discovers. We need to remember that Brown v. Topeka is not a limitation on the power of Congress; the Supreme Court proscribed denial of an individual right. This does not inhibit Congress from going beyond to a general protection of the right.

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*cf Sec. 310 of S. 1731. cf. also Sec. 1602 of S. 172, 88th Cong., 1st session, introduced by Senator Clark.

**cf. the formula "materially further the orderly progress of desegregation in public education." S. 1731, sec. 307 a2.

***P. L. 85-315, sec. 131 (c) cf. also Sec. 108 of S. 1209 (88th Cong., 1st session), introduced by Senator Kuchel and others, which would confer on the Attorney-General the power and the duty in school cases recommended here. The approach of S. 1209 to this problem is, therefore, much to be preferred over that of the Administration's bill.

****14th Amendment, Sec. 5.

The simple, yet conclusive, reasons for placing this responsibility on the Attorney-General are to expedite the desegregation process,bring to bear national authority, and relieve Negro plaintiffs, organizations, and lawyers of some of their heavy psychological and financial burdens.

To do an effective job, the already over-strained staff of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice will have to be strengthened. The present Administration has considerably enlarged that staff and its function since January 1961, but has done so in part by using personnel from other Divisions. The Administration should ask Congress for the money needed to staff adequately the Civil Rights Division, and Congress should provide it.

The right of private plaintiffs to bring suit should not, we repeat, be impaired or diluted by new statutory authority for the Attorney-General. The law of school desegregation is evolving through the courts, and in terms of individual rights, not public policies. Whether the nation would have been better off had it a decade ago approached the issue differently, through statutes rather than decrees, is an interesting but now practically irrelevant question. It did not, and now is too late for constructive change. The atmosphere for freely litigating and adjudicating individual claims to rights should be carefully preserved. There are still many unanswered 14th Amendment questions, particularly in connection with northern desegregation but also in the South. Hard and fast rules are, of course,

impossible,but we would suggest that the Attorney-General plan his cases to spread and consolidate judicial interpretations already secured, and that the definition of new legal concepts to be sought be left to private plaintiffs and their attorneys.

The authority and the duty to bring suits in behalf of the United States is indispensable and already far too long withheld. Yet the Congressional requirement of "plans" is, if anything, even more worthwhile. It would put a positive duty on local people, and the country badly needs to begin thinking of school desegregation in those terms. While we believe that the Supreme Court in Cooper v. Aaron* in 1958 did affirm this duty, nobody speaks the national will as does Congress. There are persuasive grounds also for believing that such a mandate from Congress would be obeyed in a great many school districts, and that much litigation could thereby be avoided.

To give further impetus to the integration process, the federal government should offer, on application to the Secretary of HEW, financial assistance to school districts making their first starts, or to districts, whether of the South or the North, revising their systems in the direction of more integration.

Assistance should be limited to specific projects proposed by the local school administrators, and should be strictly limited to projects facilitating the desegregation process. Examples

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*358 US1 at 16 - 19.

might include programs of teacher preparation, special tuition for Negro students to help overcome the academic handicaps of their inferior schooling, and special training for Negro teachers to help overcome the academic shortcomings of their training. The assistance, which could be either by grant, loan, or both, should be based by the Secretary on a finding that the project as described and planned by the local administrators would make a substantial contribution to the success of desegregation.

The Secretary should be instructed by the statute to adopt as his criterion of "desegregation" a unified school system. Only those projects should qualify which look toward, and are integral parts of a plan toward the full integration of faculties, administrators, facilities and the assignment of all students without regard to race; and which envision this accomplishment within a reasonably short period.*

Other forms of federal assistance, not reasonably connected to such technical projects as are mentioned above, should not be offered by Congress. So-called "compensatory" aid has sometimes been proposed, even to the inclusion of construction costs. We think there is a moral flaw in such proposals, and that they also rest on an unproven, and we suspect unprovable, premise; viz.

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*Although otherwise the technical assistance provisions (Sections 301-306) of the Administration's bill seem to us soundly planned, they do rest on a definition of "desegregation" (Sec. 301b) which may well be soon obsolete. There are cases pending, some for a long while, which go beyond the bill's definition as "assignment... without regard to... race." Several northern cases seek, in effect, a finding that the 14th Amendment right is a right to attend a bi-racial school. But there are also cases in the South which go further than the assignment question and which argue that the 14th Amendment confers a right to attend a school system which is organized and administered, throughout , without regard to race.

that integrated schools exceed the cost of "separate, but equal" schools.* Furthermore, school desegregation law should not be a means of importing federal aid-to-education through the legislative back door for some school districts only. Construction can be adroitly used to freeze or even to reverse the process of desegregation and this is a second reason for not allowing federal cost assistance.

Several bills before the 88th Congress, including the Administration bill, would extend and broaden the functions of the Commission on Civil Rights, and would direct it to become a clearing house for information and a supplier of technical advice and assistance to those responsible for school desegregation (and other civil rights matters). As stated in S. 1117 and H. R. 5456, the CCR would

> serve as a national clearing house for information, and provide advice and technical assistance to Government agencies, communities, industries, organizations or individuals in ... the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

We think there is much merit in the proposal, though as pertains to education the respective roles of the Commission and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should be carfully distinguished.

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*There might be a case for compensation had the South in fact provided equal schools. The logic would be that southern states had acted on the understanding that Plessy v. Ferguson was the law of the land, and therefore merited assistance when the Constitutional issue was settled to the contrary in 1954. Whatever the force of this argument, it is lost both by the failure to provide equality between 1896 and 1954, and by non-compliance after 1954.

Finally, Congress should, of course, repeal that section of the Morrill Act* which countenances segregated land grant colleges. The provision is anachronistic, and we believe of no legal standing or force now; consequently, we think the Administration has been lax by its continued observance of it. Congress should, nevertheless, remove this stain.

Moreover, probably the largest federal investment in education is represented by the vast federal research programs. In these various programs, Congress has imposed no dictates on the President or his subordinates as to choice of recipient. It is and has been the executive which often chooses to spend funds at segregated institutions, and it is the executive who has the responsibility to stop doing so.

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*And should do likewise with similar provisions of law in other fields, such as the Hill-Burton Act. These goals would be realized by Section 601 of the Administration bill.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT RIGHTS

Private property rights have historically included an employer's right to select his employees. Even with complete legal freedom, however, employers have been strongly influenced in their hiring policies by the pressures of popular opinion and custom, and by the prejudices (or supposed prejudices) of customers and other employees. Such restrictions on the employer's freedom to hire as he pleases do not need to be organized in order to be effective. In contrast, members of minority groups can exert influence on the employer only by organizing (e.g., a boycott) or with the assistance of law.

Federal law has for some years restricted the employer's freedom to discriminate against union members, to hire children, to employ women on prejudicial terms, and to pay sub-standard wages or to work over-long hours.

With this history, there is no obvious reason why the question of the rights of private property should again be debated. It would seem that unless one were prepared to argue for the repeal of these other restrictions on the employer's freedom, he could not legitimately contend for a right to discriminate on racial or creedal grounds.

On the other hand, racial and creedal discrimination does in a unique way involve the prejudices not only of the employer himself but of his customers and other employees. Very probably, both the extent and the durability of this prejudice are exaggerated.

But regardless, when the employer's prejudice is reinforced by that of customers and fellow-workers, the economic situation of the minority group member is especially hopeless, and especially deserving of legal protection. A democratic government has no higher task than the protection of the weak.

The government of our democracy has indeed impelling reasons to combat employment discrimination. These may be summed up under the three heads of developing talents and skills, enlarging national purchasing power, and the continuing obligation of America to build an open, fluid society.

There is little need to dwell here on economics. The drastic and rapidly recurring transition in technology and in distribution methods, the imperative of an expanding market in order to sustain economic growth, the pressures of population, and the steady obliteration of regional economies all point to an inexorable need that people be equipped with marketable skills and talents and that they be enabled to earn well in order to buy well. Our national self-interest coincides with Negro aspirations for employment opportunities.

A sound democracy must be a society open to talents. In simpler days, of industrial adolescence, abundant land, and scarce people, government had only to leave alone in order for talents to flourish

and find their levels. Modern government has to hold back and clear away the weeds and the clutter of a matured and complicated society that choke some of our people from the chance to develop themselves. Job discrimination is a particularly obnoxious growth, and one which is practically insuperable through individual effort. And as Mr. Robert Weaver has said, "Discrimination in housing and public places and in education is degrading and insulting. But discrimination in employment robs a man of the daily bread for himself and his family."*

No one should suppose that an anti-discrimination law will in itself end the employment hardships of Negroes. It will not. We have an enormous problem of disadvantaged people, embracing perhaps a tenth or even more of our citizens who are under-educated, wrongly trained, and culturally distorted These people, who are of all races, are poorly prepared to accept employment opportunities, and their rescue from inaptitude is a mammoth national task which nearly all governmental bodies have as yet combined in shirking. President Kennedy, in his message of June 19, 1963, coupled manpower training with civil rights. Congress should give unstinted consideration to this part of the message, and to the bills now before it to carry out the training program.

Yet if non-discrimination is not a specific cure, discrimination has been a specific cause. It has to be removed, in schools, in employment, in housing, and at the polls, or else there can be no general progress in the well-being of our disadvantaged people, or their ability to add to the common good.

We can conveniently look at the employment question under several categories:

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*As quoted in the New York Times, June 5, 1963.

1. federal employment;
2. employment in interstate and foreign commerce;
3. employment by federal contractors;
4. employment by state and local governments;
5. employment by state and local governments, and by private institutions, for work financed by federal funds.

(1) There is no need for Congress to legislate regarding discrimination in federal employment. The President has sufficient authority to set standards in the Civil Service, and he has the clear responsibility to prevent discrimination. President Kennedy has gone further, and the present Administration has conscientiously and vigorously made a special effort to recruit and place Negroes in non-traditional jobs, and to hire in larger numbers. Much progress has, accordingly, been made toward fairer representation, and toward enhancing the aspirations of Negroes by the visible evidence of real opportunities. The President has only persuasive authority over certain independent agencies, but that is usually enough; if he should find that it is not, he could report his difficulties to Congress. In federal employment, the responsibility is the President's, and Congress should not dilute it by presumptively acting.

(2) Acting under the commerce clause, Congress should ban discrimination by all businesses engaged in or affecting interstate or foreign commerce.* The law should contain a prohibition against discrimination on account of race, color, creed, or national origin, and a complaint procedure available either to the complaining individual or an organization acting in his behalf and at his request. The prohibition should extend not only to discrimination in hiring, but also to discrimination in recruitment; promotion, demotion, or transfer;

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*See also below, page 23.

layoff and dismissal; compensation; selection for training, including apprenticeship; membership in employee organizations; seniority rights; and access to all plant or office facilities.

The responsibility for administering the law should be vested in the Department of Labor. We think this preferable to a commission-type administration (an "FEPC") because it would permit vigorous enforcement through established regulatory procedures. Enforcement of fair employment is a natural adjunct to the Labor Department's enforcement of wages and hours standards or other federally imposed standards on employers.

This means that the Department should not only act on complaints, but should by appropriate regulations establish suitable enforcement, inspection, and educational programs. Enforcement should include the power to order specific alterations of practice, and to issue cease and desist orders.

A complaint procedure is half meaningless unless it is, as it usually is not, expeditious. Congress should consult the experience of the various state anti-discrimination commissions now operating, as well as that of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities. One suggestion that Congress might consider is a provision that all complaints be heard initially by authorized regional or district officials, or by specially assigned officials in case of over-crowded dockets; that a decision must be given within 30 days of filing of complaint; and that in the event of employer appeal against a decision, the individual should during the appeal period have the benefits of the examiner's finding.

We think there should be no elaborate appeals procedure, available either to the employer or the individual. Appeals should go directly from the examiner to an impartial appeals board, and its decision should be final, subject only to review by a federal Court of Appeals confined to questions of law and due process. A similar appeals procedure would suffice for contesting the orders of an inspector enforcing the Department's regulations.

An interesting question is the relationship of a federal fair employment program to the state programs now operative, with enforcement powers, in 20 states.* We think federal programs should not preempt satisfactory state programs, even for firms in interstate or foreign commerce, unless there is a clearcut administrative advantage. This should not be beyond the skill of legislative draftsmen to provide, nor should cooperative administration be beyond the ingenuity of federal and state officials. An approach to a like question is taken by the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, which expressly negates an inference of federal pre-emption in those situations where the federal agency has not assumed jurisdiction, and thereby permits parties to obtain relief under state law,Washington has enough to do without doing a job that the states can do as well or better. It may well be that both employer and minority group member would prefer a state administration close at hand, to remote and impersonal federal.

(3) Employment by federal contractors is a special case. Appropriately, federal contractors should, in virtue of their relationship to the government, make a special contribution to the national need to utilize and develop fully our manpower. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity has diligently established a compliance system under Executive Order 10925 and, operating on the base of a statute applicable to all interstate commerce, the Committee could drop its policing functions and concentrate on the much discussed but rather nebulous "affirmative" requirements of the Executive Order. It could, in other words, demand from contractors, and aid them in effecting positive programs to bring minority group members into full participation in the national work force, on the premise that firms doing business with the government enter thereby into a

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* Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin. Anti-discrimination laws, with little or no enforcement power, exist also in Idaho, Indiana, and Kentucky.

partnership of national goals. Of the various techniques the Committee and, under its guidance, federal offices have already devised, we are especially impressed by the Defense Department's staff of Intergroup Relations Specialists, working in the field with contractors. No separate legislation seems required, the President having clear enough authority through his procurement power. Certainly, however, the President should ask for and Congress should grant funds necessary for the Committee, instead of using funds, as at present, appropriated for other purposes; if a statutory foundation for the Committee would facilitate this, that legislation should pass.

Furthermore, by control of appropriations both for the Committee and -- more importantly -- for the statutory programs over all employment in interstate and foreign commerce, Congress would be in a position to terminate. This is as it should be. We should not suppose an everlasting need for anti-discrimination measures. It may be an enduring part of human psychology to pay as little as one can for as much as one can get, and therefore a wage and hour law will always be useful. But to believe that racial prejudice is similarly basic to human nature is morally self-defeating. Our conviction must be that once the discrimination barriers are broken, and minority members are equipped to hold their own, there will be in a free society neither the desire nor the possibility of re-erecting the old walls.

(4) Does employment discrimination by state or muncipal bodies fall under the ban of the equal protection clause? The question has not been adjudicated but the trend of recent decisions is clearly in that direction.

(5) A quite different question is presented by state or local programs financed in whole or in substantial part by federal dollars. The temptation to discuss this issue at length is considerable, for some of the racially discriminatory uses of federal money are shocking, through a great variety of outlets including but unfortunately not limited to the National Guard, the U. S. Employment Service, Hill-Burton hospital construction, the several federal highways programs, the multitudinous federal farm offices, air terminals, and many others. But many words might serve only to obscure the simplicity of the matter. It ought to be axiomatic that wherever money from the common treasury goes within this country, the Constitution goes along. It is unthinkable that the use of federal money to favor some of us and disfavor others of us could be rationally defended. This is so clear that to many it is not at all clear that any legislation to this end seems needed: the President, it would seem, has no right to spend money which will yield racial discrimination. The hard job of enforcement would be made more feasible, however, by Congressional action. A prohibition on discrimination by state and local governments or their contractors or agents, on all projects financed in whole or in substantial part by the federal treasury, should be included in the proposed fair employment act,* and administered by the Department of Labor, with the added sanction of a funds cut-off to insure compliance.

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*See above, page 19. Sec. 601 of the Administration's bill could accomplish this end. The President's Executive Order 11,114 of June 22, 1963, also will help.

VOTING RIGHTS

The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were addressed principally to voting rights. That these first civil rights acts in four generations were concerned with voting, evidences its centrality among our civic values as well as our civic shortcomings. The problem of voting rights has been long and familiarly before us, and has been thoroughly documented by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights;* further description here would be superfluous.

From the history of the last few years, some conclusions and inferences can be drawn, which we state seriatim:

(1) With the exception of a few pockets of discrimination against American Indians and Mexicans the denial of voting rights is a problem peculiar to certain areas in southern states and to their Negro residents. The problem is not even regional in scope: in extensive areas of the South and the most populous ones at that, Negroes today register and vote freely. Legislation of general application, such as the Administration's literacy bill of 1962,** would supersede state laws all over the country in order to reach abuses that are statewide in at most only two or three states, and which are virulent in parts of not more than three others.***

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*See Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1959. Voting, 1961, U.S.C.C.R. Report. Hearings Before the U.S.C.C.R., Voting, 1959 (the Alabama hearings). Equal Protection of the Laws in North Carolina, U.S.C.C.R., 1962. See also: Civil Rights-1959, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Cong., 1st sess., Parts I-IV.

**The Senate rider to H. R. 1361, 87th Cong., 2d sess.

***At least two bills are before the 88th Cong.,1st sess. which would implement the 14th amendment by reducing the House representation of states depriving eligible persons of the franchise: S. 1644 introduced by Sen. McNamara; and H. R. 6801, introduced by Rep. Stratton. To the same end is Lampkin v. Hodges, filed May 28, 1963 before the U. S. District Court of the District of Columbia.

(2) Voting discrimination and low Negro participation are not always equivalent. In the states of Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, where there are today only isolated and passing discriminatory practices, Negro participation is low but is remediable by education and organized effort; the same is true of large areas of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, and scattered areas of the other three Deep South states. The evil of discrimination is confined, in other words, to certain communities of the Deep South where the Constitutional prohibition against voting discrimination is openly flouted and efforts to obtain or to exercise voting rights are met by acts of intimidation, harassment, and physical violence, sanctioned and sometimes even participated in by local authorities and law enforcement officers.* These are, and should rationally be regarded as, outlaw communities. Our federal system will be less seriously challenged by federal power brought to bear directly on these communities, than by federal laws which supersede state laws everywhere.

(3) This is not meant to preclude federal regulation of elections, or the establishment of federal standards when, in the judgment of Congress, they are necessary or desirable. There is, we think, outstanding merit in the bill introduced by Senator Hart at each Congress since 1959.** Senator Hart's bill authorizes the federal administration of registration and primary and general elections for U.S. Senators and Representatives in any district where a Congressional Election Commission "determines that unless such election is conducted by the Commission, persons having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the Congressional District is located are likely to be denied their right...to cast their votes and to have them fairly counted." On the sound premise that Congress has full authority under Article I, Sec. 4 of the Constitution to regulate elections of its own members, the proposed Commission would act solely

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*See Report of the Mississippi Advisory Committee, Report on Mississippi, January 1963, U.S.C.C.R. Report; Voter Education Project press release of March 28, 1963 on 64 Mississippi atrocities.

**S.1281, 88th Cong., 1st sess.

at its discretion and without any recourse to the courts. It would, however, follow state law in registering eligible voters.

(4) The Hart bill goes to the key issue, as the Administration's 1962 literacy bill did not. The tool of discrimination is not the literacy laws of southern states, but their immoral and illegal administration, coupled with the physical intimidation and economic coercion of Negroes. Nor would the proposed sixth-grade literacy presumption of the Administration's 1963 voting bill* reach the extra-legal threat of violence or economic reprisal, and there is every prudent reason to suppose that communities which now illegally administer literacy requirements would resort to these extra-legal methods if their practices were set aside by a federal rule. Enactment of the sixth-grade presumption would provide a salutary device, but we caution against overly-optimistic expectation of its value.

(5) In 1959 the Commission on Civil Rights proposed that federal registrars be appointed by the President in counties found by the President to practice discrimination.** Congress chose, instead, in the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to invoke the judicial process. Experience does not suggest that this was wise. Voter registration is, after all, a ministerial act. The courts's proper and necessary function is to protect individuals from illegal treatment

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*S. 1731, Sec. 101b. See also the Administration's earlier bill, S. 1283, 88th Cong., 1st Sess.

**Report of the U.S.C.C.R., 1959, p. 141.

by the functionnaires commissioned to register their names. To ask the courts to do more than this, to ask them -- as the Act of 1960 does -- to look into the complex whole of a county's or state's practices and ascertain what "pattern" exists, to ask them to supervise the registration of deprived persons or even to register them directly, all this is a heavy and unnatural load on the judicial process. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 were intended to facilitate Negro registration, but they were poorly designed for that purpose. It is sufficient to note that of the 40 voting cases filed under the Acts of 1957 and 1960, only 19 have reached decision, and of the 30 cases filed since January 20, 1961, only 9 have been decided.

We seriously question, therefore, whether Congressional effort should be expended on the further refining of a basically defective approach. The Administration's present effort to do so (S.1731, Sec. 101c) seeks by extraordinarily, almost monstrously, complicated means to make judicial administration perform a ministerial service. The effort should be to get the voting question out of the courts, not merely deeply into it.

(6) The Acts of 1957 and 1960, imperfect as they are, do provide legal means for federal suppression of the grosser violations of the 14th and 15th Amendments. The Department of Justice has enforced them conscientiously and, with additional lawyers, could do yet more. (Amendment of the laws would be far less helpful than would appropriations makeing possible more attorneys in the Civil Rights

Division.) As previously said, voting discrimination occurs now, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the Constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant disregard of rights. To contain and disarm lawlessness, a clear federal presence is required at the first outbreaks. We think the Attorney-General has the power, in the face of determined lawlessness supported by an acquiescent or conspiratorial community, to send federal marshals and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for on-the-spot protection of the exercise of federal rights. Such marshals and federal agents should be deployed in accordance with principles normally governing in law enforcement, in numbers and with authority adequate to deal with all anticipated exigencies, including authority and instructions to enforce compliance with federal law and to make arrests for violations.

Moreover, the Attorney-General may seek through the courts appropriate orders to prevent any parties from interfering with the registration or voting process.* We are,

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*The argument made above in paragraph 6 was stated earlier by the Notre Dame Law School Conference in a preliminary statement submitted to the President on February 12, 1963, and subsequently inserted by Senator Douglas in the Congressional Record for February 19, at page 2388. The statement urged a more extensive use of executive powers to cope with voting discrimination, and the employment of additional methods to expedite cases and to bring them to satisfactory results. The statement was documented at the request of his conferees by G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor of Law at the University of Wisconsin, in a memorandum submitted to the Civil Rights Division on March 15, 1963.

therefore, glad to note that the Department of Justice in U. S. v. Greenwood, now pending before the federal district court of northern Mississippi, has taken the position that freedom of assembly in connection with voter registration is a right within the power of the Attorney-General to make secure.*

CONCLUSION

There is an urgent need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in favor of equality is clouded and imperfect. The voting legislation of 1957 and 1960 has not achieved this end. It reaches only the issues of discriminatory application of state laws, or vicious interference with the exercise of the federal voting right. The Acts of 1957 and 1960 fall short of a Congressional affirmation of equality as an attribute of national and state citizenship.

For reasons which are now a part of history, but also for reasons of intrinsic value the first Congressional action should, above all, include a strong, well-designed

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*Senator Javits introduced a bill (S.1693) on June 11, 1963 which would give statutory authorization for injunctions to prevent deprivation of rights by officials or private persons in Albany or Birmingham-type situations that are not clearly related to voting rights. Comments by distinguished law professors regarding the Constitutionality and need of the bill are printed in the Congressional Record for June 11 at pages 9970 - 9972.

school desegregation law. We propose that this have the following elements:

(a) "Desegregated schools" should be defined as those which accord each child the right to attend a non-racial school system.

(b) The primary aim of legislation, at this time, should be to effect starts in those bi-racial school districts of the South which have made no beginning.

(c) To this end, each school board having jurisdiction over such a district would be required to prepare and make public a desegregation plan.

(d) Further, the Attorney-General must be authorized to bring desegregation suits in the name of the United States, and to intervene in cases brought by private plaintiffs.

(e) And further, technical assistance from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to facilitate desegregation should be available to school districts, South and North, for projects specifically related to the desegregation process.

(f) The right of private plaintiffs, through counsel of their choosing, to bring desegregation suits should be carefully preserved.

The Notre Dame conference considered also the fields of employment and voting.

Congress has waited long to act in enforcement of the 14th Amendment. When it at last does so, it should direct its action toward fundamental causes of racial inequity. The President's proposals for manpower training go to this problem. But without effective legislation to ban job discrimination, they will not be enough. A fair employment law is required.

The law should be administered by the Department of Labor (not by a new commission), and should cover all phases of the employment process of firms engaged or affecting interstate and foreign commerce. The law should reach also employment, of all descriptions, carried on by state or local governments and by private institutions for work financed in whole or in part by federal funds.

We recommend further that, by several means, the law should rely on administrative regulations rather than quasi-judicial methods for enforcement. We think that this can be realized by incorporating the administration into the Department of Labor, and bringing the whole structure of the Department into responsibility for the work.

We propose that the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity be continued, and that it press strongly to bring governmental contractors into partnership with the national government through affirmative actions that specially contribute to the development of job skills among Negroes and other minorities, and their full utilization.

In the third field -- voting discrimination -- the Notre Dame conference strongly believes that additional legislation is not a sufficient remedy.

The problem is neither nation-wide nor region-wide. The condition which requires federal attention is the lawlessness that exists in a relatively small number of outlaw communities of the Deep South.

This condition does not pose an issue of federalism. Federalism is a system of divided power among governments, and governments are instruments whose whole purpose is to establish an order of law. In these outlaw communities where citizenship rights are flagrantly destroyed, there is no law to respect.

We have here, in short, a problem of enforcement, and the President's power is adequate, strengthened by the Acts of 1957 and 1960, to create conditions which permit every citizen, freely and without fear, to register to vote, to cast his vote, and to have it honestly counted.

This is the centennial year of Emancipation. It is also the year when Negro patience with systematized social deprivation has finally broken. It is the year for Congress to act.

October 9, 1961

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

There is, I think, as I said to you over the phone, a genuine need to develop and bring into the open informed objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. There is widespread agreement that civil rights is our most pressing domestic business. Yet in this field as in almost no other, lawmakers have no "expert" advisers on whom to call. They are influenced almost entirely by demands and denials, almost never by informed, relatively detached judgment.

Foster and I believe that a modest contribution to this problem could be made by assembling a group of a dozen or so persons to a quiet conference to consider what goals and methods should be urged on Congress next year. The invitees should be informed and involved persons of the kind SRC convened last year when preparing the Federal Executive and Civil Rights (list attached). The conference ought not be large, should last perhaps two days, and should, I think, be confined to non-governmental people. There are good minds in the government who would be sorely missed from such a conference; on the other hand, to have them present is to risk being overwhelmed by their position or to be overly influenced by their opinion of political feasibility.

Convening, and even financing, such a conference would be relatively easy. (Our meeting last December in Washington cost us $1,248.81 for travel, food, lodgings.) The tougher question is what to do with its results. SRC could not bring out and circulate the conclusions; Foster

TO: Vernon Eagle
October 9, 1961

talked with Harold and learned that Potomac also could not. I called you because, without knowing clearly what limitations you operate under, I remembered that you had a latent interest in a direct New World project; I thought there might be the possibility you could do a modest Arden House, or Rockefeller Brothers, type thing: "The N.W F brought these people together, and this is what they said, etc:"But you can't.

I may be thoroughly mistaken but I do think a venture of this kind would be worthwhile. There is a vacuum of objective ideas, and if filled might be gratefully seized upon. Even if this did not happen, and little legislative attention were paid to it, the publication of the conference's proceedings and conclusions would help create a climate of objectivity in the civil rights area.

If you have any ideas, I'll be ready to help carry them out. As I told you, Dean O'Meara at Notre Dame is interested in sponsoring the conference, but not before February, 1962. There would be advantages, in terms of aid to the administration's legislative planning, to doing this earlier. Foster says that he is certain the conference could be held at the Wisconsin Law School on short notice, and the report released from there; he has no money.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Foster

Participants in Washington Conference, December 8, 1960

Mr. McNeill Smith, Chairman
United Stated Civil Rights Commission
Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Robert Harris
Dept. of Political Science
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Paul H. Sanders
Professor of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Whitney Young, Jr.,
Executive Director
National Urban League
New York, New York

Mr. Harris Wofford
Assistant to the President
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Benjamin Muse, Director
Southern Leadership Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
The Potomac Institute, Inc
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Oliver Hill
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
New York, New York

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr., Professor
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Mr. Daniel H. Pollitt
School of Law
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Mr. John Silard, Attorney
Washington, D. C.

November 23, 1961

Telegram:

Bill Foster, Professor
Law School, University of Wisconsin;, Madison, Wish.

Will have no answer from Vernon Eagle before Thursday.

Suggest we wait on him before turning elsewheredespite inconvenience.

36 PD

Tom Pollak
Sam Cook
Wylie Aitken
Charles Block
Geo. Shriver - Phil
Ed. Houghton - Calif
Frank Dolhan - Ohio
Wash.
Malcolm Biggs

Pemberton
Morgan
Humphrey

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

file

December 30, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have a favor to ask, namely that you complete and return by January 10th, if you can, the enclosed "confidential report" on my application to the Social Science Research Council for support next year. The Taconic trustees have suggested that I try for SSRC support next year in order to get someone else's money used for this purpose (and to free the corresponding amount of Taconic money for use on other things which the more orthodox foundations are less likely to support). A copy of my original application (which has been later modified as to a few details but not in substance) is enclosed.

Report - 2 of 4 forms
Bell editorial responsibility
student attendance?

Secondly, I have the good news that Dean O'Meara of Notre Dame Law School assured me the other day at Chicago that he could provide us with sponsorship and as much as $2500 to put on at Notre Dame our meeting on legislative recommendations. We can fix the time as we see fit. So sponsorship is at hand.

Hope all is going well. I'd certainly like to see you before long and hope we can work something out.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Washington, Jan. 7.

Air Mail

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is written during a lull in our week-end meeting with the staff of the Commission on Civil Rights at which we're signing up law professors to take on school studies in eight areas around the country. Things have gone well, though we'll have quite a wait to see how the results work out.

Dean O'Meara was satisfied with the arrangements so far as you and I had worked them out over the phone last week. He suggests something, however, which may give Vernon Eagle a way to spend some money on this business after all. O'Meara said he'd like some financial help in publishing the special issue of the Notre Dame Law Review in which our legislative recommendations would be reported. He did not impose this on us as a condition of sponsoring the meeting or upon publishing the law review issue but merely indicated that some reimbursement would be welcomed. As perhaps you know, Vernon was helpful in financing the Notre Dame conference in February of 1960 so the suggestion would come as an old-hat affair for Vernon. You might open this with Vernon next time you have a chance to talk with him.

My present plans are to leave Madison on the 9th with an itinerary that tentatively will include Fort Worth, Austin, Houston, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Memphis and Nashville before reaching Atlanta on the 20th. Since it is possible that something at your end of the line may arise to make the 20th date impracticable, you may reach me in my travels by letters reaching either of these places by the dates indicated: c/o Jerry Strickling, 5118 West Bellfort Blvd., Houston 35, Texas (Jan. 12); or c/o Mrs. Lawrence Coe, 3580 Watauga, Memphis 11, Tenn. (Jan. 17). And in any case I shall try to reach you by phone on Thursday, Jan. 18th, to confirm plans for the week-end of the 20th. It will be good to see you.

Faithfully,

Bill

January 22, 1962
Air Mail

Mr. Vernon Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

Bill Foster, Dan Pollitt, and I talked it over the better part of Saturday and a bit of Sunday morning. I want to give you a review of how our discussion went.

First, we don't think we ought to attempt to follow through on Dean O'Meara's offer. There is little point in holding the conference unless it is well planned and prepared for, and none of us believe this can be done by Spring. There is no present urgency anyway.

Second, we continue to believe that the idea is worthwhile, if properly carried out, and could be very valuable. We are assuming that there will be no great push for legislation this year, but that there will be in either 63 or 64, depending on the administration's decision about timing. We suspect that ideas fed late this year into the administration and into public discussion could be useful, both in their own right and as re-inforcing the Commission on Civil Rights. We think that care and great skill will have to go, not only into the conference, but into the writing of its report and into its distribution. In short, we would like to move ahead if, after refusing Dean O'Meara's good offer, we can still find a sponsor. Roughly, our approach would be something like this:

1. Schedule the conference at a time between mid-August and late October, with a strong preference for as late a date as possible. It should be completely unpublicized. Ideally, we think the session should last a week, though this would depend on funds.

2. Select 12-15 conferees, who would be invited by the sponsor. Names which occurred to us include: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); David Feller (I.U.D.); Harold

To: Mr. Vernon Eagle
January 22, 1962

Fleming; Bill Foster; Jack Greenberg; Alex Heard (University of North Carolina); Vyvan Henderson (Fisk); John Kaplan (ex-University of Pennsylvania Law); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews (University of North Carolina); Constance Motley (Leg. Def. & Educ. Fund); William Nicholls (Vanderbilt); Dean O'Meara; Louis Pollak (Yale Law); Dan Pollitt; Ben Sigal; John Silard (attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro); Daniel Thompson (Dillard University); John Wheeler; Avon Williams (attorney, (Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean). The list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state FEP men. I would anticipate that, in one capacity or another, you would attend, and if we met near New York we might get Dave Freeman also.

3. Confine the conference to the three fields of Education (including higher education and federal assistance as well as public school desegregation); Voting; Employment.

4. Assign several of the conferees to the writing of discussion papers, which would be circulated well in advance of the conference. The papers would (a) outline the legislative problems; (b) discuss and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) discuss CCR recommendations; (d) present the author's recommendations.

5. If funds permitted, and if as much as a week could be set aside, invite in a few resource people with specialized competence and experience to discuss what kind of legislation would have made their problems easier, or has been beneficial to them; e.g. Judges Skelly Wright and William Miller, Superintendent Galbraith of Memphis, management or union spokesmen from FEP states.

6. Include as a final item on the conference agenda the question of what can be done, or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations, to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

7. Assign one person to write the conference report.

8. Advance circulation of report to the administration.

9. Publish and release. There would be several alternatives here.

To: Mr. Vernon Eagle
January 22, 1962

If you would like to talk about this I am sure I could come to New York, and I imagine Bill, and perhaps Dan, could also. I think we would all benefit if Harold could be brought into the thinking at this stage.

Bill Foster will, in a fortnight or so, do a rough draft of a memorandum on the Clark-Celler bill and other current school proposals. This may help us form our thinking, and I'll see that you get a copy.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

cc: Bill Foster
Dan Pollitt
Harold Fleming

Pending

January 26, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I enclose a copy of Vernon Eagle's letter of January 21. While in New York I talked with him by phone. It seems that Vernon would like, as the next step, that something in the nature of a formal proposal be put before him rather quickly. I do not want to submit the proposal, and Vernon agreed with me on this. We discussed the possibility that you and another distinguished law professor - perhaps Pollak - send it in. Do you think this is a possibility?

The proposal need not be, I think, elaborate and could pretty much restate what I said in my letter of January 22, with a few prefatory sentences about motivation, etc.

Vernon is completely convinced that the conference should be held under the university auspices. Perhaps in the proposal you could offer Wisconsin. (Can you?) but in such a way as to leave Vernon free to look into another location if he prefers. (He seems to have an inclination toward some place in the East.)

The fourth paragraph of Vernon's letter, I think, can be ignored for the moment. He is talking about a further planning session and I assume that his suggestion to me yesterday of a formal submission takes precedence. You might, however, in the proposal indicate a desire or willingness for a couple of us to meet in Washington or New York for further discussion and recommend that Harold be included. I have no objection to Marshall and Wofford at a planning meeting and so told Vernon yesterday.

Why don't you give me a call after you have had a chance to think this over.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

January 23, 1962

Dear Leslie:

The brain trust of Foster, Pollitt, and Dunbar seems to have been working overtime last week-end. I trust the head knocking session was held in a proper, relaxed setting.

You seem to agree with my conclusions about Dean O'Meara's offer.

After carefully studying the approach that you outline I find little with which I can disagree. Unless you intend breaking the conference up into groups I would be inclined to keep the number as small as feasible. In my experience people tend to make speeches when the group is too large. Obviously it would be all to the good if you could get a group together for a week but that may be unrealistic.

I agree that getting Harold involved and possibly Dave Freeman, if we could meet halfway -- in Washington or pick a day that you and Harold might otherwise be coming to New York. If Washington makes more sense, perhaps we could include Burke and Harris.

Although I continue to think the idea is exceedingly worthwhile, I hope I have never given you the impression that I have any guarantee about providing the funds needed for financing. All I can guarantee is a mighty effort.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 31, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin
Law School
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

A few nit-picks on your memorandum:

(1) The Vanderbilt economist spells it "Nicholls". Ben Segal is spelled this way.

(2) Burke and Harris will have a hard time contributing contributions. Shouldn't they be referred to by their last names?

(3) I would suggest that it be said flatly that government people should not be invited to the conference. They are the people we want to advise. Moreover, I have never seen it fail that when government people are on hand at such an affair the other participants are somewhat awed by their sense of political possibilities and strategy.

(4) I question saying or thinking that not all invitees will attend. I think we shall have to get firm acceptances or else invite someone else. Certainly, we should not anticipate any such failure of attendance as one third to one-half, as you have done.

Otherwise it is fine.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

January 29, 1962

Prof. Louis Pollak
Yale Law School
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Lou:

A rough draft of the prospectus for Vernon Eagle is enclosed. Vernon has asked us to move soon on this, so I'd appreciate your early reactions. [Would you phone me collect here when you have a chance to think some of this out? The Area Code is 608, the University phone is ALpine 5-3311, ext. 4147]

There are, I suppose, two questions for you now. One is to ask for any criticism or suggestions you may have going either to the substance of the proposal or to the methods we suggest in handling the business. The other question: do you feel you could join me in recommending to Vernon Eagle that he support something like this, particularly [redacted] if we can largely relieve you of any burdens of organization?

It was good to hear from you that you're up to your ears. This avoids having me be jealous of anyone who might feel he wasn't over-committed.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

January 29, 1962

Memo to: Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison 5
[Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.]

Subject: Developing Recommendations for Civil Rights Legislation

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $12,500 to carry it out.

The proposal grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What we propose here is a quiet meeting - of perhaps four days' duration - to which a dozen or fewer informed and involved people would be invited. We would confine this meeting to consideration of three topics: (1) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as public school desegregation); (2) Voting; and (3) Employment. The central purpose of the meeting would be to consider what goals and methods to recommend to the Congress.

In many respects the methods used by the Southern Regional Council in preparing, in the Winter of 1960-61, their excellent and influential "Federal Executive and Civil Rights" furnish the model for the procedures we would propose to follow. Several of the prospective conferees would be assigned to write background papers on the three topics. These papers, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would undertake to (1) outline legislative problems; (2) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (3) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and present the author's recommendations.

Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. Publication of the report is visualized as a two-stage affair: first, advance circulation to the Administration; and second, general publication and release.

We have given some thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and perhaps many, of the people we would want. The list is, though, longer than we would wish to include as an invited group and we certainly would want to consider other names as well. We have thought about the following persons: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); David Feller (I.U.D.); Leslie W. Dunbar (Southern Regional Council); Harold Fleming (Potomac Institute); Jack Greenberg; Alex Heard (Univ. of North Carolina); Vyvan Henderson (Fisk); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews (Univ. of North Carolina); Constance Motley; William Nichols (Vanderbilt); Dean Joseph O'Meara (Notre Dame Law School); Dan Pollitt (U. of North

Carolina Law School); Ben Sigal; John Silard (attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro, N. C.); Daniel Thompson (sociology, Dillard University); John Wheeler (attorney and banker, Durham, N. C.); Avon Williams (attorney, Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean). The list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state FEP men. We should also like you to attend in one capacity or another, and perhaps Dave Freeman of Rockefeller Brothers if we met in the New York area.

The list above is devoid of government names - and good ones like Burke Marshall and Harris Wofford come at once to mind -but our present thought is to proceed without government people involved, much as we would miss the contribution of their good contributions. It may make good sense to include both Burke and Harris, perhaps others, in going over details of our preparation for meeting. Whether to exclude them from the meeting itself calls for a hard balancing of advantages and disadvantages to all involved of their presence. And we aren't prepared to give a final answer on the point at present.

Nominal sponsorship of the meeting and, ultimately, the report by some well-known university seems desirable. Organizations like Southern Regional Council and Potomac Institute shy away from legislative recommendations because of their tax status. Officials at the University of Wisconsin have expressed a willingness to accept and administer (without charge) a grant which would finance a meeting such as this and would assent to publication of recommendations growing out of such a meeting sponsored by the University. The same doubtless would be true of Notre Dame and surely of other universities as well.

A word about timing of the meeting is appropriate. Our suggestion is to convene the meeting sometime between mid-August and mid-October of 1962. This would to some extent depend upon other time commitments of those who would be invited to participate. This time schedule should provide adequate opportunity for advance preparation of papers for circulation and thought among the invitees prior to coming to the meeting. And it should also permit preparation of the report so that advance copies might be circulated to the Administration by late November or early December of 1962.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. We estimate that a budget not to exceed $12,500 as a maximum commitment would suffice to carry out the proposal. The budget estimate is grounded upon these assumptions: (1) The meeting will last four days (Thursday through Sunday of a week to be designated); (2) the number invited will not exceed 15 persons (we may need this many tentative commitments to assure presence of 8-10 persons); (3) the meeting will be perhaps as far distant from the general location of most invitees as the University of Wisconsin (though another location might have numerous other advantages beyond the mere matter of money savings); and (4) the cost of publication and distribution of the report must be included in the budget. The total budget of $12,500 was based upon the following estimate of details:

Travel, food and lodging for invitees to meeting (based on an average of $300 per person for as many as 15 persons)	$ 4,500
Publication and distribution of report	5,000
Other costs (which would include perhaps a planning session or two prior to the meeting; phone calls in recruiting invitees; possible honoraria for preparation of discussion papers or final report; incidental expenses)	3,000
Maximum total commitment	$12,500

February 5, 1962

Memo to: Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison 5
Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $12,500 to carry it out.

The proposal grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What we propose here is a quiet meeting - of perhaps four days' duration - to which a dozen or fewer informed and involved people would be invited. The meeting would have two major purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to the Congress as to three topics: (a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as public school desegregation); (b) Voting; and (c) Employment. Second, a final item on the agenda would include the question of what can be done, or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations, to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

In many respects the methods used by the Southern Regional Council in preparing, in the Winter of 1960-61, their excellent and influential "Federal Executive and Civil Rights" furnish the model for the procedures we would propose to follow. Several of the prospective conferees would be assigned to write background papers on the three topics. These papers, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would undertake to (1) outline legislative problems; (2) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (3) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (4) present the author's recommendations.

Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. Publication of the report is visualized as a two-stage affair: first, advance circulation to the Administration; and second, general publication and release.

We have given some thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and perhaps many, of the people we would want. The list is, though, longer than we would wish to include as an invited group and we certainly would want to consider other names as well. We have thought of the following persons: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); Leslie W. Dunbar (Southern Regional Council); David Feller (I.U.D.); Harold Fleming (Potomac Institute); Jack Greenberg; Alex Heard (Univ. of North Carolina); Vyvan Henderson (Fisk); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews (Univ. of North Carolina); Constance Motley; William Nichols (Vanderbilt); Dean Joseph O'Meara (Notre Dame Law School); Dan Pollitt (Univ. of North Carolina Law School); Ben Segal; John Silard (attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro, N. C.); Daniel Thompson (sociology, Dillard University); John Wheeler (attorney and banker, Durham, N. C.); Avon Williams

(attorney, Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean). The list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state FEP men. We should also like you to attend in one capacity or another, and perhaps Dave Freeman of Rockefeller Brothers if we met in the New York area.

The list above is devoid of government names - and good ones like Burke Marshall and Harris Wofford come at once to mind - but our present thought is to proceed without government people involved, much as we would miss their contributions. It may make good sense to include both Marshall and Wofford, perhaps others, in going over details of our preparation for the meeting. Whether to exclude them from the meeting itself calls for a hard balancing of advantages and disadvantages to all involved of their presence. And we aren't prepared to give a final answer on the point at present.

Nominal sponsorship of the meeting and ultimately the report by some well-known university seems desirable. Organizations like Southern Regional Council and Potomac Institute shy away from legislative recommendations because of their tax status. Officials at the University of Wisconsin have expressed a willingness to accept and administer (without charge) a grant which would finance a meeting such as this and would assent to publication of recommendations growing out of such a meeting sponsored by the University. The same doubtless would be true of Notre Dame and surely of other universities as well.

A word about time of the meeting is appropriate. Our suggestion is to convene the meeting sometime between mid-August and mid-October of 1962. This would to some extent depend upon other time commitments of those who would be invited to participate. This time schedule would provide adequate opportunity for advance preparation of papers for circulation and thought among invitees prior to coming to the meeting. And it should also permit preparation of the report so that advance copies might be circulation to the Administration by late November or early December of 1962.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. We estimate that a budget not to exceed $12,500 as a maximum commitment would suffice to carry out the proposal. The budget estimate is grounded upon these assumptions: (1) The meeting will last four days (Thursday through Sunday of a week to be designated); (2) the number invited will not exceed 15 persons; (3) the meeting will be perhaps as far distant from the general location of most invitees as the University of Wisconsin (though another location might have numerous advantages beyond the mere matter of money savings); and (4) the cost of publication and distribution of the report must be included in the budget. The budget is based upon these estimates:

Travel, food and lodging for invitees to meeting (based on an average of $300 per person for a maximum of 15 persons)	$ 4,500
Publication and distribution of report	5,000
Other costs (which would include perhaps a planning session or two prior to meeting) phone calls for recruiting invitees; possible honoraria for preparation of discussion papers or final report; incidentals	3,000
Maximum total commitment	$12,500

Field

Maxwell Taylor

(date) ~~February 8, 1963~~

Memo to: Mr. ~~Vernon Eagle~~
The ~~New World~~ Foundation
~~475 Riverside Drive~~
New York, New York

From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison 5
Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $12,500 to carry it out.

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(+ ask you support for) Insert A

~~What~~ We propose ~~here is~~ a quiet meeting - of perhaps four days' duration - to which ~~a dozen or fewer~~ informed and involved people would be invited. ~~The meeting~~ would have two ~~major~~ chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to the Congress as to three topics: (a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as public school desegregation); (b) Voting; and (c) Employment. Second, a final item on the agenda would include the question of what can be done, or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations, to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

12-15

Insert B

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Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. Publication of the report is visualized as a two-stage affair: first, advance circulation to the Administration; and second, general publication and release, probably in a law journal.

Insert C

We have given ~~some~~ thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and perhaps many, of the people we would want. The list is, though, longer than we would wish to include as an invited group and we certainly would want to consider other names as well. We have thought of the following persons: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); Leslie W. Dunbar (Southern Regional Council); David Feller (I.U.D.); Harold Fleming (Potomac Institute); Jack Greenberg; Alex Heard (Univ. of North Carolina); Vyvan Henderson (Fisk); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews (Univ. of North Carolina); ~~Constance Motley~~; William Nichols (Vanderbilt); Dean Joseph O'Meara (Notre Dame Law School); Dan Pollitt (Univ. of North Carolina Law School); Ben Segal; John Silard (attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro, N. C.); Daniel Thompson (~~sociology~~, Dillard University); John Wheeler (attorney and banker, Durham, N. C.); Avon Williams

Considerable (Electrical Workers) (Legal Defense & Educ. Fund)

plan would be

(attorney, Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean). The list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state PEP men. ~~We should also like you to attend in one capacity or another, and perhaps Dave Freeman of Rockefeller Brothers if we met in the New York area.~~

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Nominal sponsorship of the meeting and ultimately the report by some well-known university seems desirable. ~~Organizations like Southern Regional Council and Potomac Institute shy away from legislative recommendations because of their tax status.~~ Officials at the University of Wisconsin have expressed a willingness to accept and administer (without charge) a grant which would finance a meeting such as this and would assent to publication of recommendations growing out of such a meeting sponsored by the University. The same doubtless would be true of Notre Dame and surely of other universities as well. We have reason to believe that the same would be true of Notre Dame, ~~Princeton~~ & doubtless of other ~~school~~ universities as well.

~~A word about time of the meeting is appropriate.~~ Our ~~suggestion is~~ to convene the meeting sometime between mid-August and mid-October of 1962. This would to some extent depend upon other time commitments of those ~~who would be~~ invited to participate. This time schedule would provide adequate opportunity for advance preparation of papers for circulation and thought among invitees prior to coming to the meeting. And it should also permit preparation of the report so that advance copies might be circulated to the Administration by late November or early December of 1962. This is important because late Fall is the reason for preparing the Administration's legislative recommendations.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. We estimate that a budget not to exceed $12,500 as a maximum commitment would suffice to carry out the proposal. The budget estimate is grounded upon these assumptions: (1) The meeting will last four days (Thursday through Sunday) ~~of a week to be designated;~~ (2) the number invited will not exceed 15 persons; (3) the meeting will be perhaps as far distant from the general location of most invitees as the University of Wisconsin (~~though~~ another location might ~~have numerous advantages beyond the mere matter of money~~ allow savings); and (4) the cost of publication and distribution of the report must be included in the budget. The budget is based upon these estimates:

Travel, food and lodging for invitees to meeting (based on an average of $300 per person for a maximum of 15 persons)	$ ~~4,500~~
Publication and distribution of report	~~3,000~~ 2500
Other costs (which would include perhaps a planning session or two prior to meeting) phone calls for recruiting invitees; ~~possible~~ honoraria for preparation of discussion papers or final report; incidentals	~~4,000~~
Maximum total commitment	~~$12,500~~ $9,000

522-8964-K197

Ce 3-0578

February 6, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Vernon:

A memorandum, jointly from Professor Louis H. Pollak of the Yale Law School and me, is enclosed. The memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $12,300 to carry it out.

The proposal visualizes a quiet meeting of knowledgeable people in the late Summer or early Fall of 1962, sponsored by some well-known university with the aid of the requested grant. Designation of the sponsoring university is left open. Preliminary inquiries indicate that the University of Wisconsin and Notre Dame are willing, either of them, to act as sponsors. And doubtless other universities would be equally willing to do so. Yale, for one, is a possibility although Professor Pollak's other time commitments make him hesitant to undertake the administrative responsibilities which would fall upon some faculty member at whatever institution is designated as sponsor.

We are cheerfully receptive to suggestions and questions about further details. Indeed if you are interested in following up on the proposal, it probably makes sense to call an early, one-day meeting at New York to give more attention to details, perhaps bringing in Leslie Dunbar and Harold Fleming in addition to you, Pollak and me.

In any event we shall be grateful for your thoughtful consideration of the proposal.

Sincerely,

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

Bill Foster file

February 12, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I've just received a scribbled note from Lou Pollak. A copy of the best I could do at deciphering his penmanship is enclosed.

The question he raises are relevant. Rather than give you my present reactions, I'd like to have you see this, then phone me when you've had a chance to mull over it a bit. [Needless to say, I've got some reactions, too.]

phoned 2/14/62

Meanwhile, I'll hold off talking with Lou or writing him until we've chewed this thing over a bit.

Memos on Houston, New Orleans and Baton Rouge are enclosed, too. Hope all goes well.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Copy

February 9, 1962

Dear Bill:

The first local reaction - from Bickel and Emerson - to your memo to Eagle is (1) that Yale shouldn't sponsor such a conference unless it can be made more widely representative: They felt (quite sympathetically on the merits, of course) that this sounded like a conference whose conclusions were largely pre-packaged (at least as to generalization (? - word not clear), if not as to method). (2) They also wondered - independently of offering Yale as a sponsor - whether such a conference wouldn't be more effective if it had a broader spectrum of participation: - i.e., that a conference which included some Ralph Magills, even if they dissented in some respects, might command more general respect.

Let me know your thoughts when you have a moment. Obviously, the second query - which goes to the [substance?] of the conference wherever held - is far more consequential than whether it's held at Yale or elsewhere.

Lou [Pollak]

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

See Foster, W

file

February 19, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Before my law Dean, George Young, left town I managed to get his signature on the letter of which a copy is enclosed. And I have checked out again Fred Harrington, Vice President of the University for Academic Affairs, with the same reactions as before: of course the University could - and should - do this sort of thing.

Vernon returned my call some considerable time after I'd first sought to reach him, and he expressed satisfaction with Dean Young's letter as I read it over the phone. Vernon also asked about physical facilities here for such a meeting and I assured him that in recent years the University has acquired some quite fancy facilities for conference meetings. And he asked me to send along some brief vitae on myself. He was friendly but several times said he'd present our proposal though what his board might do with it, he didn't know. I hope this reflects no more than the kind of caution appropriate in predicting how likely someone else is to spend his money on ideas that thee and me have.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

February 19, 1962

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This letter comments upon the proposal for developing legislative recommendations in the field of civil rights recently submitted to the New World Foundation by Professor G. W. Foster, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin Law School and Professor Louis H. Pollak of the Yale Law School.

I have discussed aspects of the proposal at various times with Professor Foster and am familiar with the detailed memorandum which he sent you earlier this month. The proposal seems to me to be one of merit and certainly touches an area in which more thinking is needed.

Sponsorship of such a proposal strikes me as quite appropriate for the University; I would personally be glad to think your Foundation would see fit to grant to the Regents of the University of Wisconsin the funds sufficient to carry it out. We have also discussed the matter informally with Dr. Fred Harrington, Academic Vice President of the University, who concurs in the view that the University of Wisconsin can and should accept the sponsorship of a program like that proposed by Professors Foster and Pollak.

Sincerely,

George H. Young
Dean

April 6, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Enclosed is a re-write of the proposal. Change it as you will. I would suggest that you try to get the thing to Max Hahn as quickly as possible. As you will notice I cut the budget. I did this because Max Hahn, when I talked with him, expressed some skepticism about the need for $12,500. If I have cut it too much fix it up better. But I suspect that if it's much increased over the figure I have used the budgetary justification will have to be made more detailed. Neither you nor I know how much this thing will cost though somehow I feel we could make it for $9,000. I have also raised the question about Wofford inasmuch as he is going off to Africa and have suggested, with a question mark, the substitution of Berl Bernnard.

I was very glad to get your comments about Executive Support of Civil Rights. I had hoped that it would meet with your liking. The response has been good in Washington. Although the Washington Post, which carried a front page treatment, wrote it up as if it were an undiluted hymn of praise and Doris Fleeson, who must read the Post, wrote a column in which she said that with Baker v. Carr and the Southern Regional Council's report President Kennedy's cup had run over. The White House incidentally ordered 1,000 copies.

Robert Kennedy at his first news conference in April 1961 said that he did not have the power to initiate school cases.

When you are next in New Orleans if you have time look up Henry Cabirac, Southern Field Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, 1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2. Henry would like to talk with you.

It would seem to me that Skelly Wright's decision on top of the Memphis decision by the 6th Circuit gives you a powerful reason for continuing which you should call firmly to the attention of Lloyd Garrison either directly or indirectly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

April 5, 1962

Memo to: Mr. Maxwell Hahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, Wisc.

Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $12,500 to carry it out.

The proposal grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What we propose here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science, and economics to the analysis of civil rights issues. Although we believe that the program proposed will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to the continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

We propose, and ask your support for, a quiet meeting - of perhaps four days' duration - to which 12-15 informed and involved people would be invited. The meeting would have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to the Congress as to three topics: (a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as public school desegregation); (b) Voting; and (c) Employment. Second, a final item on the agenda would include the question of what can be done, or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations, to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

The conference would be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

In many respects the methods used by the Southern Regional Council in preparing, in the Winter of 1960-61, their excellent and influential Federal Executive and Civil Rights furnish the model for the procedures we would propose to follow. Several of the prospective conferees would be assigned to write background papers on the three topics. These papers, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would undertake to (1) outline legislative problems; (2) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (3) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (4) present the author's recommendations.

Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. Publication of the report is visualized as a two-stage affair: first, advance circulation to the Administration; and second, general publication and release, probably in a law journal.

The above two paragraphs are confined to the first agenda item. The second - the discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest - would, as presently planned, be handled differently. We contemplate that this matter would be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session would be devoted to it. Following the conference, we would solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum would be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants that may be before them.

We have given considerable thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and perhaps many, of the people we would want. The list is, though, longer than we would wish to include as an invited group and we certainly would want to consider other names as well. We have thought of the fo following persons: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); Leslie W. Dunbar (Southern Regional Council); David Feller (I.U.D.); Harold Fleming (Potomac Institute); Jack Greenburg (Legal Defense and Education Fund, NAACP); Alexander Heard (Univ. of North Carolina); Vivian Henderson, (Fisk); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews, (Univ. of North Carolina); William Nicholls, (Vanderbilt); Dean Joseph O'Meara (Notre Dame Law School); Daniel Pollitt (Univ. of North Carolina Law School); Benjamin Segal, (Electrical Workers); John Silard (Attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro, N. C.); Daniel Thompson

(Dillard University); John Wheeler (attorney and banker, Durham, N. C.); Avon Williams (attorney, Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean.). The list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state FEP men.

The list above is devoid of government names - and good ones like Burke Marshall and Harris Wofford come at once to mind - but our present thought is to proceed without government people involved, much as we would miss their contributions. It may make good sense to include both Marshall and Wofford, perhaps others, in going over details of our preparation for the meeting. Whether to exclude them from the meeting itself calls for a hard balancing of advantages and disadvantages. We are not prepared to give a final answer on the point at present.

Nominal sponsorship of the meeting and ultimately the report by some well-known university seems desirable. Officials at the University of Wisconsin have expressed a willingness to accept and administer (without charge) a grant which would finance a meeting such as this and would assent to publication of recommendations growing out of such a meeting sponsored by the University. We have reason to believe that the same would be true of Notre Dame, and doubtless of other universities as well.

Our plan would be to convene the meeting sometime between mid-August and mid-October of 1962. This would to some extent depend upon other time commitments of those invited to participate. This time schedule would provide adequate opportunity for advance preparation of papers for circulation and thought among invitees prior to coming to the meeting. And it should also permit preparation of the report so that advance copies might be circulated to the Administration by late November or early December of 1962. This is important, because late Fall is the season for preparing the Administration's legislative recommendations.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. We estimate that a budget not to exceed $12,500 as a maximum commitment would suffice to carry out the proposal. The burget estimate is grounded upon these assumptions: (1) The meeting will last four days (Thursday through Sunday); (2) the number invited will not exceed 15 persons; (3) the meeting will be perhaps as far distant from the general location of most invitees as the University of Wisconsin (another location might allow savings); and (4) the cost

of publication and distribution of the report must be included in the budget. The budget is based upon these estimates:

Travel, food and lodging for invitees to meeting (based on an average of $300 per person for a maximum of 15 Persons)	$ 4,500
Publication and distribution of report	2,500
Other costs (which would include perhaps a planning session or two prior to meeting) phone calls for recruiting invitees; honoraria for preparation of discussion papers or final report; incidentals	2,000
Maximum total commitment	$ 9,000

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

Rec'd 4/11/62

file

April 9, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The original of the enclosed memo went out this afternoon to Maxwell Hahn. It is unchanged from the helpful form in which you have made your suggested revisions. Now we will have to sit this one out.

I was delighted at the good reports on your Executive Support of Civil Rights. It may help to have the Administration, anxious to read it for words of praise, realize there are still some things to be done.

Thanks for taking time to help as you have. It will be good to see you again when we get together for the education conference of the Commission on Civil Rights.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

April 9, 1962

Memo to: Mr. Maxwell Rahn
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

From: G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School, Madison, Wis.

Louis H. Pollak, Yale Law School, New Haven, Conn.

Subject: Developing Recommendations for Civil Rights Legislation

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $9,000 to carry it out.

The proposal grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What we propose here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science, and economics to the analysis of civil rights issues. Although we believe that the program proposed will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to the continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

We propose, and ask your support for, a quiet meeting - of perhaps four days' duration - to which 12-15 informed and involved people would be invited. The meeting would have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to the Congress as to three topics: (a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as public school desegregation); (b) Voting; and (c) Employment. Second, a final item on the agenda would include the question of what can be done, or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations, to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

The conference would be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

In many respects the methods used by the Southern Regional Council in preparing, in the Winter of 1960-61, its excellent and influential <u>Federal Executive and Civil Rights</u> furnish the model for the procedures we would propose to follow. Several of the prospective conferees would be assigned

to write background papers on the three topics. These papers, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would undertake to (1) outline legislative problems; (2) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (3) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (4) present the author's recommendations.

Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. Publication of the report is visualized as a two-stage affair: first, advance circulation to the Administration; and second, general publication and release, probably in a law journal.

The above two paragraphs are confined to the first agenda item. The second - the discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest - would, as presently planned, be handled differently. We contemplate that this matter would be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session would be devoted to it. Following the conference, we would solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum would be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants that may be before them.

We have given considerable thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and perhaps many, of the people we would want. The list is, though, longer than we would wish to include as an invited group and we certainly would want to consider other names as well. We have thought of the following persons: Wiley Branton (Voter Education Project); Leslie W. Dunbar (Southern Regional Council); David Feller (I.U.D.); Harold Fleming (Potomac Institute); Jack Greenberg (Legal Defense and Education Fund, NAACP); Alexander Heard (University of North Carolina); Vivian Henderson (Fisk); Eric Lincoln (Clark College); Donald Matthews (Univ. of North Carolina); William Nicholls (Vanderbilt); Dean Joseph O'Meara (Notre Dame Law School); Daniel Pollitt (University of North Carolina Law School); Benjamin Segal (Electrical Workers); John Silard (attorney, Washington); McNeill Smith (attorney, Greensboro, N. C.); Daniel Thompson (Dillard University); John Wheeler (attorney and banker, Durham, N. C.); Avon Williams (attorney, Nashville); Eugene Wyatt (Nashville Tennessean). This list should be enlarged to include a couple of the most reflective of the state FEP men.

The list above is devoid of government names - and good ones like Burke Marshall and Berl Bernhard come at once to mind - but our present thought is to proceed without government people involved, much as we would miss their contributions. It may make good sense to include both Marshall and Bernhard, perhaps others, in going over details of our preparation for the meeting. Whether to exclude them from the meeting itself calls for a hard balancing of advantages and disadvantages. We are not prepared to give a final answer on the point at present.

Nominal sponsorship of the meeting and ultimately the report by some well-known university seems desirable. Officials at the University of Wisconsin have expressed a willingness to accept and administer (without charge) a grant which would finance a meeting such as this and would assent to publication of recommendations growing out of such a meeting sponsored by the

University. We have reason to believe that the same would be true of Notre Dame, and doubtless of other universities as well.

Our plan would be to convene the meeting sometime between mid-August and mid-October of 1962. This would to some extent depend upon other time commitments of those invited to participate. This time schedule would provide adequate opportunity for advance preparation of papers for the meeting. And it should also permit preparation of the report so that advance copies might be circulated to the Administration by late November or early December of 1962. This is important, because late Fall is the season for preparing the Administration's legislative recommendations.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. We estimate that a budget not to exceed $9,000 as a maximum commitment would suffice to carry out the proposal. The budget estimate is grounded upon these assumptions: (1) The meeting will last four days (Thursday through Sunday); (2) the number invited will not exceed 15 persons; (3) the meeting will be perhaps as far distant from the general location of most invitees as the University of Wisconsin (another location might allow savings); and (4) the cost of publication and distribution of the report must be included in the budget. The budget is based upon these estimates:

Travel, food and lodging for invitees to meeting (based on an average of $300 per person for a maximum of 15 persons).....	$ 4,500
Publication and distribution of report	2,500
Other costs (which would include perhaps a planning session or two prior to meeting) phone calls for recruiting invitees; honoraria for preparation of discussion papers or final report; incidentals.....	2,000
Maximum total commitment	$ 9,000

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 4/17

April 16, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

The enclosed copy of my letter to Professor Foster conveys the bad news that the Field Foundation will not be able to support the civil rights legislation project. Perhaps we can talk about this the next time you are in New York or we are on the phone.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Max

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

April 16, 1962

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
The University of Wisconsin Law School
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Professor Foster:

It now is clear that the Field Foundation will not be able to consider favorable action on the proposal you and Professor Pollak of Yale Law School submitted under the date of April 9, 1962, for an extended period of time. Since this delay will be of indefinite duration and clearly not a matter of a few weeks or months, I am sure you will want to approach possible sources of funds immediately.

I regret that the Field Foundation can offer no encouragement.

Sincerely,

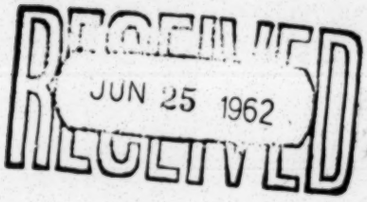
MH

Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President

bcc: Mr. Dunbar

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

June 23, 1962



Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Round-trip air tickets for your Madison trip should have reached you by now. And, as I wrote, we'll have to alter your return ticket after you reach here in order to pick up the reservations I've made for our Notre Dame junket. Incidentally, here are the reservations I've made for your Saturday afternoon return to Atlanta: Lv. Notre Dame (South Bend) on North Central 808 at 4:20 p.m.; Lv. O'Hare on Delta 833 at 5:55 p.m., arriving Atlanta at 7:31, EST.

Partial manuscripts on Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia are enclosed. By the time you arrive we should have a good bit more done on Kentucky and Virginia, and some North Carolina stuff, too.

Don't feel you must do homework on this, but it will help if you can.

Harold Fleming is due to arrive at the Madison airport half hour or so ahead of you and I plan to meet you both. I'm still counting on having you arrive from O'Hare on North Central 139, Wednesday evening, June 27th. Reservations at the Madison Inn, two blocks from the campus, are being held in your name for Wednesday and Thursday evenings. And Joe O'Meara has reservations for both of us at the Morris Inn on the Notre Dame campus for Friday evening.

It will be good to see you, buddy.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

conference

July 2, 1962

Subject: Developing Recommendations for Civil Rights Legislation

~~This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for civil rights legislation and is submitted as a request for a grant of $ to carry it out.~~

The ~~proposal~~ grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science, and economics to the analysis of civil rights issues. Although we believe that the program ~~proposed~~ will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

The conference will be ~~We propose, and ask support for,~~ a quiet meeting from February 8 through Feb. 11 ~~- of perhaps four days' duration -~~ to which ~~some 15~~ informed and involved people ~~would be~~ invited. The meeting ~~would~~ have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to ~~the~~ Congress as to three topics;

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation);

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

annual group

will

are

to be considered on the fourth day

The second purpose ~~would~~ will involve a final agenda item taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

The conference ~~would~~ will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

will

current order

~~In many respects the methods used by the Southern Regional Council in preparing, in the Winter of 1960-61, its excellent and influential Federal Executive and Civil Rights furnish the model for the procedure we would propose to follow. Several of the prospective conferees would be assigned to write background papers on the three topics.~~ These papers ~~, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would~~ undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. These papers will serve to direct + organize discussion. They will not limit or control the conclusions of you + the other conferees.

Not later than early January, you will receive copies of the discussion papers

Following the meeting, ~~one person would be assigned to write a~~ reporter will pulling together the material and presenting the judgments reached. ~~Publication of the report would probably occur as a two-stage affair: first, advance distribution in mimeographed form, on a not-for-publication basis, to the Administration and a selected group of Senators and Representatives; and second, general publication and distribution as a law review article in the Notre Dame Lawyer.~~ for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer.

~~Mid-February 1963 is the earliest practicable target date for the conference itself, although even this date will depend upon early approval of financial support for the project. Considerable time in advance of the conference will be required to obtain early commitment of participants for the designated date of the meeting and to assure adequate opportunity for preparation and distribution of background papers on the topics of education, voting, and employment. With respect particularly to the voting question it will be essential that the person preparing the voting paper spend perhaps a week at the Department of Justice going over case files and discussing with Department attorneys the problems which have been encountered in implementing voting rights. Some time should probably be spent also examining the experience of the Voter Registration Project now getting under way at the Southern Regional Council.~~

The mid-February 1963 meeting date occurs after the new Congress convenes and, of course, after the Administration has made whatever general commitment it may choose to make in the State of the Union message to the Congress of that year. ~~And~~ while a good case can be made for having recommendations available early enough that the Administration could have them in hand when deciding on the position to be taken in the State of the Union message, ~~the practical limitations upon completing the job in time for this (i.e., by late November or early December of 1962) appear insurmountable. On the other hand~~ there are distinct advantages in holding the conference in February of 1963, since legislative proposals from the Administration and others ~~will~~ then be in hand by the time the conference is convened. ~~Nor does the February date appear now to assume much risk that the Congress will act on civil rights legislation in the early part of the 1963 session; there is a widely held consensus that the major push for Congressional action will occur in 1964, not 1963. There is, nevertheless, some timing hazard involved in any date selected.~~ may

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter ~~would~~ will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session ~~would be~~ will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we ~~would~~ will solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected ~~law~~ law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum ~~would~~ will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants, ~~that may be before them.~~

Other invitees include:

~~We have given considerable thought to the question of the kinds of people to invite. The list which follows contains some, and probably many, of the people we would want. Doubtless other names will also be considered. We have thought of the following persons:~~

~~Prof.~~ Charles Black, Yale Law School
~~Prof.~~ Wylie Davis, University of Illinois Law School
~~Dr.~~ Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
~~Mr.~~ Harold Fleming, Potomac Institute
Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project

shall

The discussion papers will be written by —

(Education) Prof. G.W. Foster, University of Wisconsin, Law School;

(Voting)

(Employment)

G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School
Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University
Vivian Henderson, ~~Economics Department,~~ Fisk University (on research leave to be at North Carolina State University, 1962-1963)
Donald Matthews, University of North Carolina
Paul Nergren, Princeton University ~~(director of employment discrimination study)~~
Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School
John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union
Louis Pollak, Yale Law School
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School
John Silard, attorney, Washington, D. C.
McNeill Smith, attorney, Greensboro, North Carolina
Daniel Thompson, ~~Department of Sociology,~~ Dillard University
John Wheeler, attorney and banker, Durham, North Carolina
Avon Williams, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

The list above should be enlarged to include some experienced state Fair Employment Practices man, probably selected from among these four:

George Schermer, Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations
Ed Howden, California FEPC
Frank Baldau, Ohio FEPC
Malcolm Higgins, Washington State Board Against Discrimination

The above lists are devoid of names of those directly involved in institutions actively engaged in enforcing anti-discrimination policies, both in the federal government and in such private groups as the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Knowledgeable and good people may be found in these positions. Our decision to proceed without them is grounded on the concern that these people, with institutional positions to defend, can be placed in possibly embarrassing cross-fire by participation in a group likely to make the kinds of recommendations expected to come from the conference. Much as their contributions would be missed, we feel it the safer course to invite none of them.

Sponsorship of the conference and the report coming from it will be by the Notre Dame Law School. A substantial financial contribution to the project, amounting to approximately $3,500, will also be made by the Notre Dame Law School, which will further contribute both the facilities for the conference and considerable supplemental service, particularly with respect to publication of the report.

There remains the matter of an estimated budget. A factor likely to minimize the total cost of the project is that some of those likely to attend the conference can rely on other funds to meet the costs of attending the conference (though it is difficult to determine in advance how importantly this factor will contribute in reducing total funds which may be required to finance the project). The total estimated budget is based upon these assumptions: (a) that the meeting may last as much as four days; (b) the number invited will come to 15 persons; (c) small honoraria will be paid those who prepare the background memoranda distributed prior to the meeting, and the individual who prepares the final report; and (d) the costs of publishing and distributing the report. The budget is based upon these estimates:

Just received.

Bill 7/11/62

RECEIVED
JUL 13 1962

July 6, 1962

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harris:

Here is the memorandum prepared by Bill Foster. As I told you on the phone yesterday, we are prepared to sponsor the proposed converence and contribute as much as $3500 toward payment of the cost. That is about as much as I can squeeze out. In case of absolute necessity, however, I might be able, somehow, to raise the ante slightly.

I take a dim view of honoraria, as you may recall. The only honoraria paid here in my time have been the substantial stipend ($1500 in addition to expenses) paid for the Natural Law lectures each fall. The results have been very disappointing. If a man is sufficiently interested he will do what he is invited to do without compensation. If he is not sufficiently interested, a "modest honorarium" will accomplish nothing. That, at any rate, is my view.

I have not undertaken a detailed estimate of probable cost, for I wanted to get the matter into your hands at once. My guess is that a grant of $5000 (in addition to what we are able to supply) would be sufficient for the purpose. That seems a modest sum to ask in view of the pressing importance of the subject.

If the ~~Rebels~~ Reynolds Foundation doesn't click, I hope you will find another willing to provide the small amount required.

As I told you on the phone, I would greatly welcome your suggestions as to the names of possible participants, in addition to those mentioned in Bill Foster's memorandum. In this connection, I agree that persons in official position who have to do with civil rights matters should not be invited to participate. They cannot shed their official status and any statements made by them might very well be misconstrued as representing the direction of official thinking. This, I should think, would make them too cautious to

contribute fruitfully. I should be perfectly willing, however, to take up with Foster and Dunbar the question of inviting, say, Burke Marshall, to come as an auditor. In that status he would be free to say anything he chose but not required to say anything at all.

I assume there will be a meeting of the Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Services sometime this summer and hope very much that will give me an opportunity for at least a brief visit with you.

With all the best,

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw
Incl.

cc: Mr. Foster

July 10, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

As nearly as I can figure, and separating South Bend from Madison expenses, you owe the Southern Regional Council $11.15. I had a fine time and hope the Madison part was, at least, some worth to your people.

Your revision of the memorandum for Dean O'Meara is fine. Please keep me posted.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

July 2, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A copy of the revised memo for Dean O'Meara is enclosed. I've told him my feelings won't be hurt by any style changes he makes but added that both of us would like a crack, in advance of sending his memo out, at any major changes in substance which occurred to him.

Do remember to send me soon a statement of your out of pocket expenses inconnection with your visit here.

Thanks again for coming up. The group has today been outspoken in its gratitude for the chance to have you here. And I join in this.

Have a good vacation, whether sitting at home or camping in the Smokies.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

write Dean

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 6

LAW SCHOOL

July 25, 1962

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

This letter confirms the conversation we have just completed.

Leslie Dunbar and I are delighted at your resolve to go forward with the legislative conference. To this end, we have a proposal to extend to you which will be outlined below.

First, we would very much appreciate having you handle the question of invitations to the conference. I will send you no later than Monday, July 30, a draft letter of invitation which you are free to alter in any manner that you wish. I shall also send along a marked-up copy of the original memorandum proposal which we had sent you. Our present thought is to accompany a brief letter of invitation with a modified copy of the memorandum.

We further suggest that the letter of invitation contain the thought that either Dunbar or I will aceept collect telephone calls from any prospective invitees who wish answers to further questions about the program before making up their own minds to attend. This should relieve you of some of the added expense and time that the invitation process will involve.

On the question of fixing a date for the meeting, our feeling is that we should take responsibility for fixing the date. The alternative of asking invitees to suggest their own most convenient times seems unsatisfactory to us because it tends to create more confusion than benefit. To this end, we suggest that invitees should plan on being at Notre Dame by 9:00 a.m. Friday, February 8, 1963, and be willing to commit themselves to remain possibly as long as Monday, February 11.

Out present thought is that no further meeting is required at this time. Let's try sending invitations to the list of prospective invitees which we presently have, see what response we get, then decide what further steps--including a possible meeting--we need to take.

One final thought. An inquiry sent by Leslie to Dan Pollitt asking him to do the background memorandum on employment has not yet been responded to. Both of us feel hopeful, however, that he will accept the job. For the background memorandum on voting, Leslie and I both feel now that Wiley Branton, presently with the Voter Registration Project, is the logical man. If we assume that I do the background memorandum on education and Leslie the final report, this would supply us with all who would have writing responsibilities. (Though if in time it is desirable to cast any recommendations into legislative form, we will have to do some further looking to obtain the services of someone for this. You had spoken of a chap at the University of Indiana Law School, and I think it fruitful, if you find the time to do so, for you to pursue that further.)

Thanks again for all your help, and I will have the draft letter of invitation and the modified memorandum in your hands by Monday.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

GWF:skb

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

via air mail special

July 26, 1962

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I have taken your proposal, made a few tiny changes in it, and had it re-typed. It is enclosed and you may find it helpful in preparing the announcement to be sent to the invitees.

As to that, I have no further changes to propose. If another name were to be added I find myself feeling more and more inclined to include Eli Ginzberg both because he is extremely knowledgeable and because he has ideas. I don't know any of the state FEP people recommended by John Feild. On the whole, I suppose it's probably well to have one.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File Copy

Subject: Developing Recommendations for Civil Rights Legislation

The conference grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems which remain unyielding.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science, and economics to the analysis of civil rights issues. Although we believe that the program will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11 to which a small group of informed and involved people are invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation;

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public policy aspects of race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Not later than early January, you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. These papers will serve to direct and organize discussion. They will not limit or control the conclusions of you and other conferees.

The discussion papers will be written by

(Education) Professor G. W. Foster
University of Wisconsin, Law School;

(Voting)

(Employment)

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgments and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

The mid-February 1963 meeting date occurs after the new Congress convenes and, of course, after the Administration has made whatever general commitment it may choose to make in the State of the Union message to the Congress of that year. While a good case can be made for having recommendations available early enough that the Administration could have them in hand when deciding on the position to be taken in the State of the Union message, there are distinct advantages in holding the conference in February of 1963, since legislative proposals from the Administration and others may then be in hand by the time the conference is convened.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

~~Other~~ Invitees include:

Charles Black, Yale Law School
Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project
Wylie Davis, University of Illinois Law School
Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
Harold C. Fleming, Potomac Institute
G. W. Foster, Jr., Univ. of Wisconsin Law School
Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University
Vivian Henderson, Fisk University (on research leave to be at North Carolina State University, 1962-1963)
Donald Matthews, University of North Carolina
Paul Norgren, Princeton University

~~Host? Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School~~
John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union
Louis Pollak, Yale Law School
Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina
Law School
John Silard, attorney, Washington, D. C.
McNeill Smith, attorney, Greensboro, North Carolina
Daniel Thompson, Dillard University
John Wheeler, attorney and banker, Durham, North
Carolina
Avon Williams, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

The list above should be enlarged to include some experienced state Fair Employment Practices man, probably selected from among these four:

Add one to list

George Schermer, Philadelphia Commission on
Human Relations
Ed Howden, California FEPC
Frank Baldau, Ohio FEPC
Malcolm Higgins, Washington State Board
Against Discrimination

Pl

July 28, 1962

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Law School
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean:

I enclose a letter just received from Leslie Dunbar along with a modified version of our original memorandum which incorporates a few of Leslie's suggestions. Since I can think of nothing at the moment which improves on what he has done, I pass it along as received.

He does make the suggestion in his covering letter that we perhaps consider adding Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University to the list. I would heartily concur. The studies he has reported on in such books as "The Uneducated" and "The Negro Potential" make it plain that he is a quite knowledgeable fellow.

After your assurances that you'd re-write anything we sent along for a letter of invitation, I'm inclined to think that the memorandum in its present form takes care of the basic ideas you may wish to include. There is one exception to this: You may wish to include a sentence to this effect: "If you have further questions about the conference before making up your mind on the decision to attend, either Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council or Prof. G. W. Foster, Jr., of the University of Wisconsin Law School, will be glad to accept collect phone calls and discuss your questions. They may be respectively reached thus: Dr. Dunbar, Atlanta, Georgia, Area Code 404, phone 522-8764; Prof. Foster, Madison, Wisconsin, Area Code 608, phone AL 5-3311, ext. 4147."

I hope you get a good response from the initial invitations. And please let us know what else we may do to help.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Foster
Legislative Project

August 6, 1962

Mr. Daniel Pollitt
National Labor Relations Board
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Pollitt:

Your letter of the 2nd has just been read to Les Dunbar who is on vacation. He asked that I write to urge you to reconsider "once again." As you know, Les feels the study will be a very important one, and he is particularly anxious to have your contribution.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mmj

cc. G. W. Foster w/ltr from Pollitt

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

August 2, 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have not forgotten the great idea and I am pleased that the good dean of Notre Dame has agreed to be a sponsor. I still think it is a very fine and necessary project.

I have delayed answering your kind letter to see how my various projects here work out; to see if I would have all the time in the world after returning to Chapel Hill. Unfortunately, things are not working out that way. I will have two or three major projects unfinished when I leave here, which means I will have to finish them u~~ntil~~ when I get home. So, I have to decline the opportunity to write a paper on employment. I am very sorry, as I have done some work on that here, and would like to do more; but my committments to the agency require that I finish up their , or its, work before turning to something new.

My suggestion is that you contact Prof. Mike Sovern at Columbia Law School who wrote an excellent article on race relations and the NLRB in a recent issue of the Columbia Law Review. He has been studying the entire field of Negro employment for the past several years and I think he would do a fine job at the conference and would be deligted to receive an invitation.

Again, I regret that I can't do it; but I just don't see where the time would come from.

Don

Foster –

Legislative Project – Notre Dame Conf.

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
MAIN 5-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 7, 1962

To: LWD From: PA

Subject:

file

Donald Matthews called Tuesday, August 7. Will write Notre Dame, but wanted you to know that he cannot attend conference. The week of the conference is his first week of teaching after a year's absence. He expressed deep regret and is willing to prepare or react to any material available before or after the conference.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

Foster
"Legislative Project"

file

August 27, 1962

Dear Leslie —

Better looks for me the week-end of the 8th since I'm headed first to Memphis, then to Arkansas, Louisiana, and gradually back toward you.

Dean O'Meara reports six acceptances — Branton, Davis, Fleming, Pemberton, Pollitt and Thompson — and two turn-downs — Black and Matthews. I told him you were working on a substitute for Matthews and I'll try to think up a substitute for Charlie Black.

I'll try to get a memo done by Labor Day on the major law developments in the school picture, and we can talk about this, too, when we get together.

And it will be good to get together.

Faithfully,
Bill

September 18, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

Would Soveran of Columbia be a possible invitee for the conference?

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

October 4, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I hope you have recovered from the strife of New York. I haven't, but maybe your agenda was not as devastating as mine. At any rate, I was glad to see you, like a friendly port of call, in all that madness.

I find myself getting nervous about the Notre Dame Conference. February seems to be awfully close. Specifically, I am concerned about the running of the two memoranda other than yours. Should Pollitt and Branton have anything in the way of a formal request from the dean, or is my agreement with them sufficient? I think from the standpoint of tying them down it is. But should I be the one who tells them about form, content, etc., or should somebody write a letter?

As I think I told you, Prothro cannot come, so we shall be without the North Carolina political scientist; regretable, but not tragic.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

September 10, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I waited for Don's return to the campus to reply to your invitation to participate in the Notre Dame Conference because the detailed information was in his files. Unfortunately, the same factors that preclude his attendance apply to me, too. Were it at a different time of year, either one of us might have been able to make it, but neither of us can get away at that time.

We would like very much for someone connected with our study to be there, however. If you are willing to have a junior man R. Lewis Bowman of Amherst College would be a fine choice. Lew served as Staff and Field Director of our project for 1961-62 and has taken the joint Amherst-Mount Holyoke appointment.

I appreciate the invitation and am truly sorry that I cannot take advantage of it.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James W. Prothro

JWP:ne

Notre Dame Law School

Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

August 1, 1962

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

You are most cordially invited to participate in a conference on civil-rights legislation to be held here from February 8 through 11. The plan and purpose of the conference are described in the accompanying memorandum. While here you will be our guest at the Morris Inn, on the campus, and we will cover your travel expense to the extent it is not otherwise reimbursable.

I shall be away from Notre Dame for a couple of weeks beginning Monday, August 6. However, Professor G. W. Foster of the University of Wisconsin Law School and Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council have been working very closely with me on the conference and, in fact, have done the preliminary planning. If you have any questions about the conference, they will accept collect telephone calls to discuss your questions with you. Dr. Dunbar can be reached in Atlanta, area code 404, telephone number 522-8764; Professor Foster can be reached in Madison, area code 608, telephone number AL 5-3311, extension 4147.

I hope very much for a favorable reply.

With warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw
Encl.

8/1/62
Dear Dr. Dunbar:
This letter will go out tomorrow to all those listed in the attached memo.
JOM

NOTRE DAME CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The conference grows out of a concern that there is a real need for developing and bringing to public attention some informed and reasonably objective opinion regarding civil-rights legislation. Legislative proposals for civil rights have only rarely been the product of relatively detached and informed consideration. Rather, they have been cast as hurried reactions to demands and denials and too often have failed to account for intimately related problems.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of law, political science and economics to the analysis of civil-rights legislative issues. Although we believe that the program will be valuable in itself, we hope further that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public-policy issues in civil rights and racial relations.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11, to which a small group of informed and involved people are being invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation);

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public-policy aspects of race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Not later than early January, you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. The papers will serve to direct and organize discussion; but will not limit or control the conclusions of the conferees.

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgments and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

The mid-February, 1963 meeting date occurs after the new Congress convenes and, of course, after the Administration has made whatever general commitment it may choose to make in the State of the Union message to the Congress of that year. While a good case can be made for having recommendations available early enough so that the Administration could have them in hand when deciding on the position to be taken in the State of the Union message, there are distinct advantages in holding the conference in February of 1963, since legislative proposals from the Administration and others may then be in hand by the time the conference is convened.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil-rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

Invitees include, among others:

- Charles Black, Yale Law School
- Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project
- Wylie Davis, University of Illinois Law School
- Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
- Harold C. Fleming, Potomac Institute
- G. W. Foster, Jr., University of Wisconsin Law School
- Eli Ginzberg, Columbia University
- Alexander Heard, Vanderbilt University
- Vivian Henderson, Fisk University (on research leave at North Carolina State University, 1962-1963)
- Donald Matthews, University of North Carolina
- Paul Norgren, Princeton University
- John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union
- Louis Pollak, Yale Law School
- Daniel Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School
- John Silard, attorney, Washington, D. C.
- McNeill Smith, attorney, Greensboro, North Carolina
- Daniel Thompson, Dillard University
- John Wheeler, attorney and banker, Durham, North Carolina
- Avon Williams, attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

October 22, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I have finally finished the book and enclosed are some nit-picks.

After reading the second volume I am unshaken in the belief I expressed to you earlier that this is a really fine job, all the way to the final chapter which is as good if not better than anything else in the book. Because I think this is so good, I make a special note of urging you not to jam it through. I think there is everything to be gained by publication being post-poned for a while in order for you to make the analysis the best and most careful that you can.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A
Enclosures

Leslie W. Dunbar

Chapter 5

Page 6 - later percentage for Nashville?

" 8 - 2nd paragraph, Negroes also concerned with overcrowding

" 14 - 2nd " , simple inertia is also an important factor

" " - 3rd " , "too often withdraw" - could you document?

" " - 4th " , here and several times later you speak of Negro reluctance. Of course it exists. But the more salient and profound fact is the vast initiative and determination shown throughout the South. You recognize this, but sometimes concentrate on the reluctance in a way which seems to overlook and even belie the context.

" 16 - 2nd paragraph, being a more cautious fellow than you, I would delete "probably" and substitute "many" for "more opportunities". "Competed with less skilled whites" is ambiguous.

" 17 - You'll want to add Oxford

" 18 - "could ever again" - you may be able to include Georgia now, at least qualifiedly.

" " - last paragraph, delete "However"?

" 22 - worth mentioning Hutchinson's decision and reversal, an illustration of what deliberate speed is not?

" 23 - during 1959-60, Foundation did not accept tuition grants

" 24 - last sentence not clear

" 25, line 1 - "Edward"

" 26 - my observation is that protest is fairly localized (northern Virginia and Norfolk) and not yet strong enough to be politically effective.

" 27- a big problem in getting the book out now is the rapid change of situation and events; pages 1-27 in several places need updating. This shouldn't discourage you or affect your judgment of book's immediate value; it just makes your life more difficult.

28, 3rd line from bottom - "conditioning"? a fair and just word to apply to Memphis?

29 - also, as you note in fu. 51, in proximity to St. Bernard, making it easy to provide another school for kids. "Many of the systems etc" - were there "many"? Where

except in Chapel Hill was there this kind of gerrymandering?

Page 30, 1st paragraph - "frequently"???

" 31, line 2 - delete "generally"?

" ", penultimate line - board or boards? not generally in fact, but some statutes require administrative review

" 35, pending cases Charlottesville and Knoxville before S. Ct.

" 36, 1st paragraph - you are fighting the weight of the evidence. There has not typically been unitary zoning after the first year

" 37, line 4 & 5 - what teacher desegregation has there been outside the border states? Note recent Florida ruling.

" 38, line 14 - were there enough altogether to speak of "Many"?

" 44-48 - Again I question whether some of your best stuff is not in footnotes. At the least can't you persuade Knopf to put the footnotes at the bottom of each page? At the best, can you weave some of them into the text? I believe readers would appreciate the concrete detail that is now entombed in the footnotes. In this section, e.g., footnotes 89, 91, 92 might be brought in.

" 48-54 - ditto; e.g., 98 and 101.

" 54, paragraph 2 - In <u>most</u> places there was no desegregation, and <u>most</u> of those which had used placement still did

"55, line 1 - before you make such a statement, hadn't you better define "token"? One <u>could</u> argue that nowhere in the 11 states is there anything but tokenism as yet. And can you really make this statement about, e.g., Durham? or Charlottesville? or Little Rock?

" 57, fu. 4 - South Carolina has a very simple placement law which you are probably right in not counting

" 61, fu. 21 - "most concede" - could you document the "most"?

", fu 44 - As I recall, the Department did this reluctantly, urging also that the case not be decided on "due process" grounds

" 67, fu 46 - I'll have to look this up, but was grant made directly to school?

" 75: Louisiana - Order now, of course, modified by Fifth

" 84, fu 85 - As I recall, it was a carbon copy; at least the transfer provision was.

Chapter VI

Page 1 - "many" hundreds?

" 12, last sentence - has it reversed any school case?

" 25 & 32 - its usually written SNCC (pronounced Snick)

" 30, line 12 - I might know of some; I wouldn't know of a lot

" 33 & 58, fu. 33 - VEP began April 1962. VEP has the executive responsibility for all votin g efforts supported by its money. It is, as its letterhead says, a program of SRC, and is not a separately organized entity. At the time of public announcement, Field as well as Taconic had granted money. VEP is endeavoring to increase the southern electorate; its primary organizational responsibility is research. Funds may be and have been distributed to other than Negro organizations. VEP is not "coupling" its efforts with Justice; it expects Justice to enforce Justice's responsibilities.

35 - As I recall, in half of the Congressional districts the Sibley Commission found a majority of witnesses favoring open schools; these were the most populous districts.

39 - "The steam often seems etc". I wouldn't agree with this. It has to be remembered that there are lots of fronts, and energies get shifted. It also has to be remembered that schools is the one area where--typically, though not always--direction of the offensive has been with the NAACP and its lawyers and not locally controlled; there has seldom been good local organization behind school desegregation in the way there has been behind, e.g., voting or a boycott.

45 - I am not sanguine that Louisiana has passed its point of crisis; nor Georgia either on a local level, though I am more hopeful about this.

55, fu 22 - should it be mentioned that Carter is general counsel for NAACP?

57, fu 29 - no Dr.? anyway, thanks.

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
AND BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

September 5, 1962

SB

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Your long letter of August 24 was received at an appropiate point during my project. I am in the process of organizing my writings and feel fairly satisfied with the progress of the project at this point. It is believed that I can meet the November 1 deadline for submitting the manuscript.

Very truly yours,

Vivian W. Henderson

VWH/mh

Foster

September 16, 1962

Professor James Prothro
Department of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

I got the news that Don cannot participate in the Notre Dame Conference. Could you? I think the Conference needs one of you fellows very badly and Don got the original invitation because we flipped a coin. If you will let me know that you can make it, I'll see that you get an invitation.

Best wishes,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:Ma

TELEGRAM

December 5, 1962

Prof. G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

INVITE FEILD. MARK ENVELOPE PERSONAL.

L. W. Dunbar

December 11, 1962

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I shall get some words to you yet this week about your article. Thank you for sending it to me and also for the extra copies of Civil Rights, U.S.A.

The acceptances for the Conference seem to have shaped up well.

This is nottime to be injecting second thoughts but I have a couple of nervous reactions. One is that we seem to have ended up without anyone from Harvard or Yale and I am sorry about this both because there are men such as Freund, Pollak, and Black who would have been assets; and also because I have such a low opinion of human nature that I suspect the responses of Harvard and Yale to anything which they did not have a hand in. Secondly, we have no political scientist except this retired one; in this case I don't know that we are missing much but again I have my suspicions and my apprehensions about the vigor of herd instinct within academic disciplines. We tried Matthews and you, I gather, don't prize Peltason. What about Kermit Morrissey, who is director of the Civil Liberties and Civil Rights Seminar at Brandeis and who is also, I believe, assistant to the President. I know Kermit from long back and he is a good man. Or what about John P. Roache, who is professor of political science at Brandeis and also now national chairman of ADA; this might make him a very interesting guy to have. John is also an old friend.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

December 4, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Carl Auerbach of the University of Minnesota and Michael Sovern of Columbia both have agreed to attend the conference at Notre Dame. I very much hope that you have had luck in talking John Feild into joining us as well.

I have read Howard Zinn's monograph on Albany and think it a first-rate job. I must confess, however, that your introduction was the highlight of the affair for me. You certainly did a beautiful job on that.

A copy of the article which I recently submitted to Saturday Review is enclosed. They have indicated the wish to include it in the Education Supplement for mid-January. Assuming they decide to take it, we have, therefore, some time in which to introduce changes. Thus, if you have any bright flashes--and you usually do--I will welcome any criticism or suggestion you may have.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 4, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I write this letter in conjunction with the forthcoming off-the-record meeting at the Notre Dame Law School, February 8-11, 1963. As had been indicated in previous correspondence with you, it is planned to furnish background memoranda on the subjects of education, employment and voting to furnish a starting place for discussion at the meeting.

Responsibility for the memorandum on education has fallen to me. To this end, I am having sent to you directly from the Commission on Civil Rights copies of two volumes recently published which report field studies of school segregation in a number of communities across the country. In all likelihood you will not have an opportunity to read them in their entirety, although I would suggest in particular that you attempt to read in full the report on New Rochelle commencing at page 29 in the volume dealing with public schools in the North and West, and the report on Virginia commencing in the Southern volume at page 155.

In addition to these materials, I hope to send you shortly a comprehensive memorandum treating questions of present federal involvement in school segregation and recommendations which have been made for further federal participation.

I would like to urge you to pass along any suggestions you may have which you think should be distributed to the invitees in advance of our arrival at Notre Dame. I will be more than happy to undertake responsibility for distributing them.

It will be good to see you at Notre Dame.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

P.S. You will have received one or both of the field reports earlier. The purpose of sending this second set is simply to give you something which you can carry to the Notre Dame meeting.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 7, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am enclosing a copy of the portion of the background paper for Notre Dame which deals with elementary and secondary schools. With luck, the higher education materials should be forthcoming by the end of this week.

It is not my intention to mail any of this to the invitees until I have heard further from you. I fully recognize that this may reach you at a time when it is all but impossible for you to read it quickly. Nevertheless, I would like to get your judgment on it before we let it go.

Tentatively, my plans are to leave Madison on Tuesday, January 15. This does not mean, however, that we cannot work out changes in the material while I am on the road. A very efficient young lady here at Madison is running this part of my life for me at the moment and can better than I be trusted to see the necessary changes are incorporated before the material is mailed. Do try if you can to reach me by phone or letter no later than Monday the 14th, even if you have had no opportunity to go over the material.

You will note occasional references in the material to appendices which reproduce such things as recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights and synopses of legislation which has been proposed in Congress. These are not included in the present mailing, though I suspect you are generally familiar with them. They will, of course, go out in the final mailing. In the few hours which have passed since I finished this first part, I have encountered some further relevant material which probably should have been included in the first part. My reaction is, however, simply to prepare an addendum to the materials, incorporating these and any further suggestions you may have.

I hate to burden you with this but value your judgment so much that I would appreciate your help before this is mailed.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosures

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Proposals for Congressional Action

Introduction

This memorandum is addressed to proposals for Congressional action to implement school desegregation. The material is offered as a starting place for discussion, not as a blueprint for legislation.

The memorandum is in two parts. The first deals with the problems of primary and secondary schools; the second with matters affecting higher education. Each part commences with a discussion of present federal involvement with the education process - federal grants in aid, federal services to education, and present federal practices with respect to enforcement of rights against racial discrimination.

Arguably, the federal Executive Branch has powers derived from existing laws and judicial decisions which would enable it to strike hard at the racial discrimination it presently ignores in many areas. Important practical difficulties, however, stand in the way of such action. For one, the authority to act may be unclear or, for another, the Executive may hesitate to act where Congress has apparently decreed otherwise.

Questions of unclear Executive or Judicial authority suggest the desirability of Congressional action to make the authority specific. Yet the thought of seeking additional legislation generates other problems. A refusal by the Congress to grant a specific authority can establish a legislative history which tends to negate the existence of an implied power of the Executive or Judiciary to act. Or the hurly-burly of Congressional

processes may result in restrictive legislation which expressly prohibits the use of powers which previously existed by implication.

Nor is the result always a happy one when Congress imposes mandatory duties on the Executive. Insufficient funds may be provided for doing the job adequately or responsibilities, urgent when they were declared mandatory, may in time become less important than other duties with which an agency is charged and yet will have to be carried out because of their mandatory nature. [The Commission on Civil Rights, for example, has a mandatory duty to investigate voting complaints, a matter of considerably reduced importance at present because of the active involvement of the Justice Department; the Commission could better use its limited budget in other areas but is required to continue investigation of the infrequent complaints it receives.]

Apart from considerations growing out of the distribution of power among the coordinate branches of the federal government, other complications develop out of the distribution of powers between the national government and the states. Specifically, the drive against segregation in the public schools of the North and West raises questions which perhaps must be addressed exclusively to the legislative and executive branches of the states. In particular, the demands that public officials take racial considerations benignly into account and reorganize schools to mitigate the effects of residential segregation are probably beyond the scope of duties which the courts may enforce against the states under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Some of the same demands appear also to lie be-

yond the power of Congressional action in light of the Civil Rights Cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

The interplay of forces within the federal government and between it and the states must, then, be taken into account in fashioning proposals for Congressional action. Such considerations are of major importance where Congress is asked to define duties and sanctions for the enforcement of duties. On the other hand, only Congress can appropriate money and hence programs requiring financial assistance must be cast in the form of legislative action.

Detailed consideration of elementary and secondary school problems and of proposals for dealing with them follow.

PART I. ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Federal Involvement: Financial Aids

At the elementary and secondary school levels, federal involvement is not substantial. Federal financial aids reach these schools through a hodge-podge of programs which appear to have been generated independently in response to special pleading for particular situations. Administration of the programs tends to center in the Commissioner of Education and in the Office of Education which he directs although the School Lunch Program, the largest of all the aid programs, is administered by the Department of Agriculture.[1] The ad hoc character of the aid programs results in considerable overlapping of legislative authority vested in the Commissioner of Education. Viewed as a whole, federal aids for elementary and secondary schools take on a capricious appearance.

The principal federal aid programs administered by the Commissioner of Education and having some impact on elementary and secondary schools are:

(1) The "Impact-Area" Program: Furnishes aids to school districts to compensate for populations swelled by the presence of governmental establishments in the area;[2]

(2) The National Defense Education Act: Provides for matched aids to states for instruction programs in science, mathematics, and foreign languages, as well as smaller grants for research in educational media, for guidance counseling, and for development of "area vocational programs;"[3]

(3) Vocational Training: At least two other programs in addition to that provided in the National Defense Education Act, supra;[4]

(4) The Library Services Act: Provides for development of library services in rural areas;[5]

(5) Aid for the Deaf or Mentally Retarded: Provides limited aid for improvement of teaching the deaf or mentally retarded.[6]

Outside the Office of Education's jurisdiction is the independent Office of Vocational Rehabilitation (also in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) which places federal funds in state hands for development of vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, a program likely to have some indirect benefits to programs in both elementary and secondary schools.[7]

In addition to administering grant in aid programs, the Office of Education also provides some services as a clearinghouse of statistics and information about school problems and, under the Cooperative Research in Education Act,[8] has authority for research in problems of education generally. The Cooperative Research in Education Act seems clearly broad enough to justify research into the problems and processes of school desegregation, but it does not appear that funds available under this program have yet been put significantly to work for this purpose.

Indeed, until 1962 the administration of the aid and service programs just described steered entirely clear of any concern for racial problems in education. If anything, the administrators of the programs appeared to back away from involvement in race matters. With its Statistical Report for the year 1953-54 the Office of Education even abandoned its past practice of

publishing comparative statistics on Negro and white schools. The aim behind this may have been laudable in recognizing that public agencies should not take race into account, but the practical effect of the decision was to dry up one of the few useful sources of information which revealed the inequalities between white and Negro education.

The first real evidence of an intention to face problems of segregation in facilities aided by federal educational funds came in the Summer of 1962. This came in the announcement by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that efforts would be made to insist upon desegregation of schools in districts receiving "Impact-Area" funds. Enforcement of this policy has been handed over to the Department of Justice, which is proceeding primarily through negotiation although a test case is pending in a federal District court against officials of Prince George County, Virginia, which receives federal aid because of the military base at Fort Lee.

It was also announced in the Summer of 1962 that the Office of Education would establish a clearinghouse for information about the desegregation process, but the program shows little promise to date of any real vitality.

While these are portents of a more active concern for matters of racial discrimination in programs aided by federal funds or services, they reflect only a small beginning. And such major programs as School Lunch and those established by the National Defense Education Act appear to operate without concern for possible discriminatory use by the states of funds which the federal government supplies.

Federal Involvement: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Congress has not yet, almost nine years later, thrown its prestige behind the enforcement of public school desegregation called for by Brown v. Board of Education. Indirect support of the decision, though without any reference whatever to desegregation, has come from Congress largely as a result of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. That Act upgraded the former "Civil Rights Section" of the Department of Justice to division status and placed it under the charge of an Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights; and the Act also created the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, with authority to operate for a two-year term, which term has twice been renewed for two-year periods.

The powers of the Commission on Civil Rights are limited to fact-gathering and making recommendations for executive and legislative action where voting deprivations and denials of equal protection are involved. The Commission has been beset by numerous difficulties, despite which it has performed some useful services. The fact that Congress has renewed it for two-year terms has created an atmosphere of impermanence within the Commission that has created substantial personnel problems and the two-year terms have made it impossible to undertake more meaningful programs which can only be discharged over a longer period of time. Again, the six Commissioners - who serve on a part-time basis for a per diem of $50 and expenses - have tended to insist upon close surveillance of the day-to-day operations of the full-time professional staff, involving themselves in much minutiae of administration rather than confining their limited time to the formulation of broad policy directives. And finally, the Commission's

limited substantive powers and small budget (about $900, 000 annually) have effectively prevented it from maintaining substantial surveillance over the internal policies and administrative practices of the federal government and barred it from furnishing consultative services much needed in many areas of civil rights.

Yet with all its handicaps conceded, the Commission has made some useful contributions to problems of racial discrimination in education. From 1959 through 1962 the Commission sponsored annual conferences on problems of school desegregation. The conferences brought together educators from all over the country to exchange views. The published Proceedings of each conference contained much useful information although the circulation of the Proceedings was limited and the symbolism of Commission sponsorship curtailed their usefulness in the more resistant areas of the South.

In its 1959 and 1961 biennial reports the Commission also made careful analyses of legal problems related to school operations. Perhaps the most significant Commission contribution in education to date, however, was two volumes published in December 1962 containing reports of field studies made by a group of nine law professors in selected communities all over the country. Out of these empirical studies emerged sharp contrasts in the kinds of problems presented in the several communities examined. Broad regional differences existed, too, in both the demands made on behalf of Negroes and the legal issues raised by the demands: in the South it had been insisted that the dual system of schools be reorganized into a unitary system which operated without regard to race. In the North

and West, on the other hand, it was being insisted that race be taken benignly into account to re-shuffle school populations in ways which mitigated the effects of residential segregation. Put another way, the attack in the South insisted that public authority be color-blind; in the North and West a concept of color consciousness was sought. Between the two positions were profound differences over the scope and function of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Commission has authorized a second set of field studies of school segregation during the 1962-1963 school year, hoping to develop a better definition of problems - and differences - among the various school patterns and the demands for changing them. Assimilation of many of these differences into simple, sweeping legislative proposals will at best be difficult. [See attached memorandum entitled School Segregation: Attack in the North and West.]

Despite these many differences there are certain obvious contributions which the federal government can make. There is need for much further study of the kind initiated by the field studies of the Commission on Civil Rights. There is need for a clearinghouse operation which can collect and distribute materials describing desegregation programs which have worked and, indeed, those which have not. Skilled consultants who could offer assistance to school authorities when requested are also needed.

Logically, the Office of Education would be the appropriate agency for undertaking to furnish many of these services. At present, however, only the Commission is making any significant contribution of this kind and currently neither the Commission nor the Office of Education is equipped to furnish consultative services.

Federal Involvement: Enforcement of Desegregation

Until 1960 the federal judiciary carried almost alone for the national government the responsibility for implementing public school desegregation. This has left to the Negroes the responsibility of initiating private litigation against school authorities and required Negroes to shoulder the costs of litigation - primarily through the machinery of the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Even after a decree directing school desegregation had been obtained, the Department of Justice hesitated for a long time about acting to insure orderly enforcement of the decree. In 1956 the Department failed to intervene when Governor Shivers used the Texas Rangers to block a federal court decree at Mansfield, Texas. The same year, the defiance triggered by John Kasper of the court decree at Clinton, Tennessee, continued for months before the Department furnished any real assistance. In 1957 the Department refused once more to act when Kasper commenced a similar operation at Nashville to thwart a court decree and it came into the fray at Little Rock too late to head off a situation that finally required the use of federal troops. And the Department remained on the sidelines, too, during the 1958-1959 school year when Arkansas and Virginia closed public schools in defiance of desegregation decrees.

A major change in Justice Department policy occurred in November 1960 when the school crisis at New Orleans first came to a head. At that time the Department moved in and took over almost entirely the responsibility for enforcement of the New Orleans decree. In the federal courts the

Department attacked wave after wave of legislation which the Louisiana legislature ground out to frustrate enforcement of the court orders.

From New Orleans on, the Department of Justice has adhered to the policy of acting to preserve the integrity of federal court decrees. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, has kept a watchful eye out for the possibility that a court decree might be evaded or that disturbance might interfere with it. Where there was cause for concern, ranking officials of the Department have established close contacts with local and state officials, making it clear that local and state authorities would be expected to take primary responsibility for seeing that the decree was obeyed in an orderly manner and that federal intervention would follow if this failed.

Behind-the-scene contacts of this sort have served a useful purpose in a number of communities by compelling local authority to face its obligations. Cajolery and threats, however, do not always avoid trouble - as events at Oxford, Mississippi, and in Prince Edward County, Virginia, attest.

In addition to the activities just described, the Department of Justice has occasionally filed amicus briefs in school desegregation actions, usually on the request of the court. Cases at Hoxie and Little Rock in Arkansas, New Rochelle, and in St. Helena Parish, Louisiana, are examples.

As earlier pointed out, the present role of the Justice Department leaves to Negro plaintiffs the burden of initiating and paying for school desegregation litigation. In the Winter of 1956-1957 Attorney General Brownell advanced the proposal that the Justice Department be authorized

to initiate actions in the name of the United States on behalf of those who allegedly suffered deprivations of federally secured civil rights. The Brownell proposal became Title III of the Civil Rights Bill submitted by the Eisenhower Administration to the Eighty-fifth Congress early in 1957.

The Title III provision had much to recommend it. It would have relieved Negroes of the costly burden of litigation, would have placed the Executive Branch on the side of enforcing school desegregation, and would have relieved the continuing shortage of competent attorneys available to prosecute school cases.

Yet even among those who wished to see vigorous enforcement of desegregation, the Title III proposal raised some doubts. Such a provision would shift primary responsibility for initiating action to the Justice Department. While a sympathetic and determined Attorney General could use it for effective purpose, a foot-dragging Justice Department could slow the process almost to a halt or could settle for court orders which produced little or no actual desegregation. One of the great Negro attorneys, himself actively involved in desegregation litigation, once told me he strongly opposed the Title III proposal. "I've got too much politics in my lawsuits as it is," he added.

Other Negro leaders privately expressed concern that Title III would displace Negroes from their vanguard position in leading the battle for school desegregation. Yet another concern was expressed even by those who supported Title III: the provision could be of major significance only if Congress also expanded substantially the staff size of the Civil Rights

Division, for no one seriously urged that the already overburdened Division abandon the work it was presently doing.

The Title III proposal failed of adoption by Congress in 1957 when the President withdrew his support of it and has not been enacted to date.

It has frequently been suggested that the Attorney General has existing authority to initiate school desegregation actions, without need for further legislation. Authority for this is implied from the President's constitutional duty to "take Care that the laws be faithfully executed." Existence of such authority seems to be buttressed also by a few cases in the Supreme Court which sustain the standing of the United States to insist on proper enforcement of the Constitution and federal laws even in cases in which the United States has no proprietary or pecuniary interest. See U.S. v. San Jacinto Tin Co., 125 U.S. 273 (1888); In re Debs, 158 U.S. 564 (1895); and Securities Comm'n v. U.S. Realty Co., 310 U.S. 434 at 459-460 (1940).

In the Spring of 1961 Attorney General Kennedy publicly expressed the doubt whether the United States could initiate desegregation actions without first obtaining specific legislative authority to do so. As previously indicated, however, the Department of Justice subsequently initiated judicial proceedings against officials in Prince George County, Virginia, to bring about school desegregation. The United States does have a pecuniary interest in that case, it will be recalled, because the County schools receive federal funds under the "Impact-Area" program.

In summary, the Department of Justice has since 1960 undertaken primary responsibility for judicial proceedings required to insure effective enforcement of federal court decrees previously rendered in school deseg-

regation suits. It has also filed amicus briefs in other cases, usually at the request of the court. Finally, it has initiated desegregation proceedings in a test case against a school district which receives federal "Impact-Area" funds.

Private Efforts to Enforce Desegregation

Shortly after the Brown decisions in the Supreme Court a number of school districts in the Upper South made a start toward desegregation without waiting to be taken to court. This voluntary action soon dried up, however, and communities in the Middle and Deep South have, with few exceptions, refused to begin any desegregation until directed by a court order to act. [Interestingly, both school officials and attorneys for Negro plaintiffs have often felt need for the protection of a court order; since neither group usually got all it had asked for, each has found it helpful to shift responsibility to the court.]

It is a commonplace belief that most desegregation drives have been initiated from the national offices of Negro action groups. Numerous efforts of this kind have been attempted, but the short answer is most of the initiative has come from within the community itself and, in any case, no amount of exhortation from outside the community has been successful without enlisting dedicated and determined leadership from Negroes of the local community.

For a variety of understandable reasons, Negro parents have hesitated to use their own children as shock troops to fight the first desegregation battle in the community. Again, Negro teachers have not, as a group, been

prominently identified in efforts to promote desegregation; indeed, many Negro leaders complain privately that teachers have proven to be one of the most effective forces against school desegregation found in the Negro community.

The comparative academic inferiority of Negro schools has been another major deterrent to comprehensive desegregation, although neither Negroes nor whites have chosen to say much about this publicly. In many of the larger communities of the South, the average Negro pupil may have fallen a whole year behind the average white by the third grade and the gap may widen to four years or more by the twelfth grade. The gaps may be still greater in many rural areas.

These gaps in average achievement level between the two groups make it a practicable impossibility at higher grade levels for more than a handful of high-achieving Negroes to meet the competitive standards of the white schools at the same grade level. Tactically, of course, Negro leadership has been compelled to take a stance in support of top-to-bottom and wholesale desegregation of the school system although many privately concede that such a result would in short-run terms produce a humiliating failure for a lot of the children who would be involved.

Despite these and many other pressures upon them, strongly motivated Negroes have stepped forward at the community level to insist upon school desegregation. For communities in the South, legal representation for the Negro plaintiffs has been furnished - in all but a few cases - by attorneys affiliated with the N. A. A. C. P. Legal Defense and Education

Fund. The Defense Fund, corporately and administratively independent of the N.A.A.C.P., has been the principal source of legal assistance for all the race litigation in the country and its services are available for litigation involving not only the N.A.A.C.P. but others as well.

The Defense Fund maintains at New York a small corps of extremely skillful full-time attorneys who spend much of their lives on the road. Another group of attorneys, many of them law professors, furnish part-time help in planning strategy and tactics, as well as preparing briefs.

The attorneys working out of the New York office - about a dozen in number - are, of course, not enough to handle all the litigation with which the Defense Fund is associated. To compensate for this, attorneys - usually Negroes - are retained at the community level. The Fund will pay modest retainers to the local attorneys where it proves impossible to raise sufficient money within the community to conduct the litigation.

Fund attorneys at New York supply pleadings and briefs and usually play a major role in directing the strategy and tactics of the litigation. Thus each of the cases taken by the Fund becomes meshed into the overall strategy, which is aimed at breaking new ground wherever possible. Understandably, the substantial direction by the New York office tends to produce some tensions between Fund regulars and local Negro leaders over the questions of timing and the mode of presenting a case.

The role of the locally affiliated attorney in the Fund cases varies considerably depending upon the competence of the local man and the time he can give to the litigation. The local attorney may sometimes take preliminary depositions and may even conduct the trial at the District court

level, though he is frequently assisted or replaced in both these activities by an attorney from New York. Appeals generally are handled directly by attorneys in the New York office.

Good as the Defense Fund operation is, it is beset by numerous difficulties. The Fund conducts its own money-raising activities, but has not yet been able to raise its operating budget to the level of half a million dollars annually, thus lagging far behind the public funds which are poured in on the other side of the litigation.

Another difficulty concerns the competence of many of the locally affiliated attorneys. Only rarely are they a professional match for the opposing white attorneys, though there are some spectacular exceptions. For the most part, the affiliated attorneys have been educated entirely in segregated schools of inferior academic quality. Here and there may be found graduates of integrated law schools, but they were rarely the strong men in their classes; the better performers among the Negro law students have tended to practice in the North and West rather than the South.

Despite the deficiencies of their education, through experience some have become quite competent. It is difficult, however, for many of them to find time for study and careful preparation of their legal work. Typically they are immensely overburdened men who make a living by handling innumerable small cases which produce little income. Major demands on their time are imposed by dissolving garnishments and attachments, restoring clients to relief rolls, handling divorces, and otherwise representing impecunious clients.

The Fund's efforts at coordinating overall strategy and tactics in school cases are not always successful. The problems differ greatly from place to place, making it difficult for a standardized approach to the cases to work well in every instance. Other difficulties stem from differences of opinion among the Negroes whom the Defense Fund represents. Fund attorneys can make suggestions, but final decisions rest with their clients. I shall always remember Thurgood Marshall's reply when asked why he had not done a particular thing in one case: "You've got to have clients to have lawsuits. Those people weren't about to try that suggestion."

Even in the South some school cases have been handled by attorneys not associated with the Defense Fund. Several of these independent cases, not coordinated with Fund strategy, have produced damaging precedents.

Within the past several years a major move has developed across the North and West, attacking school segregation in the larger urban areas. Paul Zuber, a Negro attorney from New York, first won attention with his victory in the New York case of In the Matter of Skipworth, 14 Misc. 2d 325, 180 N.Y.S. 2d 852, 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 264 (Dom. Rel. Ct. 1958). He thereafter won the celebrated New Rochelle case, obtaining some assistance from attorneys on the Defense Fund, although he is not regularly affiliated with the Fund.

The Fund is not at present, however, much involved with the desegregation drive in the North and West. Beginning in 1961 the national headquarters of the N.A.A.C.P. spurred a drive to attack the so-called "de facto" school segregation in this area. Robert Carter, formerly with the

Defense Fund and now general counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. itself, has provided guidance to local attorneys in many of these communities, and Miss June Shagaloff, education specialist for the N.A.A.C.P., has acted as a consultant to groups in these communities who intend to protest segregation in the Northern and Western schools.

In summary, the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund has until recently enjoyed a virtual monopoly in handling school desegregation cases. Under Fund direction have been the cases which have made the precedents, drawn almost exclusively from experience in the South. The growing developments in the North and West, however, have not been attributable in any important measure to activities of Fund attorneys. There appears to be a tacit agreement that the Fund will continue its concentration on school and other race problems in the South while others will work at the problems of school segregation in the North and West.

Status of School Segregation

In most urban areas of the country residential patterns produce schools which are entirely, or substantially, segregated. The major judicial attack which led to the Brown decision in 1954 was aimed at the dual systems of public schools then legally required in 17 states and the District of Columbia. The central constitutional point urged upon the Supreme Court at the time of Brown was that the states could not classify schools by race, that each child was entitled to attend public schools according to criteria which did not take race into account.

The logical consequence of this argument is that schools which are segregated because of residential patterns rather than by conscious design of school authorities cannot be judicially compelled to desegregate. Indeed, some of the arguments advanced on behalf of Negroes in the Supreme Court would, had the Court adopted them, have barred public officials even from taking racial considerations benignly into account in order to mitigate the effects of residential segregation.

The Court in Brown addressed itself only to the situation in which the state legally required dual sets of schools, formally classified as "Negro" and "white." "Separate educational facilities," the Court held, "are inherently unequal" - and hence the state could not constitutionally require them.

Typically in the areas which legally required dual schools, Negro and white schools are zoned on separate maps of the community. When the two maps are examined, it appears that Negro and white school zones overlap in racially-mixed neighborhoods. In attacking the dual school systems before the federal courts in the South, Negroes have insisted that a community's schools be re-zoned into a unitary system of zones, rationally designed without regard to race. They have also made strong objection to the use of unzoned school systems which permit pupils a choice among the schools of the district; the argument is that whites will choose to run away from schools which Negroes attend and that Negroes will be intimidated into choosing segregated schools. There have also been objections to transfer provisions which either explicitly take racial characteristics into account or which, as administered, permit pupils to make choices based on race. The Supreme

Court has agreed to hear in the present term cases in which the Defense Fund is challenging a transfer rule which permits members of a racial minority to transfer to a school of their choice. See Goss v. Board of Education of the City of Knoxville, 301 F. 2d 164, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 36 (C. A. 6, 1962); and Maxwell v. County Board of Education of Davidson County, 301 F. 2d 828, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 34 (C. A. 6, 1962) [the Supreme Court granted certiorari in both cases on October 8, 1962].

The drive against school segregation in the South, then, has insisted upon rationally zoned neighborhood schools. Since a neighborhood school takes on the characteristics of the neighborhood it serves, the Negro's legal position thus far in the South has implicitly conceded that school authorities have no constitutional obligation to mitigate the effects of residential segregation.

In sharp contrast, the more recently developed drive against segregated schools in the North and West has attacked the neighborhood school as a device which produces segregation because of residential patterns. Arguing that segregated schools, whatever their cause, cannot be maintained by public authority, it has been insisted that racial considerations should be taken into account and that schools be organized to promote a maximum of integration. Numerous methods for promoting such integration have been advanced.

Around the periphery of segregated neighborhoods it has been suggested that schools be re-zoned and that new schools be located in ways which achieve substantial integration. Since the boundaries of segregated

neighborhoods tend to be unstable, however, such suggestions are likely to produce only temporary results.

For schools buried well within segregated areas the problems are more complex. The neighborhoods tend to be congested and school-age populations in them tend to be larger than was the case when whites occupied the same areas. A frequent result is that old school buildings serving these districts are seriously overcrowded and are sometimes used for two school shifts a day. Large fractions of the children suffer serious cultural and social handicaps which stem from their economic status and - often - from their recent Southern origins.

These crowded slum schools face further difficulties in attracting competent teachers. Some of their classrooms are entirely unmanned and many others are staffed with substitute and even uncertified teachers.

Collectively, the problems of the segregated slum schools furnish substantial grounds for grievances. The inequalities are frequently worsened when contrasts are made with many of the all or largely white schools in the community which may have uncrowded and even empty classrooms and generally first-rate teaching staffs.

Battles over what to do about the segregated slum schools have generated deep differences even among educators who believe that integration is a desirable educational opportunity for all involved. Many express doubts about the wisdom of transferring children substantial distances to uncrowded schools, particularly at elementary grade levels. While such policies can relieve overcrowding and promote integration, they tend to be costly both

in money and time and they afford relief from segregation for only a small fraction of the children in the slum neighborhoods.

Other objections to transferring children considerable distances from their homes raise more serious educational problems. Since the achievement levels in the slum schools fall well below averages in other neighborhoods, only the best-prepared children can meet the competition in the transferee schools. Furthermore, the widespread practice of grouping children by achievement levels tends to isolate minority-group children in an integrated classroom or in separate classrooms for low achievers. The psychological implications of such achievement grouping have provoked lusty controversy.

Dr. Conant and others have argued for strengthening the neighborhood schools rather than dispersing children over wide areas away from their homes. They stress the need for schools with a wide range of goals which can furnish materials within the child's grasp and at the same time can motivate him to set his sights higher. They also point out that the most effective remedial programs for culturally handicapped children have worked with the child not only during the school day but in his neighborhood and home as well - something made extremely difficult where the child attends school at a considerable distance from his home.

In time many of the same protests now heard in the North and West will be made in the South. For the present, however, substantial philosophical, tactical, and legal differences exist between the attacks on school segregation in the South and those in other areas of the country. And until

many problems which still exist in the South have been solved, that region will differ from the rest of the country.

Even in the South wide variations in pattern are evident when comparisons are made among the 17 states and the District of Columbia, which required dual schools at the time of Brown.

The Border area - embracing Oklahoma, Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Delaware - today has substantial fractions of its Negro school population attending school with whites. Oklahoma, with the lowest figure for this area, now has 25.4 percent of its Negro pupils attending school with whites; the District of Columbia, with the highest figure, has almost 80 percent of its Negro pupils in schools with whites.[9] Patterns of residential segregation in urban areas and continuing resistance to much or any desegregation in some rural areas account for the variations in the percentages of Negroes in school with whites in the Border area.

South of the Border area just referred to the school desegregation picture looks quite different. There has been no public school desegregation whatever in the three Deep South states of Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina. Token desegregation at Atlanta and New Orleans represents the only change thus far in the other two Deep South states.

The balance of the region consists of Florida, Texas, and the Mid-South states of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia. Here again only token desegregation is evident. Arkansas, lowest among the group, has only 0.23 percent of its Negroes in school with whites; and

Texas, the highest, has 2.16 percent. All these states, however, have ten or more districts in which some desegregation has occurred. Moreover, significant changes took place in these states between 1961 and 1962. In that period the number of Negroes attending school with whites almost doubled and the number of districts with at least some desegregation rose from 206 to 268.[10] Small though the actual percentages were, the changes represented a substantial speeding up of desegregation in districts which had earlier made a token beginning and some spread of desegregation into districts which previously had remained completely segregated.

It must be pointed out, however, that most of the change was confined to more urban areas. Nearly 2,000 districts, largely rural and with relatively smaller school populations, remained completely segregated. There were some rural districts in each of the states which had begun token desegregation, but they tended to be districts in which Negroes formed a comparatively small minority of the total population. The rural areas, with less sophisticated leadership both Negro and white and with generally lower levels of education - remained largely untouched.

The prospects for further speeding up of school desegregation in the Middle and Lower South in the next several years look reasonably good. Judicial decisions have cut steadily away at the restrictive effects of the widely-adopted Pupil Placement Acts, and dilatory tactics by local officials receive little support from most of the judges. Moreover, many boards through their own voluntary actions have altered the administration of the Placement programs after one or more years of desegregation. Unitary

zoning systems were thereafter introduced, discriminatory criteria for reassignment to other schools were relaxed, and operations have gone forward under increasingly simple rules which left the choice of schools largely up to the individual.

The further spread of desegregation into districts still segregated should for a time move at an accelerating rate. There has, of course, been no desegregation whatever of public schools at elementary and secondary levels in Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina as yet. It appears likely that this will occur in Alabama and South Carolina in the Fall of 1963, although any serious blow-up either at the University of Alabama or at Clemson University in South Carolina beforehand may delay things in either of those states for another year. Some new districts will almost certainly be added in Georgia and Louisiana in Fall 1963.

Much will depend upon initiative taken by Negroes themselves. Should a way be found to involve the Department of Justice in the process of initiating desegregation actions generally, this should also speed things along. The federal courts, particularly at the level of the Courts of Appeal, have become much more sure-footed in handling these cases, and workable systems for inaugurating desegregation and for subsequently speeding it up are now at hand.

A few federal District judges still find it impossible to face up to their responsibilities in desegregation cases. The Courts of Appeal have, however, worked out adequate ways of dealing with such recalcitrance, although the process is slower and usually embarrassing for everyone involved. All told, the stage in the South is pretty well set for major change and the rate at which

it comes will depend largely upon the forces of initiative so far as commencing actions is concerned.

The problems in the North and West are less well worked out. There are hard questions still unresolved as to the role judicial action can play in dealing with de facto segregation. Established precedents call for judicial relief in situations created by racial discrimination which is conscious and invidious. Gerrymandering of school districts can be corrected by court action. So, probably, can be instances of overcrowding and other tangible evidences of unequal educational opportunity.

Whether, without any more, the mere existence of racial concentrations in a school resulting from residential patterns can be undone on Fourteenth Amendment grounds raises thorny questions. One involves the view which has uniformly been taken of the Fourteenth Amendment itself: while the state may act to prevent private discrimination, the Amendment imposes no positive obligation upon it to do so. In this view it appears that the state can justify existing school segregation by showing that - ignoring racial considerations - its schools are organized and operate on rational educational and geographic grounds.

For wholly understandable reasons, however, Negroes continue to insist that school authorities have the duty to mitigate the effects of residential segregation. The farthest reach of judicial language on this point came from the case in Hempstead, Long Island, in April 1962. The school board moved to dismiss the case before trial on the grounds that residential patterns, not board practices, produced the school segregation. The court denied the

motion to dismiss, indicating the board had an obligation to mitigate the effects of segregation, whatever its cause. The board's obligation, the court said, could be discharged either by doing something to relieve segregation or by "a conclusive demonstration that no circumstantially possible effort can effect any significant mitigation." Branche v. Board of Education of the Town of Hempstead, School District No. 1, 204 F. Supp. 150 at 153, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 361 at 364 (E.D. N.Y., 1962).

Apart from the serious constitutional question which the Hempstead case raises, it also appears to have narrowed the choices of school organization to the alternative likely to do most in mitigating the effects of segregation. A central difficulty with this theory is that reasonable men are in fundamental disagreement over what constitutes the best alternative. It might well be that a maximum of racial mixing in schools would not in every case be the "best" answer for education or for mitigating the effects of segregation either.

Perhaps the best answer to a Hempstead kind of problem - for some time to come at least - is to apply the more traditional division of responsibility between judicial and legislative processes.

As a judicial matter, the constitutional question would be one of a school board's intention to segregate. The earlier cases involving school segregation made it clear that plaintiffs can make a prima facie case for relief by demonstrating that segregation exists in the schools. The burden then would shift to the defendant school authorities to rebut the case made against them. Where school officials can demonstrate that the system

operates on rational educational and geographic grounds designed without an intent to preserve segregation and can show that segregation results from other forces, the plaintiffs would be denied judicial relief. Judicial relief could, of course, be granted where such justification cannot be demonstrated.

On the other hand, failure to obtain judicial relief would not exhaust the plaintiffs' opportunities to press for change. By political action they could then appeal to the legislative processes of the state and community for organization of schools in a manner which mitigated the effects of residential segregation. So long as the state confined itself to alternatives which did not significantly disadvantage any group and which dispelled any intent to segregate, it could experiment within a wide range of choice.

In short, school officials could be either color-blind or could become benignly color conscious and act to mitigate the effects of private segregation in housing. The choice between these alternatives would be a political one, not judicially enforceable.

There are numerous instances in which communities have made the political choice of taking race benignly into account. Highland Park, Michigan, Oberlin, Ohio, and Princeton, New Jersey, have consciously re-zoned schools to promote integration. San Francisco, after protests had been received, closed down a junior high school altogether in the Fall of 1962 which would have been 60 percent Negro and dispersed the pupils through other schools to produce more integration. And in October 1962 California's Board of Education adopted a policy which directed local school boards to consider the "ethnic composition" of schools in fixing zone lines and in

locating new schools, thus directing the whole state to become benignly conscious of race in the organization and operation of its schools.

What seems clear from all of this is that the problems of school segregation vary greatly from community to community and that sweeping solutions for them are not at hand. What seems needed is much more experimentation. Open enrollment and free transfer systems need more study. So do other systems which focus on holding all children in neighborhood patterns and work at creating better schools.

Proposals for Congress: Generally

Suggestions for increased federal involvement in problems of school segregation have taken numerous forms. Some of those to be considered here could probably be carried out by Executive action under powers implied from existing authority. All the suggestions, however, are appropriate subjects for Congressional action and many of them can be carried out only with further Congressional support.

For convenience of discussion the suggestions have been grouped into five categories which in some measure overlap each other. They are:

I. Explicit Policy Support by Congress of School Desegregation

II. Improvement of Machinery for Enforcing Desegregation

III. Withholding Federal Funds

IV. Funds to Aid Implementation of Desegregation

V. Federal Services to Aid Implementation

The suggestions compiled below have been drawn from many sources. They come variously from bills which have been introduced in earlier

Congresses, from recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, from suggestions advanced by both the Eisenhower and Kennedy Administrations, and from private sources as well. The comments upon the suggestions are my own and are intended only to initiate and stimulate discussion. There is ample room for different value judgments than those expressed here.

I. Explicit Policy Support by Congress of School Desegregation

Congress has not yet thrown its prestige behind the policy of desegregating public schools. In the years immediately following the Brown decisions the Supreme Court came under heavy attack and the failure of both the Congress and the President to support the decision was widely cited as evidence that the decision was both improper and unconstitutional. The attacks have in large measure subsided as the desegregation process matured and a sense of inevitability settled across the South.

The Executive Branch by this time has generally identified itself with support of the decision, but it would still be useful for Congress to declare itself unequivocally as well. Even a simple resolution of agreement, while not constitutionally required to validate the principle, would serve a useful purpose. In the past, however, such declarations of support have been coupled with substantive provisions which Congress failed to adopt and it has not yet been possible to place the question cleanly before Congress, unencumbered by substantive matters which divided those who supported desegregation in principle.

Perhaps it is now too late to give serious thought to an isolated declaration of support. Overt substantive backing of desegregation would speak for

itself and is needed. But if substantive support cannot be had, a declaration of agreement in principle with desegregation should be insisted upon.

II. Improvement of Machinery for Enforcing Desegregation

A. Initiating desegregation actions in the name of the United States.

The proposal that the Attorney General be authorized to initiate school desegregation actions has been advanced in several forms. The two principal ones discussed here are (1) the so-called Title III provision advanced by Attorney General Brownell in 1956; and (2) the bill introduced in 1961 by Senator Joseph Clark and Representative Emanuel Celler entitled "Public School Desegregation Act."

(1) The Title III proposal was designed essentially to provide a new remedy for a federal Civil Rights Act, known as the Ku Klux Klan Act, that dated back to 1871.[11] This Act had provided civil remedies for persons injured by those who conspired to deprive another of equal protection of the laws or of equal privileges and immunities under the laws. The principal effect of Title III would have been to permit the United States to bring actions on behalf of persons whose rights under the Ku Klux Klan Act were threatened or invaded. Since the Brown case was decided on equal protection grounds, school desegregation actions fall within the scope of the Ku Klux Klan Act and Title III would thus have authorized the Attorney General to initiate suit where there were reasonable grounds to believe children were being excluded from public schools on grounds of race. A further provision of Title III would have struck a hard blow at the Pupil Placement Acts erected by the South after Brown to delay and evade desegregation: the provision dispensed with

any requirement of exhaustion of state remedies before a federal enforcement action could be commenced. The Placement Acts created elaborate administrative remedies which under existing judicial doctrine had first to be exhausted before court action could be commenced. This produced great delay and often so heavy a burden that Negroes abandoned their efforts before completing the administrative proceedings. Only in the past several years have the courts placed substantial curbs on this feature of the Placement Acts.

(2) The Clark-Celler Bill of 1961, unlike Title III, was a comprehensive effort to deal specifically with school desegregation.[12] A companion bill introduced at the same time would have authorized the Attorney General to bring actions in the name of the United States for enforcement of other civil rights than those involving school problems.[13]

The Clark-Celler School Desegregation Bill proposed a statutory duty on school boards to desegregate. Unless a board were under a court order to desegregate or had already achieved substantial desegregation, it would be obligated to file a plan for desegregation with the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare within 180 days following enactment of the bill. The plan would be required to specify a detailed program for prompt and complete elimination of racial factors from its school operations and to provide for "first-step compliance" with that program not later than the commencement of the 1963-1964 school year. Finally, each board required to submit a plan was obligated to implement it in good faith and with all deliberate speed.

Another part of the bill authorized the Attorney General to bring suits in the name of the United States to enforce the duties to adopt and implement a desegregation program. Enforcement would be directed against school boards which failed to submit satisfactory plans to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare or which did not execute the plans adequately thereafter.

Several other features of the Clark-Celler bill deserve reference.

First, the bill defined "desegregation" in terms which required school officials to adopt a color-blind attitude:

> Sec. 101. As used in this Act--
>
> (a) "Desegregation" means the assignment of all students to public schools irrespective of their race or color. No assignment system in which race or color is a factor in the initial assignment of students to particular public schools shall be deemed to have achieved desegregation even though placement or other tests or transfers or options may be available to change such assignment.

This definition stands in sharp contrast to the concept of desegregation urged on behalf of Negroes attacking de facto segregation in communities of the North and West. As discussed earlier in this memorandum, many of the demands made in those areas insist upon benign awareness of race and color in order that schools may be organized to promote integration by mitigating the effects of residential segregation. The Clark-Celler definition, if legislatively adopted, is now likely to spur protests from many Negroes. It would imply policy restrictions on integration as they are now striving for it and would curtail in any event the involvement of the federal government in many problems they insist must be solved through reorganization of schools.

Another feature of the bill carried over the proposal from Title III which dispensed with the need for exhausting state remedies as a prerequisite to federal enforcement of desegregation. As previously noted, recent judicial decisions have moved far in this direction. This has occurred in cases which hold that administrative remedies need not be followed in systems which leave dual schools in existence and merely permit desegregation for individuals who affirmatively seek it. The right secured in Brown, these courts have said, is to a unitary system of schools. See Northcross v. Board of Education of the City of Memphis, 302 F. 2d 818 at 822-823, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 40 at 44 (C. A. 6, 1962), cert. denied 370 U. S. 944 (1962); Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 308 F. 2d 491 at 499, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 at 700 (C. A. 5, 1962); Augustus v. Board of Public Instruction, 306 F. 2d 862 at 869, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 669 at 674 (C. A. 5, 1962); and compare Jeffers v. Whitley, [unreported as this is written] (C. A. 4, 1962).

Another feature of Clark-Celler would appear to confine the Justice Department's initial proceedings to members of the school board, defined as any agency or person that directs or controls the assignment of pupils to public schools. Whether those who threaten to cut off state school aids or who interfere in ways not directly connected with assignment of pupils may be joined in the action prior to rendition of a decree is perhaps questionable in light of the language in the bill. The bill does, however, make provision for proceeding against successors to board members, thus dealing with the circumstance which may arise when a board resigns to evade a duty to desegregate.

Finally, the bill would authorize annual appropriations of 40 million dollars for technical assistance and financial aids to desegregation. This will be discussed further in IV, infra.

In its 1961 biennial Report, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights backed in substance the major provisions of the Clark-Celler bill discussed above.[14]

Both Title III and the Clark-Celler approach to increasing federal involvement in the enforcement of desegregation have substantial virtues. Neither seems to meet the concerns, referred to earlier on pages 12 and 13 of this memorandum, that federal involvement might displace Negroes from their vanguard position in enforcing desegregation and that federal enforcement agencies might settle for more conservative desegregation programs than could be won in the courts by more highly motivated private action. The color-blind definition of desegregation contained in the Clark-Celler bill seems evidently at odds with the benignly color-conscious concept being sought on behalf of Negroes in the North and West. Arguably, such efforts to define criteria legislatively in light of the picture as it is now understood could hamper future organic developments through the judicial process.

B. Expediting Desegregation Litigation.

Delay in court has been a serious problem in the enforcement of school desegregation. Attorneys for school officials frequently have engaged in all sorts of dilatory tactics simply to buy time. They have thus taken advantage of any procedural mis-steps by the attorneys for the plaintiffs and have re-litigated time and again questions which have been solidly put to rest

by prior precedents. Occasionally, too, some federal judges have been slow in setting motions for hearings or cases for trial. But the delay cannot in all cases be attributed to the courts and the attorneys for school officials. Attorneys representing Negro plaintiffs have in some instances been long in seeking to try actions which they have commenced, sometimes for tactical reasons and at other times because the plaintiffs themselves have proven hesitant to go forward with the case.

Numerous suggestions have been made for expediting desegregation litigation, of which four will be considered here.

(1) Use of three-judge District courts. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights suggested in its 1960 report on higher education that three-judge District courts be authorized to hear cases involving a substantial question of whether equal protection in education was being denied.[15] One advantage in this device lies in the fact that appeals from three-judge courts may be taken directly to the Supreme Court, circumventing review by the Court of Appeals.

Several good reasons exist for resisting the temptation to by-pass the Courts of Appeal. For one, the judges of the Courts of Appeal probably have as a group the most comprehensive overview of the desegregation process of any group of judges. The Supreme Court has heard few of the cases on their merits; the Circuit Courts, many from numerous places. And the experience of District judges has almost invariably been confined to cases in their own locale. Again, practical considerations of greatest importance argue against burdening the Supreme Court with working out the de-

tails of the transition; the Courts of Appeal have been forceful, imaginative, and effective in developing implementing details and resolving conflicts among the District courts. Finally, the principal justification for side-stepping the Courts of Appeal is to save time. Since ways exist for mitigating the delaying effects of an appeal, these should be explored before adding to the burden of an overloaded Supreme Court.

(2) Declaring a priority for desegregation cases. Numerous provisions exist for speeding exceptional cases ahead of ordinary litigation in federal courts. The calendar practices and rules for advancing cases to trial vary from one judicial district to another, as do the calendar practices in the Courts of Appeal. But it is generally safe to say that on motion and for cause shown any kind of judicial proceeding may be advanced in time in both the District courts and the Courts of Appeal. And under Rule 43 (4) of the Supreme Court of the United States it is provided that "Cases may be advanced or postponed by order of the court, upon motion duly made showing good cause therefor."

A general declaration of policy by Congress that school desegregation proceedings are presumptively entitled to priority in handling over the general run of federal litigation would bring these cases within the ambit of the various rules for advancing the time of hearing and determining of particular kinds of issues. Probably the priority status should be available on motion rather than assigned automatically; speed is not in all cases helpful and the parties should have the option of requesting a priority position. It might also be well to provide that an order denying a motion to advance

a proceeding growing out of a school desegregation action should be accompanied by findings of fact and conclusions of law which constitute the grounds for denying the motion; this would simplify proceedings for a writ of mandamus from the next higher appellate court.

(3) Denying stays pending appeal from desegregation decrees. Where District courts have entered orders directing desegregation there has been a marked tendency to withhold relief until the final appeal has been put to rest, regardless of the nature of the objections which the losing party may have advanced. This practice has tended to encourage appeals simply because of the added delay occasioned.

A policy of withholding relief pending appeal had considerable justification in the period immediately following the Brown case. The federal courts at every level were feeling their way toward workable solutions for a host of substantial questions which grew both out of the complexities of school administration and out of the widespread adoption of evasive devices. By this time, however, a great many of these earlier questions have been settled. The District courts have not displayed much tendency to decree more desegregation than the higher courts thought was called for under the circumstances.[16] Experience has been that a District court desegregation order has either been affirmed on appeal or altered to require more, rather than less, desegregation. And, finally, a wide variety of court approved desegregation plans is at hand and the choice of one of these will reduce virtually to zero the chances that such a plan will be set aside on appeal for going farther than the Constitution requires.

Already there are precedents for putting desegregation plans into effect in advance of an appeal where there are no substantial questions left for appeal. As long ago as the Autherine Lucy case the Supreme Court ordered reinstatement of a District court injunction against racial discrimination by officials at the University of Alabama after the District court had granted the defendants a stay of injunction pending appeal. The Supreme Court's order reinstating the injunction came down before the appeal had been heard by the Court of Appeals and the cases cited by the Court suggested that the petitioner's rights to immediate enrollment had been made clear by earlier decisions and the taking of an appeal by the defendants in her case could not operate to impose a further delay. Lucy v. Adams, 350 U.S. 1 (1955). Similarly, in the Meredith case Mr. Justice Black declined to permit a stay of the order admitting Meredith when the University of Mississippi asked for delay in order that it could seek review in the Supreme Court. Meredith v. Fair, 83 S.Ct. 10 (1962).[17]

It may be useful for Congress to declare that desegregation orders of District courts shall take immediate effect, regardless of the taking of an appeal, in the absence of a showing either (a) that there is substantial likelihood the appeal will invalidate the relief granted; or (b) that the issues posed for appeal are substantial and of such novelty that the enforcement of the decree should be withheld pending their final resolution on appeal.

Considerable care will be required in framing such a rule. If it were too inflexible, its tendency might be to discourage entry of any but the most token kinds of desegregation decrees, or still more likely, would result in fixing time limits which would enable taking an appeal before the District

court decree was due to become effective.

But any rules which encourage putting District court orders immediately into effect will discourage taking appeals, and will surely speed the process substantially. Such a practice of immediate enforcement might also tend to encourage greater compliance since the Supreme Court has suggested in another context that dismissal of an appeal may be an appropriate sanction against an appellant shown to be in contempt of the court for violating orders of the court below. See National Union of Marine Cooks v. Arnold, 348 U.S. 37 (1954).

(4) Sanctions against dilatory tactics. Typically in American litigation a victorious party does not recover all his out-of-pocket expenses for conducting litigation. He will get a judgment for his damages (if any), plus some statutory "costs" which reimburse him for but a small part of his attorney's fees and other expenses of litigation. There are, however, some exceptions to this general rule. Some federal statutes expressly authorize recovery of actual costs of litigation[18] and an equitable doctrine recognized by the federal courts permits recovery of out-of-pocket expenses where another's conduct has put the party to the burden of having to litigate frivolous issues.[19]

I have earlier discussed with a number of Negro attorneys the question of seeking recovery of out-of-pocket costs in school litigation in cases where the defendants have continued to litigate well-settled questions. They have generally indicated that they were concerned about the tactics of this and somewhat fearful that the practice might be used against them by prejudiced

judges. Interestingly, however, attorneys for Negro plaintiffs in a Virginia school case recently asked the court for award of full attorneys' fees on the grounds that the defendants were deliberately evading the plaintiffs' constitutional rights and the plaintiffs were without funds to employ counsel.[20]

It is perhaps worthwhile considering whether to recommend adoption of a federal statute authorizing litigation costs in school cases where completely frivolous issues are inserted for purposes of delay or harassment.

C. Mediation and Conciliation Services.

Early in 1959 then Senator Lyndon Johnson proposed the formation of an independent federal agency to be known as the "Community Relations Service." The duty of this agency would be to "provide conciliation assistance in communities where (1) disagreements or difficulties regarding the laws or Constitution of the United States, or (2) disagreements or difficulties which affect or may affect interstate commerce, are disrupting, or are threatening to disrupt, peaceful relations among citizens of such communities."[21]

In a similar vein, the Commission on Civil Rights has twice recommended that it be given authority to establish a conciliation service to assist in the process of school desegregation.[22]

The proposals for federal mediation or conciliation services to assist school desegregation do not appear to have won much support anywhere. Surely the use of such a service should not be required as a preliminary condition for bringing judicial action; to do so would simply introduce another instrument of delay. Perhaps the proposal could serve a worthwhile purpose in communities of the North and West, but in the resistant

areas of the South the symbol of federal intervention is regarded with hostility for the most part and the federal courts, accepted for many purposes, seem better equipped to handle the matter with dispatch. The use of technical and consultative services, to be supplied on request from local communities, is discussed in V, infra, and appears to be a more acceptable approach.

III. Withholding Federal Funds

As pointed out at the beginning of this memorandum, federal funds reach directly and indirectly both public and private elementary and secondary schools through a number of programs. There have been numerous proposals for cutting off these funds where they are being employed in schools which persist in racial segregation. The proposals have been advanced both on grounds of general policy and of illegality in using the funds in segregated situations.

The legality of using public funds to promote segregation seems clearly to be in doubt, but the question - so far as elementary and secondary schools are concerned - is whether to cut off the funds or to permit them to be used and employ other machinery to enforce desegregation of the schools which employ them.

Over the dissent of one of its members, the Commission on Civil Rights recommended a partial withholding of federal grants for elementary and secondary schools in states which still operated completely segregated school districts.[23] The Commission formula would have cut the aids in half for states in which no desegregation had occurred. States partially desegregated would receive half their allotment plus a share of the balance

represented by the ratio of desegregated districts to all the biracial districts in the state.

The Commission's proposal would presumably qualify a district which had undertaken even the barest token desegregation to count for purposes of receiving full federal funds, and thus would not directly encourage more substantial desegregation. Yet the problem of allocating federal funds according to the extent to which desegregation has taken place would appear to be an almost impossible task in view of the widely variable patterns of school organization and the still unresolved question of what constitutes a "desegregated" school in constitutional terms.

A more general difficulty with proposals for withholding funds from elementary and secondary schools is the direct effect they have on children in the areas affected. Children at these grade levels usually attend schools near their homes; there is not the mobility which exists among students in obtaining higher education. Moreover, the districts which still remain entirely segregated at present tend to operate what are academically and otherwise the poorest schools and these districts need all the help they can get. The larger urban districts of the South, with their generally better schools, have for the most part experienced at least some token desegregation.

All told, withholding of federal funds from elementary and secondary schools to enforce at least token desegregation appears to be a harsh sanction which penalizes Negro and white children alike. Incidentally, the Clark-Celler bill of 1961 did not contain such a proposal.

IV. Funds to Aid Implementation of Desegregation

Other proposals have suggested making federal funds available to assist in meeting some of the special problems which grow out of efforts to implement desegregation. The Commission on Civil Rights has made general recommendations to this effect[24] and the Clark-Celler bill would have authorized annual appropriations of 40 million dollars for this purpose. The bill authorizing general federal aid to education which passed the Senate in 1961 would have permitted states to use approximately 10 percent of their annual allotment for purposes of special education projects, a provision which might have furnished further funds for remedial and other kinds of programs which would have assisted problems related to desegregation.[25]

The 40 million dollar authorization in the Clark-Celler bill for special federal aids would have permitted grants to be allocated for any of the following purposes:

(1) Employing additional personnel such as teachers and community counselors;

(2) in-service training programs for school personnel;

(3) replacing funds withheld from schools or teachers by local or state authorities because of desegregation [the Commission on Civil Rights alternatively recommended the use of loans rather than grants for this purpose; the Commission proposal appears more sound since the availability of grants might simply have encouraged the cutting off of local and state funds when schools desegregated];[26]

(4) construction or alteration of school facilities; and

(5) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation.

The general federal aid bill would have authorized annual appropriations of 850 million dollars for each of three succeeding years in the form of grants to states, restricted to use in public schools, which could be employed both for school construction and teacher salaries, in addition to use in special education projects as earlier mentioned. State aids were to be based on a complex formula which would have produced an average grant of $18.54 per child within the 5 to 17 year age group. No state would receive less than half the national average per child ($9.27) nor more than half again the average ($27.81). Between those extremes the states would receive an amount roughly equal to the inverse ratio of its per capita income per child compared to the national average per child.

The poorer states would, of course, have been the principal beneficiaries of the legislation had it passed.

Without entering the debate over the propriety of turning to federal sources for such aid, the need for further assistance to elementary and secondary education seems manifest. The general provisions of both the Clark-Celler bill and the Federal Aid bill would appear to make good sense as one way of meeting urgent problems, especially as they grow out of the cultural and social deprivations which lie so heavy on many children of minority group and rural extraction. Certainly school desegregation is severely handicapped by the relative position of disadvantage of many Negro children who have simply not had the training required to permit them to

compete on equal terms with most white children at the same grade levels. And there is need, too, for specialized training of teachers who work with disadvantaged children; part of this can be furnished by in-service training programs but it is of at least equal importance that schools of education prepare a substantial fraction of would-be teachers to handle the distinctive problems of the disadvantaged child.

In short, real need exists for the financial aids contained in both the Clark-Celler bill and the general federal aid bill.

V. Federal Services to Aid Implementation

Apart from direct federal aids to the states which can assist school desegregation, there appear to be distinctive services which can best be performed at a national level. Four such activities will be suggested.

A. Surveillance of Racial Problems in Education.

Under the authority thus far granted it in the three two-year terms of its existence, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has been able to devote some attention to questions of equal protection as they relate to education. Earlier the Commission's operations in the field of education were confined to detailed legal studies relating to education, or to conferences and public hearings which tended to focus on spectacular, big picture evidences of discrimination rather than detailed consideration of the impact of economic and social discrimination, education theory and practices, and law upon segregation in schools. In its two recent series of field studies of school segregation the Commission has turned more attention to these problems but much more inquiry of this kind is needed.

Another function, almost untouched by the Commission, involves surveillance of federal administrative policies and practices in agencies which have some impact upon education. There is good reason to believe that the administration of the existing federal aid and service programs affecting elementary and public schools has been largely indifferent to, and even fearful of, questions of racial discrimination. At best this kind of indifference merely fosters the continuation of state practices of discrimination and may in subtle ways serve to encourage them.

The problem of internally policing the policies and practices of the federal government - the largest business in the world - is of course much broader than merely the concern over federal involvement with public education. With federal activities touching so many facets of national life, it seems imperative that conscious surveillance of federal practices be undertaken by some agency of the government, seeking to understand what goes on, and trying to fashion ways of correcting discrimination where it is found to exist.

Whether a reconstituted Commission on Civil Rights is an appropriate vehicle for achieving the kind of federal housekeeping that is required presents a difficult question. The more important point, however, is not the question of determining which agency undertakes the job but, rather, that some agency be created to do the housekeeping. Some thought and discussion can usefully be given to the needs and shape of such an agency.

B. Research into Segregation Problems; School Censuses by Ethnic Composition.

Good reasons can be mustered for placing in the hands of the Office of Education responsibility for sponsoring both public and private research into problems of school segregation and reporting on various processes which have been at work aimed at mitigating its effects. Thus far, the work of the Commission on Civil Rights appears to represent about the only federal contribution to this needed area.

If, as it is probably not possible to do, we could write on a clean slate, a good case can be made for abandoning the Office of Education (and much of its personnel perhaps) and starting anew with an agency into which could be consolidated the responsibility for the myriad federal aid and service programs to education. That agency could also be charged with primary responsibility for being consciously on guard against the existence of discriminatory policies and practices in these programs. Whether the same agency could also have a hand in administration of the countless programs which pour research funds into institutions of higher education for such things as health, defense and space programs is probably impossible. Nevertheless, the impact of these programs on institutions of higher learning is tremendous and raises not only questions of racial discrimination but many others as well which require far more thought than they get.

But without attempting something so extravagant as a major overhauling of the agencies which have impact on American education and a re-thinking of their roles, there are some lesser things which can be done that will

help. With its annual summary for 1953-1954, the Office of Education abandoned the practice of keeping its school statistics by race. Surely this would be restored and enlarged to embrace periodic and extensive school censuses by race. Information based on head counts furnishes aid which is often invaluable in locating discriminatory practices. Nowhere is this kind of thing comprehensively available. The Commission on Civil Rights has recommended such census taking and it makes good sense.[27] Moreover, the Office of Education should undertake a present hard-headed look at the programs it administers and see to it that some of the funds it administers for studies of school problems go into racial problems affecting education. Whether Congressional action is needed to spur this is perhaps questionable, but it may be the only way for this to be achieved.

C. Clearinghouse Services for Materials Related to Desegregation.

There is urgent need for a clearinghouse activity to distribute materials relating to problems of school segregation. This function should include materials from public sources and, where permission can be obtained, from private sources as well. It should also furnish bibliographic services. The Commission on Civil Rights has recommended that such a function be given to it,[28] but the Office of Education has recently announced the intention of undertaking some function of this kind. It is too early to evaluate the program in the Office of Education and perhaps there would be some utility in having both agencies work at the job. The job, in any case, should be done.

D. Consultative Services.

As previously noted in II, C, supra, the Commission on Civil Rights has twice requested authority to undertake mediation and conciliation services to assist desegregation. There are good reasons to believe that a more useful function would be to supply, on request, the services of consultants who could assist communities in planning to meet racial problems which arise in education. There is real need for these and if furnished, it is probably desirable that they come from the Office of Education rather than the Commission on Civil Rights simply because it appears likely that resistant communities would be more willing to accept them from the Office of Education.

Part II, dealing with problems of higher education, follows.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 16, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 21 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a copy of the background paper for education problems to be used at the Notre Dame conference, February 8 through 11.

We are running only a limited number of these, and I would very much appreciate your bringing this copy with you to the meeting.

It will be good to see you then.

Sincerely,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosure

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

January 28, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I thought it might be helpful to send to all participants in the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights Legislation some mechanical details about the meeting. The conference is to begin at 9:00 a.m. on Friday, February 8th and will conclude on Monday, February 11th. I would appreciate it if you would advise me of your travel plans so that I may make final arrangements at the Morris Inn on the university campus.

The conference will be a quiet meeting from February 8 through February 11, to which a small group of informed and involved people are being invited. The meeting will have two chief purposes. First, to consider what goals and methods to recommend to Congress as to three topics:

(a) Education (including higher education and federal aid as well as school desegregation);

(b) Voting; and

(c) Employment.

The second purpose will involve a final agenda item to be considered on the fourth day, taking up the question of what can be done - or what recommendations can be made to universities and foundations - to provide continuing professional interest and study in the public-policy aspects to race relations.

The conference will be limited, as noted, to Congressional issues and to only three of them. This is dictated both by considerations of priority and feasibility. The limitation does not mean that we do not recognize the need for likewise organizing and furthering objective analysis of state and local policies and legislation, and for study of executive policies at the various governmental levels.

Prior to the conference you will receive copies of three discussion papers. These papers will undertake to (a) outline legislative problems; (b) summarize and evaluate current legislative proposals; (c) refer to appropriate recommendations of the Commission on Civil Rights; and (d) present the author's recommendations. The paper will serve to direct and organize discussion; but will not limit or control the conclusions of the conferees.

Following the meeting, a reporter will pull together the material and present the judgment and consensus reached for publication in the Notre Dame Lawyer. Except to indicate who were the conferees, the report will not attribute ideas to named individuals.

A few words about the second purpose of the conference - discussion of means to provide for continuing professional interest in civil-rights policy - are appropriate. We contemplate that this matter will be informally discussed throughout the conference, and that the concluding conference session will be devoted to it. Following the conference, we shall solicit the written views of each conferee, summarize them, and circulate to selected law deans and foundation executives. It is our hope that such a memorandum will be useful to these people in framing their policies and in reviewing proposals for curriculum development or grants.

While here you will be our guest at the Morris Inn and we will cover your travel expense to the extent it is not otherwise reimbursable.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Joseph O'Meara

JOSEPH O'MEARA ES
Dean

JO'M:es

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

area code 219

Central 49011

January 29, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

I have spoken with the editors of the Notre Dame Lawyer and they indicated to me a deadline of February 20th for the report on the Civil Rights Legislation Conference. If this is agreeable with you I think it would be a good idea to let me know as soon as possible so that we will pin down the matter. On the other hand if it is too much of a rush you might let me know that also and I will see what openings there are in subsequent conditions.

I am looking forward to seeing you and to the conference.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Professor of Law

ship here

TFB:es

Mailed 30 copies 2/5/63
Pollitt & Brenton
memos.

Pollitt memo by bus
called 2-6-62 to tell Broden
to pick up at bus station
10:00 a.m. 2/7

File

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT:

Proposals for Corrective Action

Notre Dame Conference

February 8-11, 1963

January, 1963

Daniel H. Pollitt
Professor of Law
University of North
Carolina

I.

INTRODUCTION

Item. In 1946 Jackie Robinson broke the color-bar in organized baseball and became the idol and inspiration of athletic-minded Negro youth. By 1962, eight of the top ten batters in the National League were members of the Negro race.

Item. On the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, Governor Terry Sanford announced the formation of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council with a two-fold mission: (1) to encourage merit employment without regard to race, and (2) to urge youth to become better trained and qualified for employment. The Governor stated that "Reluctance to accept the Negro in employment is the greatest single block to his continued progress and to the full use of the human potential of the Nation and its States".[1]

Item. The R. J. Reynolds tobacco company recently integrated its modern $32,000,000 Winston-Salem plant. Negro forewomen supervise the work of white employees, and the only signs of segregation are the rest rooms, still kept separate under North Carolina law. Officials report that the workers at the 115-acre industrial complex "responded well to desegregation," and this comment is borne out by the remarks of white and Negro employees who work side by side on the same machine, share the cafeteria line "like salt and pepper," but generally, though not always, tend to segregate at the tables.[2]

Item. Negroes Step Up Use of Boycotts to Back Drive for Better Jobs. A & P Is Hit in Philadelphia; Campaigns Start in Detroit, Baltimore and New York. So reads the headline to an article summarizing the "selective patronage" technique originated by the Philadelphia Negro clergy nearly three years ago.[3] A & P is the twentieth company directly affected by the Philadelphia program, all of whom ultimately have met the Negro demands. Some concede that in retrospect

they are not entirely unhappy. An oil company reports that prior to the boycott there were few if any Negro job applicants because "No intelligent Negro will apply to a lily-white company because he doesn't want to get turned down. Since the boycott," continued the spokesman, "we're now getting some crackerjack Negro salesman" and sales have been stronger. One Negro minister commented in explanation that "The Negro community speaks with its dollars to show it has no resentment."

Item. Discrimination in Cook County (Chicago) can be conservatively computed to cost $70 million per year. So testified the Director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. This is the amount spent for the Aid to Dependent Children program, one designed to take care of children whose mothers have been deserted by their fathers. Almost all the recipients of the aid program in Chicago are Negro women who came to Chicago from the South some 15 or so years earlier, and who remain on the program for an average time of between two and three years. The director of the program testified to a Congressional Committee that the principal reason for this was the unavailability of employment for Negro girls and women:

> The white woman whose husband dies or disappears usually finds work; the Negro woman in the same predicament is denied work; she has one and only one job possibility available and that is day-work -- the dismal, grinding drudgery of finding, not one,but five or six different jobs, then accommodating herself to the diverse personalities of five or six different employers, and then dragging herself home with one of the lowest wages being paid in today's market. In addition, even before she considers the bleak prospect of day-work, she must contrive to make suitable arrangements for the care of her children.[4]

Item. Mayor Stan R. Brookshire of Charlotte, North Carolina recently called upon the business community to help the Negro help himself by providing better employment opportunities. "Second-class citizens," he said, "are a liability and a drain upon the resources of the community. Because of them our per capita income is low and our governmental and

welfare costs are high." The Raleigh News and Observer editorialized favorably upon this call for action with the comment that "second-class citizens mean a second-class South for everybody in it."[5]

The above random-selected items illustrate the tragic waste of Negro potential, the community burden of job discrimination, the growing unrest within the Negro community, and a determination by thoughtful political and industrial leaders to rid America of its "second-class" heritage.

Despite encouraging but isolated "break-throughs"[6] the Negro remains at the bottom of the economic pyramid. Used to the run-around, fearing rebuff, lacking incentive, denied fair union representation, closed from job and training opportunities, his is the job with the broom and shovel, with pay approximately half that of the white.[7] The johnny-come-lately in most industries, he is the first to be fired and he is the victim of every cyclical, seasonal, residual, technological, ethnic, and economic maladjustment of the economy.[8] Moreover, his prospects are worsening, not getting better. Factory "automation" has resulted in one white man with a machine doing the work done a few years back by twenty, thirty, or forty blue-jeaned Negroes.[9] Changes in working conditions have denied the Negro jobs which were once his exclusive province. The locomotive fireman that once shoveled coal was Negro; the fireman that now tends the diesel engine is usually white. Changes in social customs have also adversely hit the Negro. The Negro artisan once had a near monopoly in the Southern building trades, but more and more he is relegated to work in the "Negro" community. Census reports for ten Southern states reveal that from 1920 to 1950 Negro carpenters declined from 23% to 10% of the total; painters, from 25% to 13%; bricklayers, from 54% to 37%; and plasterers, from 66% to 57%.[10] And the decline is accentuating with the decrease in apprenticeship opportunities.

The employment problem is not confined to any one region. In North Carolina, over 90% of all Negroes (but less than 30% of all whites) employed through the State Employment Security Commission in 1959 were placed in "service" or "unskilled" jobs.[11]

In California, a Congressional Committee received undisputed testimony that Negroes were virtually excluded from all jobs as bellboys in Los Angeles and San Francisco hotels, from jobs as waiters, from the San Francisco bottling industry (except as strikebreakers), from all but the most menial jobs on the railroads, from the maritime industry (except in the "stewards department"), among the longshoremen, from the white-collar and craft jobs in the movie industry, from the printing, building and construction trades industries, from the petroleum industry (with few exceptions), from white-collar positions in the retail stores, and even from the better paying jobs in agriculture.[12]

Similar testimony was made about job discrimination in Illinois. William Karp, chairman of the Committee on Merit Employment in the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, testified that a study of over 100,000 job orders for white collar jobs showed that 98% of them were "restricted" as to race.[13] He further testified that top representatives of the Meat Packing Industry denied "pen" jobs to Negroes on the theory that they "laugh, sing, and dance and distrub the cattle."[14] N.A.A.C.P. representatives cited job discrimination in Illinois by chapter and verse. The following typifies the testimony of Dr. Lucien H. Holman, State President of the Illinois Conference of the N.A.A.C.P.: "In Aurora a few manufacturing plants under UAW and other union contracts hire Negroes on a generally fair basis... On the other hand, there are a number of companies that do not hire qualified Negroes. They are Richard-Wilcox Manufacturing Co., the National Brush Co., Sears, Roebuck & Co., ...and Thor Equipment Co. The Aurora Chamber of Commerce has passed the following resolution... "Resolved, that the Board of Directors...

declare it to be a policy that all members are encouraged to voluntarily maintain merit employment practices..."[15]

The situation in New York is not much better. Professor Eli Ginzberg of Columbia University testified that the big employment opportunities for Negroes since 1940 have been in the semiskilled industrial jobs, the jobs hardest hit by automation.[16] Representatives of the N.A.A.C.P. cited the specifics of job discrimination, for example: "In the city of New York, the major industry, as a matter of fact, the basic source of manufacturing in this city, is the garment industry. Negroes still work here on the lowest economic levels, unskilled jobs and the lowest paid jobs."[17] Otis E. Finley, Jr., of the National Urban League, told of a survey in a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, where a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70% of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed. "Too many of these young people are able but frustrated In other cases, the spark of ambition has been all but snuffed out."[18]

II.
PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

This mass betrayal of the American Dream, the national denial of the individual's right to be, has been condemned from many a rostrum[19] and pulpit,[20] from street-corners[21] and from national political conventions.[22] Remedial proposals have come to us from the city hall,[23] state houses,[24] and from the White House in Washington, D. C.[25] The national problem of racial job discrimination has been particularized, and the current situation in the various areas of racial discrimination are discussed below.

A. Federal Employment.

The federal government maintains the nation's largest payroll, employing approximately 2.3 million civilian

employees.[26] Since 1940 the appropriate Congressional statutes have mandated merit employment without regard to race, creed, or color,[27] and Negroes, denied private employment, have flocked to the government in disproportionate number. They are found, again in disproportionate number, clustered in the lower grades of the civil service. For example, in Los Angeles approximately 14% of the total population, but over 55% of the Postal employees, are Negro. The explanation given for this is simple: "Most of the Negroes come to the Post Office because it is hard for them to get employment anywhere else."[28]

Yet only 14% of the supervisors in the Los Angeles Post Office are Negro (generally found in "Negro" sections of the city) and there are many complaints of discrimination in up-grading and promotion, viz: "There is the case of a clerk of Japanese extraction who bid on the position of general clerk, foreign records unit, airport mail facility, a level 5 position. Placed No. 2 on the list according to the specifications of the job, and seniority, Clerk Tsukahira did not receive the courtesy of an interview. The No. 4 man was selected.[29]

There is no question but that much remains to be done if the theory of "merit" employment is to become an everyday fact of governmental operation. The United States Commission on Civil Rights reported in 1961 that "patterns of Federal employment...do not differ significantly from local employment patterns," and further stated that recent improvements in the federal employment situation were paralleled by similar improvements in the private employment situation.[30]

Under the personal leadership of President Kennedy,[31] the top governmental officials have made a determined effort to stamp out discrimination in federal employment.

All agencies made a survey of their own employment patterns to (1) spot discriminatory practices, and (2) serve as a bench-mark for future surveys.[32] Each agency appointed a Deputy Employment Policy Officer with the fixed obligation to concern himself with minority employment problems.[33] A complaint procedure has been strengthened, and those complaining of job discrimination are sometimes provided with counsel from the Department's legal staff.[34] The Civil Service Commission and many of the agencies have sent high-ranking representatives to "sell" federal employment to the graduates of leading Negro colleges.[35] The agencies have barred discrimination in agency-sponsored recreational programs, and some of

the agencies (Post Office and Veteran's Administration) have notified all field stations that management will not deal with employee unions maintaining segregated locals or which practice any other form of discrimination.[36] The Treasury Department appointed the first Negro professor at the Coast Guard Academy.[37] All agencies have made progress reports to the President's Committee, thereby ensuring that some action will be taken to further the President's Executive Order. The report of the Department of Justice, briefer than most, is representative of them all:

> "Shortly after taking office, the Attorney General reviewed the numbers of minority personnel employed by the Department. The statistics showed that a very small number of Negro lawyers had been employed by the Department in responsible positions.
>
> "Mr. Kennedy directed that a study be made to determine the causes. This disclosed that at least one major cause was a lack of applications particularly from qualified Negro lawyers.
>
> "In May 1961 the Attorney General wrote letters to the deans of approximately 50 leading law schools asking for the names of qualified Negro lawyers of their acquaintance, and of qualified Negro law students who would be interested in a career in the Department. The letter stated that the Department did not employ on the basis of race but was seeking lawyers of ability to serve in it particularly as career employees; that the Attorney General was anxious to take some steps to break down the race barrier which had apparently existed...
>
> "Affirmative steps were also taken with respect to the field offices of the United States Attorneys.... Two Negro United States Attorneys were appointed and

a substantial number of Assistant United States Attorneys and Deputy Marshals who were Negroes.

"...In early 1962 Maceo Hubbard, a career lawyer in the Department, was appointed as Employment Policy Officer....

"A new complaints procedure was recently instituted...."[38]

The big problem lies in transmitting the spirit of Washington to the field offices. Within some areas of Government employment "racial discrimination is deeply entrenched and widely practiced."[39] Moreover, even a conscientious field director, especially one policing a statute--such as the minimum wage law or the National Labor Relations Act--unpopular with the vested community interests, might hesitate to risk the effectuation of his program by hiring Negroes to positions where they deal with the outside public.[40]

Those who would resist the desegregation of federal employment find a handy justification in the "rule of three." Appropriate statutes require that the Civil Service Commission maintain a roster of eligible employees (resulting from an open examination) and that federal agencies fill their vacancies from among the highest three persons on this roster.[41] An illustrative abuse of the "rule of three" was recently presented to a Congressional Committee:

"In California, Negroes are discriminated against in civil service employment. One Negro female, after passing the test for clerk-stenographer, in San Francisco, with scores above 90 in shorthand, typing, and general clerical aptitude, was called in by nine different agencies for interviews and each time the job was given to another one of the 'top three names' on the roster. The applicant had prior civil service

experience and some 7 years of secretarial experience.

"Several of the interviewers told the applicant that she was 'over-qualified' for the job, inasmuch as she had a college degree in secretarial science. In one case the interviewers told applicant, 'I just don't feel you would be happy in this job.'"[42]

Discretion in employment, especially at high levels, is undoubtedly required when job efficiency demands an intense and intimate interchange of ideas, which interchange may be dammed by personality difficulties. It is doubtful that the "rule of three" provides this necessary discretion. In any event, the necessity for a "rule of three" is dubious when the job effectuation does not require continued intimacy of intellectual exchange. Most federal employees can and do dictate a memo to anyone sent from the secretarial "pool," regardless of a potential personality conflict. Similiarly, most federal employees can and do work in harmony, office-to-office or desk-to-desk, with persons they choose not to see after office hours.

It follows that there is much to commend in legislative action abolishing the "rule of three," the device which makes discriminatory employment practices possible. Lacking such legislative action, the Civil Service Commission could minimize its harmful potential by giving less weight to the "oral," as contrasted with the written, examination. Or, additionally, the Civil Service Commission could require a written explanation of why the agency selected the second or third person, rather than the applicant first on the list.

Recent innovations requiring only administrative determination--a periodic head count of minority group employees, the addition of Employment Policy Officers to look for trouble spots, an expedited complaint procedure, the permeation of a spirit from on high to make progress in this area--may make the Congressional mandate of "merit employ-

ment" a felt reality.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended, in line with the 1960 Republican Party platform,[43] that "Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity."[44]

B. Federal Contract Employment.

The United States government is the world's largest purchaser. It contracts with mines for the purchase of metals; with manufacturers for the fabrication of airplanes, missiles, ships, clothing, shoes, and other munitions of war; with farmers for the food set before the soldiers, the patients in the Veterans' Administration Hospitals, the school children who receive "hot lunches"; with universities for the supply of knowledge and skills; with utilities for the service of electric energy; and so on, almost infinitum. Lightbulbs, ink, books, automobiles, desks, new buildings, maintenance and repair services, telephones, radios, pocket knives, candy, chewing gum, and entertainment services, all are purchased in sizeable quantities by the federal government. In fiscal 1961 between $25 and $30 billions were expended for federal contracts; and ten million persons were employed by the 100 largest defense contractors and subcontractors alone.[45]

Anxious that the money it spends not be utilized to perpetuate racial job discrimination, the federal government has, since 1941, adhered to a "fair employment" policy. In that year, President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Committee, with its initial assignment being to ensure "merit" employment in the "defense" industries.[46] The FEPC came under Congressional fire, and in 1944 an amendment offered by Georgia's Senator Russell was tacked on to the annual Independent Offices Appropriation Act, providing that no appropriation could be allotted to any agency established by executive order and in existence for more than one year "if the Congress has not appropriated any money specifically for such agency...or specifically authorized the expenditure of funds by it."[47] The next day, the FEPC was granted a specific appropriation for the current fiscal year, but in the following year, 1945, it was told to liquidate its affairs. It issued its final report and went out of business on June 28, 1946.[48]

In 1951, following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea, President Truman issued a series of Executive Orders directing certain government agencies to include non-discrimination clauses in their procurement contracts. Truman also established a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, whose primary duty was to study and assess the effectiveness of the existing program. This committee began operations in April, 1952 and issued a report the following January with the change in administration. It noted that the "non-discrimination" clause was "almost forgotten, dead and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language in government procurement contracts."[49]

President Eisenhower, on August 13, 1953 declared the public policy to be one of promoting "equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons employed or entitled to employment on government contracts." He established a Committee on Government Contracts under the leadership of Vice President Nixon to keep an overall eye on the program operation. The committee concerned itself primarily with education and persuasion, and not much was achieved. A survey of representative cities in 1961 by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights disclosed that "in most industries studied, patterns of Negro employment by federal contractors conformed to local industrial employment patterns... In Atlanta, the two automobile assembly plants contacted employed no Negroes in assembly operations. Except for one driver of an inside power truck, all Negro employees observed were engaged in janitorial work -- sweeping, mopping, or carrying away trash."[50] No company was ever placed on an "ineligible" list, or denied a contract, on the basis of its employment policies, no matter how flagrant the violation of the "non-discrimination" contractual provision. At times, there was outright defiance. Some public utility companies flatly refused to furnish the government with necessary services rather than adopt a policy of non-discriminatory employment. The government backed away from this challenge by "waiving" the non-discriminatory

requirement. Similarly, in some industries, such as textile, where the percentage of government contract business is not large, the management would rather forego this business than change longstanding employment practices. Thus, shortly after the announcement of the new Kennedy executive order, the Wall Street Journal reported that "textile manufacturers have practically stopped bidding on military contracts for the past few weeks."[52] It is ironic, and almost unbelievable, that public utilities, monopolies chartered by the public and regulated by the state, and the textile industry, hard hit and seeking additional tariff protection, should be able to defy an important government policy.

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 designed, like its predecessors, "to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race...employed or seeking employment with the federal government and on government contracts."[53] The standard non-discrimination clause now requires all contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and the employees are treated...without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." The "affirmative action" contemplates, as a minimal, that all "want ads" must specify that all qualified applicants will be considered without regard to race.[54] The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the leadership of Vice President Johnson, was established to monitor this program and given authority to enforce the program by use of these sanctions, some of which were denied its predecessors:

1. conference, conciliation, mediation, or persuasion;
2. publicizing the names of contractors or unions which have either complied, or failed to comply;
3. recommending action by the Department of Justice, including injunctions against individuals or groups interferring with compliance and criminal proceedings against those furnishing false information;

4. terminating all or part of any contract for failure of the contractor to comply; and
5. requiring that contracting agencies of the government refrain from entering into new contracts with any non-complying contractor until he complies.[55]

The Johnson Committee has entered into a "Plans For Progress" program with many of the top industrial concerns of the nation. Typically, the ten point plan for progress initiated in the case of Lockheed Aircraft Co. binds the employer to:

1. provide all management levels with an up-to-date statement of its non-discrimination policy;
2. "aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates" for many job categories, including engineering, technical, administrative and clerical positions, and factory operatives;
3. instruct State Employment Officers and other recruitment sources that job applicants are to be referred irrespective of race, creed, color or national origin;
4. re-analyze its available salaried jobs to be certain that all eligible minority group employees have been considered for placement and upgrading;
5. re-examine personnel records of minority group employees to determine whether those qualified and eligible can be used for filling job openings;
6. institute a program of familiarizing universities with employment needs and opportunities, to include hiring teachers who are members of minority groups for summer work and arranging plant tours for teachers and student counselors;
7. support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs including supervisory and pre-supervisory training classes;

8. encourage the establishment of vocational training programs and the participation of minority group employees in such programs;
9. maintaining eating facilities, rest rooms, and recreational facilities on a nonsegregated basis; and
10. institute periodic checks to insure that the policies and objectives of the plan are being carried out.

How well is the Kennedy program functioning? A study of North Carolina federal contractors, issued six months after the Kennedy program was initiated, indicates that the program got off to a very slow start indeed.[56] The survey concerned the recruitment, the employment, the promotion, the on-the-job training, and other personnel practices of 262 North Carolina firms holding government contracts. In essence, the employment patterns in these government-contract firms paralleled those in firms without government contracts. This is how the survey summarized its findings:

> There appears to be a significant under utilization of Negro manpower in North Carolina firms holding contracts with the federal government. The patterns of under utilization are reflected in the significant number of firms that hire no Negroes, in the occupational levels at which Negroes are hired, in the narrow and limited representation of Negroes in white-collar positions, in the upgrading patterns, and in the use of Negro female resources.[57]

The almost uniform refusal of North Carolina federal contractors to utilize Negro manpower, either at all or at a level above the menial job, is significant for these reasons: (1) firms hiring Negroes reported in overwhelming number (77%) that their Negro employees were as efficient or better than their white employees; (2) those companies which utilized Negroes reported in overwhelming number (90%) that they had no difficulty because of this;[58] and (3) the largest proportion of firms indicated that they have no minimum educational requirement for hiring in the lower occupational categories, so the extent to which Negroes are wholly excluded is not a reflection on the lack of qualifica-

tions on the part of Negroes. Probably the most significant disclosure for present purposes is the following:

> Twenty-one of the 22 firms without Negro employees indicated that they have never discussed the matter of employing Negroes with any federal agency. Eighty-seven of the 100 responding firms that do employ Negroes indicated that they had never discussed the problem with any federal agency.[59]

Thus it would appear that six months after the Kennedy program was launched in Washington, it still remained a dead letter in North Carolina.

It is not fair to place all the blame on management. Unions must take the onus of sharing in and even initiating racial discrimination. Numerous unions have denied Negro employees a right to union membership, and thereby deprived them a voice and a vote in the policy decisions which affect their wages, their hours, and other conditions of employment.[60] Many other unions have established separate and segregated locals for Negro employees where they have scant more voice than if totally excluded, and still others have negotiated contracts wherein Negro employees were relegated, as a class, to unskilled and unpromotable positions. These separate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements are especially galling. Negroes are hired in classifications designated as "common laborer," or "yard labor," or "non-operating department," or "maintenance department," and limited to promotion within the departments. Thus, a Negro with 20 years seniority can look forward to being promoted from "toilet attendant" to "sweeper."[61]

These union practices violate the Supreme Court's requirement that unions represent <u>all</u> employees "without hostile discrimination, fairly, impartially, and in good faith."[62]

These union practices have been recently condemned by the AFL-CIO Executive Council: "Resolved, That racially segregated local unions be eliminated by national and international unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO";[63] and by the 1961 AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention: "We welcome the nationwide agreements

entered into by the Bricklayers...the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and other unions with respective national contractors' associations, to make non-discrimination on account of race, creed, color and national origin a standard to be observed in all apprenticeship training programs. Many of the major industrial unions have adopted "Plans for Progress to eliminate these practices."[64]

The National Labor Relations Board, which has original jurisdiction over these practices, recently indicated that it would countenance them no longer. Denying a discriminating union the normal protection against the necessity of participating in a representation election during a reasonable contractual period, the Labor Board, citing the Supreme Court school decision,[65] made this comment:

> Consistent with clear court decisions in other contexts which condemn governmental sanctioning of racially separate groupings as inherently discriminatory, the Board will not permit its contract bar rules to be utilized to shield contracts such as those here involved from challenge or otherwise appropriate election petitions. We therefore hold that, where the bargaining representative of employees in an appropriate unit executes separate contracts, or even a single contract, discriminating between Negro and white employees on racial lines, the Board will not deem such contracts as a bar to an election.
>
> We are not confronted in this proceeding with any attack on the validity of the Intervenor's (discriminating union's) outstanding certification in consequence of the separate contracts which it executed on the basis of race. Although the execution of such contracts is in patent derogation of the certification and would warrant revocation of the certification, we deem it unnecessary to take such action at this time in view of the impending election which we here direct.[66]

In short, union discrimination in industrial employment opportunities seems on the wane. "It is unfair and inaccurate to leave the impression that President Kennedy's Committee has not made progress," Duane Greathouse, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, testified to a Congressional Committee.

> Through the work of the Committee in these few months there are Negroes in technical skills in the oil industry in the St. Louis, Mo. area where there had been none before. There are minority group members now employed as seamstresses in a South Carolina textile plant for the first time. There are Negro tobacco workers in integrated production operations in North Carolina. Government contract facilities in Nashville, Tenn., and in Nevada, are employing integrated work forces because of the Committee's efforts. Negroes are now employed in skilled jobs on electronics in Dallas, Texas--jobs previously closed tight against them. The Committee opened government contract jobs for Negro carpenters in Miami, Fla.[67]

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity now has the "tools."[68] If it can get the money and the staff, all it needs is determination to get the job done.

The United States Commission on Civil Rights correctly points out that the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, established only by executive action, is necessarily limited in budget and legal authority. Its jurisdiction over labor unions is indirect and tenuous. Therefore, the Commission recommends:

> That Congress grant statutory authority to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity or establish a similar agency to encourage and enforce a policy of equal employment opportunity in all federal employment and all employment created or supported by government contracts and federal grant funds."[69]

C. Federal Grant-in-Aid Employment

Grants-in-aid to state and local government, to public institutions, and to private nonprofit institutions are a method of federal subsidization of employment second in importance only to government contracts. In fiscal 1961 the federal grant-in-aid programs cost the taxpayers (white and Negro alike) some 7.5 billion dollars.[70] The largest expeditures went for the construction of hospitals ($154 million), schools ($63.3 million), public airports ($83.3 million), highways ($2.7 billion), and public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment (over $300 million).[71]

Thousands upon thousands of skilled construction jobs were thereby created, and by and large they were denied to Negroes. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights made a field study of

employment created by these grants-in-aid programs in the cities of Detroit, Baltimore, and Atlanta. The results of this study showed: (1) Negro employment was greatest at the unskilled level, in every case outnumbering white employment at that level on these jobs. (2) As the skill level increased, the percentage of Negro employment decreased. (3) There was little difference in Negro employment patterns among the three cities surveyed; although in Atlanta almost all the skilled Negroes worked in the trowel trades (cement finishers, bricklayers) while in Detroit and Baltimore skilled Negroes were working as carpenters, operating engineers, and labor foremen as well.[72]

During the 1930's, the New Deal "pump-priming" make-work programs--the WPA, the PWA, the NYA, etc.--contained non-discriminatory clauses. The Unemployment Relief Act of 1933, for example, provided that "in employing citizens for the purpose of this Act no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color or creed;"[73] and the Hatch Act of 1939 contained a proviso making it unlawful to deprive any persons of employment or other benefit made possible "by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, on account of race, creed, color, or any political activity."[74] When Congress failed to ban discriminatory hiring practices, as in the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, those administering the public works program issued regulations designed to end job discrimination, and punished the violators.[75]

During the 1960's, we find no such general governmental policy in grant-in-aid employment. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies which administer the Low Rent Housing and the Urban Redevelopment programs, construe grant project agreements to be government contracts within the meaning of Executive Order 10925 and accordingly require a "non-discriminatory" clause in all contracts.[76] The Urban Redevelopment Program has three steps: first, the local government, with federal financial assistance, acquires and clears slum areas; second, the local government, without

federal assistance, then improves the site; and third, the cleared land is then sold to private contractors for redevelopment. The non-discriminatory clause applies only in the first process, i.e., acquiring and clearing the land.

The Federal Aviation Agency has, since April 1961, required non-discrimination in employment created by airport grant projects,[77] but due to staff limitations leaves enforcement to the local sponsors.[78]

The Bureau of Public Roads, within the Department of Commerce, which administers grants for highway construction has, since 1941, inserted a "short-form" non-discriminatory clause in all contracts. The Bureau has not adopted the more meaningful provisions of the Kennedy Executive Order "for fear that any change in the clause would call attention to it."[79] There is no machinery for its enforcement.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare, which administers the hospital and impact-school construction programs, makes no requirement that employment on these projects be non-discriminatory.

The federal grants-in-aid are conditioned upon compliance with specified standards, and certainly for purposes of equal protection have no different standing than the ordinary government contract.[81]

In 1961, Congressman William Fitts Ryan introduced a bill, H.R. 7143, to establish the Civil Rights Commission as a permanent agency with broad powers to end employment discrimination on federal grants-in-aid programs. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that:

> the President issue an Executive Order making clear that employment supported by federal grant funds is subject to the same non-discrimination policy and the same requirements as those set forth in Executive Order 10925 applicable to employment by government contractors

and that both the "federal contract" and "federal grant-in-aid" anti-discrimination programs be given congressional sanction and approval.[82]

D. The State Employment Services.

A special grant-in-aid program, created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933[83] is the Federally subsidized "national system of public employment offices." The function of these offices is (1) to assist unemployed workers in finding jobs, and (2) to assist employers in securing qualified workers. In fiscal 1961, approximately $107 million in Federal grants were spent for this purpose.[84]

The persons in these local offices man the gates: they can open the door to "merit" employment, or, alternatively, they can bar Negro access to the better paying jobs. Indications are that they do the latter.

The North Carolina Employment Security Commission operated in 1960 on a budget of $5,555,960.00, entirely paid for by the Federal government. The headquarters agency in Raleigh employed a total of 10 Negroes: one maid, two elevator operators, five janitors, and two janitor messengers. Some thirty-nine Negroes (and 681 whites) were employed in a professional capacity throughout the state to serve the Negro applicants for employment. When a job order is received, it is sent to the offices manned by whites if the order specifies white employees. If the order specifies Negro employees, it is handled by the Negro-manned divisional offices. If the order does not specify race, it is sent to either the white or Negro office according to "local knowledge of customary hiring requirements." In case of doubt, the employer is requested to indicate a preference. The result of this system is that in 1960, 95,576 whites were directed to employment, largely in professional, clerical, sales, skilled and semi-skilled jobs; and 73,473 Negroes were placed, largely in service and unskilled positions. By this system, the employer is denied both the opportunity and the responsibility to hire on the basis of merit.[85]

The experience in North Carolina is not unique. "If a known Government contractor insists on a discriminatory job order in Atlanta, it will be honored, as will a discriminatory request from a Federal agency."[86] An employee of the Michigan

Employment Security Commission explains: "I get rated by the number of people I place. If I don't place enough, I get called upstairs. Therefore, I send people to places where I think they will be employed, and this means that I send them by race."[87]

When Secretary Goldberg assumed office, the Department of Labor "determined that one objective in its relationship with state employment services, in line with the President's national policy, would be the making available of equal employment opportunities through the 1800 local employment offices. It therefore set about encouraging the states to review their staffs, giving greater understanding toward the national policy of equal employment opportunity." Additionally, the Department of Labor prohibited the processing of "discriminatory" job orders -- not only from Federal agencies and Federal contractors as was formerly the rule -- but from private employers as well.[88] But the basic cause for racial job assignment, i. e., basing promotions and allocations of funds according to the number of job placements, has not been changed.

A basic policy of the United States Employment Service is to promote employment for all applicants "on the basis of their skills, abilities and job qualifications."[89] This policy would be better effectuated if promotions and the allocation of funds were based, at least in part, according to the number of Negro job applicants placed in "non-traditional" positions. This is one of the recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

"Recommendation. 7.--That steps be taken, either by executive or congressional action, to reaffirm and strengthen the Bureau of Employment Security policy, in rendering recruitment and placement services, of encouraging merit employment and assisting minority group members in overcoming obstacles to employment and in obtaining equal job opportunities. In this connection, consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine Federal appropriations to State employment offices, presently keyed

primarily to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers), so that the budgetary formula used will encourage rather than discourage referral on a nondiscriminatory basis. In addition, regulations and statements of policy with respect to the operation of State employment offices should be reexamined to insure that such regulations and statements conform to the overall USES policy of discouraging employment discrimination and encouraging merit employment.

"Recommendation 8.--That the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds for the operation of State employment offices only to those offices which offer their services to all, on a nonsegregated basis, and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job orders."[90]

E. Apprenticeship Programs.

A skilled trade is a must in today's job market. Technological changes and the replacement of new industries for old have been largely responsible for increased unemployment. But even in a "depressed" area like Detroit, "jobs... are going begging for lack of skilled workers to fill them." [91] The demand for skilled workers will continue to grow. It is estimated that for every 100 skilled workers the nation had in 1955, it will need 122 in 1965, and 145 in 1975: "The New York State Department of Labor indicates, in a survey of jobs in 1960 to 1970, that 46,000 additional craftsmen will be needed annually if the State's needs for skilled workers in the 1960's are to be satisfied."[92] Yet today the apprenticeship training programs are not even producing enough skilled workers to replace those who retire, and Negroes are experiencing "a major crisis in unemployment because it is almost impossible as a result of discrimination for them to make the jump from unskilled jobs being wiped out by automation to the skilled ones that the new technology creates."[93]

1. Discrimination In Building Trade Apprentice Programs.

Uncontradicted testimony bears this out. "Open access to

plumbing and pipe-fitting apprenticeship controlled by the Plumbers Union is a very rare experience for young Negroes in the North as well as in the South ....

"Among the most important of the building trades craft unions is the Carpenters Union which has severely limited the opportunities of colored craftsmen by organizing segregated Negro locals (in those instances where Negroes are permitted to join) and giving them jurisdiction over areas where there was little or no construction....

"A recent study made by the Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco revealed that Negroes are not participating in the electrical, plumbing, and carpentry apprenticeship training programs in that city and that only one Negro served as an apprentice in the metal trades.

"A report made by the Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission indicates the exclusion of Negro youth in the structural steel, sheet metal, lathers, and tile setters apprenticeship programs in Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and Muskegon.

"The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has published a study which concludes that a similar condition exists in virtually the entire State of Connecticut.

"In a study entitled 'Negro Employment Practices in the Chattanooga Area' it is found that there was an absolute ban on apprenticeship opportunities for Negroes in the building trades.....

"In Newark, N. J., where there are 3,523 apprentices currently participating, not a single Negro apprentice is to be found in electrical installation, plumbing, painting, and other building trades apprenticeship programs....

"An examination of available data makes evident that less than 1 per cent of the apprentices in the building and construction industry throughout the United States are Negro."[94]

The absence of Negroes from the construction crafts is not, as one offical of an electrical union would have it, due to the fact that "Negroes fear electricity."[95] At the end of the Civil War, 100,000 of the 1230 artisans in the South were Negroes.[96] In 1920, in 10 states of the old South, 23 per cent of the carpenters, 25 per cent of the painters, 54 per cent of the bricklayers, and 66 per cent of the plasterers were Negro.[97] Today, Negroes have a hard time getting a toehold in the apprentice programs. The reason for the total absence of Negro plumbers was explained by a Plumbers Union official, who said that the apprenticeship program -- jointly administered by the union and management -- gave priority to the sons and relatives of those in the trade:

Mr. Rhodes (Business Manager of Local No. 4 of the Plumbers Union): It is true our local union favors, gives preference to sons, employees' sons and members' sons, and the like of that, you know, kinfolks....

Congressman Pucinski: What is the reasoning ---

Mr. Rhodes. What is the reason? Well, No. 1, your membership. You have got an 800-man membership. They all have boys that want to become plumbers. And they insist that the apprenticeship committee take care of their people, their own people... After all, how could a committee tell a member that we are going to take somebody else other than his son before we take his son?

Congressman Roosevelt: Will the gentleman yield? What you are saying, though, is that a plumbers' local is the same thing as a private club or a private school ... is it right to be able to make that union into what in essence tends to become pretty much a private club?

Mr. Rhodes: That is not what we are attempting to do, or not what we are doing. We take boys other than plumbers' sons. However, we give plumbers' sons preference.

Congressman Roosevelt: But only when you don't have enough sons?

Mr. Rhodes. Well, that has happened. There were a few years back when there were not enough plumbers' sons....

Congressman Roosevelt. If a Negro did apply, and was qualified, can you tell me honestly that you think he would be given a fair chance to enter the apprenticeship training?

Mr. Rhodes. He would be processed the same as any other candidate.

Congressman Roosevelt. What is the total membership of your union?

Mr. Rhodes. 824.

Congressman Roosevelt. Is this a mixed racial union, or are they all white?

Mr. Rhodes. As far as I know, they are all white."[98]

President George Meany of the AFL-CIO testified that: "There is racial discrimination in apprenticeship and vocational training programs, and we in the AFL-CIO have opposed and do oppose it. We want it ended."[99] J. C. Haggerty, President of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, testified that "It would be fruitless to deny that discrimination exists in the building and construction industry."[100] Both gentlemen urged the enactment of H. R. 8219, introduced by Congressman Powell, which is designed to bar the Secretary of Labor from fostering discriminatory apprenticeship training programs. The proposed legislation has several facets.

First. The Davis-Bacon and the Walsh-Healy Act require government contractors to pay "prevailing," and the Fair Labor Standards Act requires all employers in interstate commerce to pay "minimum," wages to their employees. Each statute, however, permits the Secretary of Labor to authorize "exemptions" from the wage requirements in the case of apprentices. The proposed legislation would prohibit the Secretary of Labor from "exempting" any apprenticeship program where discrimination is practiced. This proposal would

have limited impact, as only sixty-six exemptions were issued in the United States last year;[101] and in any event, former Secretary of Labor Goldberg announced that "exemptions" will not be granted to apprentice programs that discriminate.[102]

Second. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, U. S. Department of Labor currently "certifies" apprenticeship programs which meet agreed-upon standards. The purpose is to upgrade the programs and assure uniformity of training. Certificates are awarded those graduating from these programs. Approximately half (160,000) the current apprentices are in a "certified" program.[103] The proposed legislation would bar the Secretary of Labor from certifying a program if it discriminates. The Secretary of Labor, by administrative action, has already taken this course.

Third. Most apprenticeship programs involve both on-the-job training and class-room work. The class-room work is supported by federal funds; and the legislative proposal is to withhold these funds from the apprenticeship programs which discriminate. There is a question as to how effective this would be in achieving its objective. Prior to 1954, when Washington, D. C. schools were segregated, most of the major craft unions utilized public schools for the class-room aspects of their apprentice programs. Subsequent to the desegregation of the schools, "many of the unions set up their own separate training facilities,"[104] and this is a trend that is nationwide, "more so where the unions have the resources to do it."[105]

A more direct approach has been taken to the problem of racial discrimination in on-the-job apprenticeship programs. The union, whose membership is closed to Negroes, is not permitted by the Courts to restrict employment opportunities to its members.[106] The Supreme Court has ruled that a union representing a majority of the employees in an appropriate craft or unit may not use its bargaining power to the detriment of minority Negro employees within the craft,[107] or to the detriment of Negro employees in a sister craft or unit. "Bargaining

agents who enjoy the advantages of the Railway Labor Act's provisions must execute their trust without lawless invasion of the rights of other workers."[108] All these decisions concerned job restrictions by unions against Negroes then on the job. However, the National Labor Relations Act requires unions to give "fair representation" to "employees"; job applicants have come within the meaning of the term "employees" in other contexts; and a good case has been made for the proposition that it is an unfair labor practice for a union, controlling job access, to discriminate against job applicants on the basis of race.[109] The issue, however, has not yet been decided, although it is now pending before the National Labor Relations Board.[110] Should the Labor Board deny statutory authority to rectify the situation, federal legislation modeled on the Ohio Code (making it unlawful for any labor organization to discriminate against any person, <u>or limit his employment opportunities</u>, on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry)[111] seems appropriate.

The Civil Rights Commission does not go this far. It recommends only that "Congress amend the Labor-Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 to include in title 1 thereof a provision that no labor organization shall refuse membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin."[112]

2. <u>Discrimination in Industrial Apprenticeship Programs</u>. Thus far, the discussion has concerned discrimination in the building craft apprenticeship programs administered (at least jointly) by the craft unions. But an equally invidious type of discrimination is found in the industrial apprenticeship programs administered by management.

"In industrial apprenticeship training programs the opportunities for Negroes appear to be no greater than in the construction crafts."[113] Thus, a study of the auto industry's apprenticeship training program reveals that "Chrysler Corp. had 350 apprentices in its Detroit area plants, not one of

whom was a Negro. General Motors Corp. showed a slight improvement in that they had one Negro apprentice out of the 289 apprentices in training in its Detroit area plants. However, at the General Motors Institute in Flint which enrolls 2,400 students in a five-year work and training program, there is not a single Negro student."[114] "In the apprenticeship training program conducted jointly by the Automotive Tool & Die Manufacturers Association and the UAW, there are approximately 370 apprentices, all white. Only one Negro has ever participated in this program."[115]

Private employers who discriminate in industrial apprenticeship programs can be reached by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity if they have Government contract employment. The typical "Plan for Progress" requires the employer to "support the inclusion of minority group members in all its apprenticeship and other training programs."[116] If the private employer does not have a government program, his discriminatory practices can be curbed only by enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Law.

F. Vocational Education.

The greatest resources of any nation are the skill and know-how of its people. This philosophy has been embedded in federal law for many years. A subsidized program of vocational education was instituted in 1914 with the Smith-Hughes Act with the stated purposes: "To conserve and develop our national resources, to permit a productive and more prosperous agriculture, to prevent waste of human labor, to provide a supplement to apprenticeship; to increase wage earning power; to meet the increasing demand for trained workmen; to offset the increased cost of living; to serve as a wise business investment; and to promote our national security and economy."[117]

The import of vocational education as it relates to the need for highly skilled and technically trained manpower for the space age, has been underscored by the enactment of title

VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which makes provisions for area vocational educational programs "to train highly skilled technicians in fields necessary for national defense." [118]

The vocational education programs operate in the following manner: states willing to match federal funds and accept federal supervision receive grants from the federal government to help pay "the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, and teachers of trade, home economics, and insustrial subjects."[119]

The Office of Education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare administers the programs. The long-time policy of the Office of Education was "to fit persons for useful employment and, hence, training would be offered only when it was evident that those trained could reasonably expect to find employment locally. Since Negroes were denied employment in certain occupations, ... there was no use to train a Negro for an occupation in which he could not find employment; i. e., to train Negroes as electricians in most States would have been a waste of money and the time of the persons so trained."[120] Since 1948, the Office of Education has adopted the policy that "in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education there shall be no discrimination because of race, creed, or color." However, the present position of the Office of Education is that "the Commissioner does not have the power to withhold funds because schools are segregated."[121] The result of this approach is as may be expected: Negroes are excluded, segregated, and usually placed in training for "Negro" jobs.

"In Louisiana, there are twenty-seven state supported trade and technical schools -- twenty-three for whites -- four for Negroes.... Recently I visited two trade schools in New Orleans, one for Negroes and the other for whites. The Orleans Area Vocational and Technical School, which is for Negroes, offers only seven courses. The other school... offers forty-seven."[122]

In Atlanta, "the use of segregated public schools for vocational training produces a marked difference in the types of programs available to different racial groups... At Carver School, Negroes are trained for 'jobs traditionally open to them'. These are the most menial, requiring the lowest level of skills. They are precisely the ones for which the national economy has less and less need."[123]

In North Carolina, the situation is not so extreme. A survey of nine Industrial Education Centers reveals racial segregation in some: "in at least three this includes separate courses of study."[124] Instruction is available on the basis of job opportunities, and in some instances this is construed to mean job opportunities within the community. Thus, "if it was known not to be the custom for Negroes to be employed as upholsterers in the area served by the Center" then there was not job opportunity for Negroes and they were denied the training unless a "specific job" was assured.[125] Generally, however, the stated admission policy was to exclude race as a factor. The preponderance of white students (over 90 per cent) was explained by the lack of Negro interest and qualifications. One administrator stated that he had "recently shown forty-seven Negro men through the school and invited them to take courses; that only four applied, and of these only one completed the necessary examinations and he did so poorly that he was not admitted."[126]

Lack of motivation and ability, of course, is itself the product of long-suffered discrimination. The vicious circle of discrimination in employment opportunities is clear; the Negro is denied, or fails to apply for training for jobs in which employment opportunities have traditionally been denied him; when jobs do become available, there are consequently few, if any, qualified Negroes available to fill them; and often, because of lack of knowledge of such newly opened opportunities, even the few who are qualified fail to apply.

The United States Civil Rights Commission has recommended that Congress and the President take appropriate measures to meet the manpower needs of the coming years by:

(1) Providing that, as a condition of federal assiatance, all such programs be administered on a nondiscriminatory, nonsegregated basis; and

(2) Amending present regulations regarding admission to vocational classes;to provide that admission be based on present and probable future national occupational needs, rather than, as presently interpreted, on traditional and local needs and opportunities.

Additionally, of a more positive nature, the Commission recommended action:

(3) Expanding and supplementing existing programs of federal assistance to vocational education;

(4) Providing for retraining as well as training and for funds to enable jobless workers to move to areas where jobs are available and their skills in demand; and that Congress enact legislation to provide equality of training and employment opportunities for youths (aged 16 to 21), and particularly minority group youths, to assist them in obtaining employment and completing their education;

(5) Through a system of federally subsidized employment and training made available on a nondiscriminatory basis; and

(6) Through the provision of funds for special placement services in the schools in connection with part-time and cooperative vocational education programs.

Finally, the Commission recommended "That the President direct that appropriate measure be taken for the conduct, on a continuing basis, of an affirmative program of dissemination of information:

(7) To make known the availability on a non-discriminatory basis of jobs in the Federal Government and with Government contractors; and

(8) To encourage all individuals to train for and apply for such jobs, and particularly those jobs where there is currently a shortage of qualified applicants."[127]

G. Private Employment.

All the above programs and proposals have no immediate and only indirect impact on private discriminatory employment practices. A national program--prohibiting discriminatory employment practices by employer and union alike -- is needed. Federal legislation on this score has been introduced in each Congress since the 78th and supported by religious leaders of all persuasions, constitutional authorities, sociologists, economists, businessmen, and leaders of organized labor. Every report that has issued from a House or Senate Committee has recommended the enactment of fair employment legislation.

In the absence of final Congressional action, the states have moved in. New York first, under the leadership of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, next New Jersey, and today some twenty-four of the most populous states in the North, in the North Central, and in the West have enacted some type of fair employment practice legislation.[128] This, however, is not adequate to the occasion. First, there is some doubt that the Constitution permits the application of these state laws to "Interstate Commerce."[129]

Second, these state laws have no applicability in the area of the country where the need for such laws is the greatest. Finally, the problem is national in scope as populations migrate from one section of the country to another.

National legislation is a must. As one witness put it: "FEPC is a workable, sound, tested instrumentality that is good for 110 million people in twenty states; surely, gentlemen, it is good for 180 million people in fifty states."[130] Or, to quote George Meany:

> I could speak at length about the physical loss of good brains and strong bodies we suffer because of those who judge a man by other standards than his abilities. That would be tragic enough in an era when we need every ounce of our strength, and the fullest development of our resources, to secure our nation against attack.
>
> But the greatest loss to America is moral and spiritual. If a citizen of this country finds his way blocked, if he cannot achieve his highest degree of usefulness, only because he is a Negro or a Jew, a Catholic or an Asiatic; because he is an Italian or a Pole; because he is thirty-five or forty or forty-five, those who are responsible for blocking him are betraying the American ideal in the eyes of the world."[131]

III

Summary and Conclusion

Is this, the year of the Emancipation Proclamation, the year for an FEPC? The defeat of those who sought to amend Senate Rule 22 and thereby avert the threat of a filibuster is not a happy harbinger of civil rights legislation. But ours is a rapidly changing world. Six years ago, there was no sputnik, and the word "Astronaut" was unknown. Five years ago Governor Faubus was an obscure southern Governor, and a liberal one to boot. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a young and obscure southern minister, with no particular mark for greatness. Three years ago, the first Negro youth had yet to walk into a white lunch counter and ask for a cup of coffee. Three months ago, no governor of South Carolina had ever asked for the peaceful acceptance of an integrated state university. One month ago, no governor of North Carolina had ever asked for a Good Neighbor Council to end employment discrimination. The segregationist may think he is fighting John Kennedy, Earl Warren, and the NAACP. Actually, he is fighting Marconi, macadam, and Henry Ford -- in short, the Twentieth Century. The outcome of this unequal struggle is not for a moment in doubt. If FEPC legislation comes not this year, it comes soon. But much remains to be done, and on many fronts.

Within the federal civil service there are pockets of racism; aided and abetted by the use and abuse of the "rule of three." Energetic transmission of the Washington spirit to the field offices is necessary if federal employment and employment opportunities are to be based solely on factors of "merit." Periodic "headcounts," the addition of "minority specialists" to employment staffs, good communication, and Congressional approval and ratification of the guiding agency -- the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity -- will keep this program on sound footing.

The "fair and equal employment" clause in the standard government contract has for too long been forgotten, "dead

and buried under thousands of words of standard legal and technical language." President Kennedy has unearthed this provision and appointed a Committee under Vice-President Johnson to enforce it. Sanctions are available, and the Plans for Progress, if implemented, give great hope of progress. The entire program would be strengthened by Congressional authorization, support, and appropriations.

The anti-discrimination clauses contained (and enforced) in the 1930 grant-in-aid programs are not present in today's programs. The consequence is that thousands of Negroes are denied good jobs on projects created by Federal funds. There is no valid Constitutional reason why Federally created job opportunities under grant-in-aid programs should be treated differently from Federally created job opportunities under Federal procurement contract programs. The Civil Rights Commission recommends that the grant-in-aid program be brought within the protection and requirements of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

The United States Government finances the world's largest employment agency; and this agency in turn often stands as a barrier between the Negro and better job opportunities. Operating through segregated offices, the state employment services, at least until lately, processed discriminatory job requests under the federal spurt which based promotion and appropriations on the number of unemployed persons put back to work. The Civil Rights Commission has recommended that (1) consideration should be given to changing the method utilized to determine federal appropriations, presently keyed to the number of job placements made, to reflect other factors (such as the greater degree of difficulty and time involved in placing qualified minority group workers) so that the budgetary formula will encourage, rather than discourage, referral on a nondiscriminatory basis; and (2) that the President direct the Secretary of Labor to grant funds only to state employment

services which offer their services on a non-segregated basis and which refuse to accept and/or process discriminatory job offers.

America suffers from a surplus of unskilled and a dearth of skilled employees. And thousands of youths, age 16 to 21, are out of school, out of work, on the streets headed for trouble, petty crimes, and ultimately to public relief. The federal government seeks to give skills, work, and hope to these citizens by training in federally sponsored apprenticeship programs and federally financed industrial training centers. Yet these programs are not only woefully inadequate in size and number; they also discriminate against the Negro entirely, or at best train him for "traditional" jobs which are rapidly passing from the industrial scene. The Civil Rights Commission recommends corrective action in the federally supported apprenticeship programs by withholding federal aid and support from those which discriminate. It recommends corrective action against federally supported industrial training programs through similar techniques. And it recommends a positive approach to the total problem of creating skills needed in the coming years, of rekindling belief in the sceptical youth, through a program of guidance counseling, making the youth aware of federal and federal contract employment opportunities; through a program of extensive training in useful and challenging skills; and through a program of mass training and retraining akin to that of the Civil Conservation Corps during the 1930s -- a domestic Peace Corps if you will, permitting a simultaneous experience of education, skill gaining, and helping others to help themselves.

We find ourselves at another frontier. Do we retreat, vacillate, or press on? The problem is grave, the challenge a thrill, and the promise of solution a reward without measure.

On to Appomattox.

Footnotes

1. The initial reaction was very favorable. Only five of the first hundred letters were hostile, and three of these came from outside the state. Raleigh News and Observer, Jan. 21, 1963, p. 1, col. 3.

2. New York Times, Oct 15, 1962, p. 1, col. 1.

3. Wall Street Journal, Jan. 8, 1963, p. 1, col. 6.

4. Testimony of Raymond M. Hilliard, Equal Employment Opportunity, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee On Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), pp 10, 13.

5. Jan. 8, 1963, p. 4, col. 2.

6. The State Department now has 35 Negroes in responsible posts and has named Carl T. Rowan, present deputy assistant Secretary of State, as ambassador to Finland. Mr. Rowan will be our third Negro ambassador. The National Observer, Jan. 15, 1963, p. 3, col. 1.

There are now 81,000 Chicago Negroes employed in professional, managerial, sales, and craft positions, up from 50,000 a decade earlier. New York Times, Dec. 8, 1962, p. 25, col. 1.

7. The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Bulletin s-3, U. S. Department of Labor (1960), pp. 5-17.

8. In August, 1962, Bureau of Labor Statistics revealed 11.4 per cent of the Negro work force unemployed as compared with 4.6 per cent of white workers. In Detroit, 60 per cent of the workers currently unemployed are Negroes, although Negroes constitute only 20 per cent of the population. A. Philip Randolph, "The Unfinished Revolution," The Progressive, Dec., 1962, p. 24.

9. "The extent to which the Negro unemployment rate is traceable to automation is suggested in the statistics on chronic unemployment, most of which involves victims of technological displacement. At present, among those unemployed for more than fifteen weeks, 23.8 per cent are non-white." Ibid.

10. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity In Apprenticeship Programs, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 1st Sess. (1961), p. 121.

11. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960, p. 2.

12. Statement of William E. Pollard, Chairman, Labor and Industry Committee, West Coast Region, NAACP. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. pp. 389, 392-394.

13. Id. at p. 77.

14. Id. at p. 78.

15. Id. at p. 138.

16. Id. at p. 611.

17. Id. at p. 635.

18. Id. at p. 713.

19. The AFL-CIO Fourth Constitutional Convention in 1961 proclaimed that: "A real democracy has no room for second-class citizenship....When we as trade unionists seek equal opportunity for all Americans in employment, training, education, services and housing, we do so because we believe that America's good neighbor policy begins at home."

20. Representatives of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U. S. A., of the American Jewish Congress, and of the National Catholic Welfare Conference testified in January of 1962 on behalf of a fair employment practices law.

21. The Black Muslim movement makes capital out of the inability of Negro youth to secure suitable employment. "If our Government and the leaders of our communities will not give us the democratic tools to deal with these young people, and deal with them fairly, and honorably, I think the only thing that is left is Elijah Mohammed for them to go to...." Statement of Edwin C. Berry, Executive Director, Chicago Urban League, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 178.

22. The Democratic Party platform of 1960 expressly pledged: "The new Democratic administration will support Federal legislation establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission to secure effectively for everyone the right to equal opportunity for employment."

The Republican Party platform of 1960 promised: "Continued support for legislation to establish a commission on equal job opportunity to make permanent and to expand with legislative backing the excellent work being performed by the President's Committee on Government Contracts."

23. See e.g. the testimony of New York City's Mayor Wagner: "We have established a city contract compliance policy under which all companies doing business with the city must adhere to our anti-discrimination laws...." Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra. at p. 624.

24. A description of state fair employment practices laws is appended hereto.

25. Over twenty years ago President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practices Commission. See text at note 46 infra.

26. An additional 2.48 million persons are employed in the Armed Forces. Employment, a Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1961), p. 19.

27. Congressman Ramspeck of Georgia fathered this bill. 54 Stat. 1211 (1940), 5 U. S. C. sec. 631(a) (1958).

28. Testimony of Perry C. Parks, Jr., Vice President, 10th District, National Alliance of Postal Employees, Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra., p. 381

29. Id. at p. 373.

30. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 38.

31. On March 6, 1961, shortly after inauguration, the President issued Executive Order No. 10925 establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with jurisdiction "to promote and insure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on Government contracts. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

32. The First Nine Months, Report of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (1962), p. 1.

33. Ibid.

34. This is true, at least, within the Department of Labor. Id. at p. 25.

35. Id. at p. 16.

36. Id. at pp. 27, 31.

37. Id. at p. 29. There is no indication that the Departments of Army, Navy or Air Force have followed suit at their respective academies.

38. Id. at p. 32.

39. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 177-178.

40. Secretary Goldberg announced that the Department of Labor hired its first Negro employee south of the Potomac River: a Wage and Hour Investigator working in Miami. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 25.

41. 58 Stat. 389 (1944), 5 U. S. C. sec. 857 (1958).

42. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 391.

43. See note 22, supra.

44. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 161.

45. Id. at p. 55.

46. Executive Order No. 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109 (1941).

47. 58 Stat. 387 (1944), 31 U. S. C. sec. 696 (1958).

48. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 12.

49. Id. at p. 56.

50. Id. at p. 65.

51. Id. at p. 59.

52. Apr. 28, 1961, p. 1, col. 1.

53. 26 Fed. Reg. 1977 (1961).

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Equal Protection of The Laws in Employment by Federal Contractors, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 23, 1961.

57. Id. at p. 8.

58. Only three firms reported difficulty arising from the refusal of their white employees to accept Negroes as fellow workers. Only three others indicated that their relationships with labor unions had an adverse effect on the utilization of Negro manpower.

59. Id. at pp. 25-26.

60. There is legislative history to support the conclusion that the Taft-Hartley Act intended to permit Negro exclusion from union membership, with the caveat that unions which take this course cannot then require their dismissal from employment pursuant to a "union security" agreement which requires all employees to join the union within 30 days of employment. See sec. 8(a)(3) of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 1947.

The Courts, to date, have accepted this construction of the statute. See e.g., Oliphant v. Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, 262F. 2d359 (6th Cir., 1958), cert. den. 359 U. S. 935 (1958).

61. Statement of Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, before the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Jan. 15, 1962.

62. This doctrine was announced in Steele v. Louisville & N. R. R. Co., 323 U. S. 192, 204 (1944) and given further amplification in Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768 (1952); Conley v. Gibson, 355 U. S. 41 (1957); and Syres v. Oil Workers, 350 U. S. 892 (1956).

63. Statement of George Meany, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 11.

64. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., p. 62.

65. Brown v. Board of Education, 359 U. S. 294 (1954).

66. Pioneer Bus Company, Inc., 140 NLRB No. 18 (1963).

67. Equal Employment Opportunities, note 4 supra, p. 156.

68. See text at note 55, supra.

69. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 161-162.

70. Id. at p. 55.

71. Id. at pp. 84-88.

72. Id. at p. 92.

73. 48 Stat. 22. No longer in existence.

74. 58 Stat. 1148 (1939), 18 U. S. C. sec. 601 (1948).

75. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 8.

76. Id. at p. 78.

77. 26 Fed. Reg. 3144 (1961).

78. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 86.

79. Id. at p. 87.

80. Both the Hill-Burton hospital construction program, and the impact-school construction program, contain "nonintervention" provisions, i.e. no Federal official shall exercise "...any direction, supervision, or control over the personnel, curriculum, or program of instruction of any school or school system of any local or state educational agency," but these prohibitions against intervention in "operation" seem to have no bearing on control over the composition of the work force used in construction. Id. at pp. 58-59.

81. In a related context, the Supreme Court announced almost 100 years ago that "It is not doubted that the grant by the United States to the state upon conditions, and the acceptance of the grant by the State, constituted a contract." McGee v. Mathis, 71 U. S. 143, 155 (1866).

82. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 162.

83. 29 U. S. C. sec. 49 (1958).

84. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 115.

85. Operation of the North Carolina Employment Security Commission, Report of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Dec. 27, 1960.

86. Employment, note 26, supra., p. 117.

87. Id. at pp. 118-119.

88. The First Nine Months, note 32 supra., pp. 57-58.

89. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.1(b) (1961).

90. Employment, note 26 supra., pp. 163-164.

91. Time, Mar. 10, 1961, p. 90.

92. Statement of A. Philip Randolph, Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10, supra., p. 123.

93. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1, quoting Herbert Hill, the NAACP's Labor Secretary.

94. Statement of Herbert Hill, Equal Opportunity in

Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 89-91.

95. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 130.

96. The Unfinished Revolution, note 8 supra., p. 21.

97. See text at note 10, supra.

98. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., pp. 139 ff.

99. Id. at p. 4.

100. Id. at p. 127.

101. Statement of Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman, Id. at p. 28.

102. Ibid.

103. Id. at p. 43.

104. Id. at p. 158.

105. Id. at p. 113.

106. James v. Marinship Corp., 25 Cal. 2d 731, 155 P. 2d 329 (1944).

107. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Co., 323 U. S. 192.

108. Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen v. Howard, 343 U. S. 768, 774 (1952).

109. See Sovern, The National Labor Relations Act and Racial Discrimination, 62 Col. 1. Rev. 563, 584-587 (1962).

110. New York Times, Oct. 17, 1962, p. 22, col. 1.

111. Sec. 4112.02 of the Ohio Revised Code (1959). Section 1777.6 of the Labor Code of California makes it unlawful "for an employer or a labor union to refuse to accept otherwise qualified employees as indentured apprentices on any public works, solely on the ground of the race, creed, or color of such employee."

112. Employment, note 26 supra. at p. 164.

113. Id. at p. 109.

114. Statement of Horace L. Sheffield, Vice President,

Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit, Michigan. Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4 supra., p. 218.

115. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 107.

116. See text following fn. 15, supra.

117. Statement of Francis A. Gregory, Assistant Superintendent of Education, Washington, D. C. Equal Opportunity in Apprenticeship Programs, note 10 supra., p. 111.

118. Integration in Public Education Programs, Report of the Subcommittee on Integration in Federally Assisted Public Education Programs of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 87th Cong., 2d Sess. (1962), p. 92.

119. 20 U. S. C. sec. 11 (1958).

120. Integration in Public Education Programs, note 118 supra., p. 94.

121. Ibid.

122. Statement of Clarence A. Laws, Southwest Regional Secretary of the NAACP before the Special Subcommittee on Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1962.

123. Employment, note 26 supra., p. 97.

124. Operation of Industrial Education Centers of North Carolina, Report of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, May 3, 1962, p. 7.

125. Id. at p. 4.

126. Id. at p. 6.

127. Employment, note 26 supra, pp. 162-163.

128. The various laws, taken from the testimony of AFL-CIO President George Meany, are set forth in the appendix.

129. See, e.g., Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm. v. Continental Air Lines, __Colo.__, cert. granted, __U. S. __, 31 Law Week 3116 (1962).

130. Statement of Edward Howden, Executive Officer and Chief, California FEPC, Equal Employment Opportunity, note 4, supra., p. 302.

131. Statement before the Special Labor Subcommittee

of the House Committee on Education and Labor on Equality of Employment Opportunity, Jan. 15, 1962.

APPENDIX

STATE FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE LAWS

Key: (Kind of Discrimination Outlawed)

RA = race AN = ancestry
RE = religious creed
CO = color NO = national origin

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Alaska	Alaska Comp. Laws Ann., sec. 43-5-1 (Supp. 1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 1 or more; labor organizations, employ. agencies	Non-profit enterprises Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Commissioner of Labor
California	Cal.Lab.Code sec. 1412	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 5 or more; Labor Organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit, social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations. Persons employed by family Domestic servants Agricultural workers residing on farms where employed	By the Courts	Division of Fair Employment Practices
Colorado	Colo. Rev. Stat. Ann., sec. 80-24-1 (1953)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 6 or more Labor Organizations Employment Agencies The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants Educational Institutions and school districts	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued) (2)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Connecticut	Conn. Gen. Stat. Rev., Sec. 31-122 (1958)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All enterprises, including charitable and non-profit, employing 5 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies The State and its political subdivisions	None	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Commission on Civil Rights
Delaware	Laws of Delaware ch. 337, Vol.52, 1960	RA, RE, CO NO, AGE	All employers Employment agencies Labor organizations	(By Commission ruling) religious, fraternal, sectarian or charitable association, corporation or society, in re occupational qualifications as to race and creed	By courts: fine and imprisonment	Division Against Discrimination Labor Commission
District of Columbia	Commissioners' policy orders: Nov. 25, 1953 April 9, 1958 Amended: May 9, 1961	RA, RE, CO, NO	District of Columbia government employment Employers holding D.C. contracts On complaint, may investigate discrimination by private employers		Contract Cancellation in case of contractors	D. C. Commissioners' Council on Human Relations

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Idaho	Idaho Sess. Laws (1961) Ch. 309	RA, RE, CO, NO (including AN)	"Every person"	Not specified	Misdemeanor No enforcement machinery	No agency
Illinois	S.B. 609 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	1961-64: Employers of 100 or more 1965 on: Employers of 50 or more Labor organizations Employment agencies	Not specified	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Fair Employment Practices Commission
Indiana	Indiana Ann. Stat., sec. 40-2307 (1956)	RA, RE, CO,	All enterprises conducted for profit, employing 6 or more; Labor organizations, Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises Persons employed by family Domestic servants Employers of less than 6	Agency has subpoena power but no other enforcement power	Division of Labor
Kansas	Kan. Gen. Stat., Ann., sec. 44-1001 (supp. 1959) Amended, April 14, 1961 Effective July 1, 1961	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; All departments of state, county & municipal governments; Persons acting as employers; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Non-profit, religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian associations or corporations	Cease and desist orders enforceable by courts	Anti-Discrimination Commission

APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DIS-CRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSICN FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Kentucky	Laws of 1960, ch.76 (Also, July, 1961)	RA, Ethnic Group or members	"Any discrimination" State employment		None	Commission on Human Rights
Massachu-setts	Mass. Ann. Laws, ch. 151B, sec. 1-10 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more in all enterprises con-ducted for profit: Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family: Domestic servants	By the courts	Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimina-tion
Michigan	Mich. Stat. Ann., sec. 17.458 (1) (1960)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor Organizations; The State and its political subdivisions; Contractors and sub-contractors with the State or its political subdivisions.	Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission
Minnesota	Minn. Laws 1961, Ch. 428	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 8 or more; Employment agencies; Labor organizations; The State and its political subdivisions	Persons employed by family Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Minn. Fair Employment Practices Commission

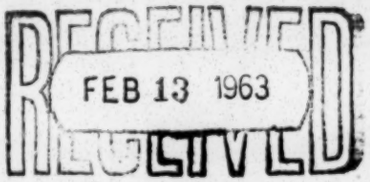
APPENDIX (continued)

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Missouri	S.B. 257 (1961)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 50 or more; Employers holding state contracts: State agencies, Labor Unions, Employment agencies	Corporations & associations owned and operated by religious or sectarian groups	Commission orders, enforceable in the courts	Commission on Human Rights
New Jersey	N.J. Stat. Ann. sec. 18: 25-4 (supp. 1960)	RA, RE, CO, NA, Liability for military service	Employers in all enterprises employing 6 or more. The State and its political subdivisions Labor organizations Employment agencies	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Division Against Discrimination, N.J. Department of Education
New Mexico	N.M. Stat. Ann., sec. 59-4-1 (supp. 1961)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious corporations or associations; Non-profit social or fraternal clubs; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	None	Fair Employment Practice Commission
New York	N.Y. Executive Law, sec. 290	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers in all enterprises conducted for profit and employing 6 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies; Licensing agencies with respect to age qualifications.	Non-profit enterprises; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
Ohio	Ohio Rev. Code Ann., Sec. 4112.01 (Page supp. 1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 4 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Religious, educational & charitable organizations; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Ohio Civil Rights Commission
Oregon	Ore. Rev. Stat., sec. 659.010 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, NO, AGE	Employers of 6 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social, fraternal, charitable, educational or religious associations or corporations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Civil Rights Division Oregon Bureau of Labor
Pennsylvania	Penna Human Relations Act, Pa. Laws	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	Employers of 12 or more; The state and its political subdivisions; Employment agencies; Labor organizations	Religious, fraternal, charitable or sectarian corporations or associations unless supported in whole or in part by public appropriation	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Pa. Fair Employment Practice Commission
Rhode Island	R.I. Gen. Laws, Ann., sec. 28-5-1 (1956)	RA, RE, CO, NO	Employers of 4 or more; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious, charitable, fraternal, social, educational, sectarian	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	R.I. Commission Against Discrimination
Washington	Wash. Rev. Code, sec. 49.60.030 (1959)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO	Employers of 8 or more; The State and its political subdivisions; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit religious or sectarian organizations; Persons employed by family; Domestic servants	Cease and desist orders enforceable by the courts	Washington State Board Against Discrimination

STATE	STATUTE	KIND OF DISCRIMINATION OUTLAWED	COVERAGE	EXCLUSION FROM COVERAGE	ENFORCEMENT	AGENCY
WISCONSIN	Wis. Stat. Ann. sec. 111.31 (1957)	RA, RE, CO, AN, NO, AGE	All employers; Labor organizations; Employment agencies	Non-profit social clubs, fraternal or religious associations. Persons employed by family	Cease and desist order enforceable by the courts	Wisconsin Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN



February 11, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Should you ever stop traveling sufficiently to sit behind your Atlanta desk for a day or so, I would be interested in knowing what did happen to our scheme to have Father Hesburgh carry our message to the President.

It was good seeing you, as always.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

P. S. Tom Broden thought that the report could be included in the Spring issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer if we could get clean manuscript to him by the end of March or early April. He has promised me to check this out, and I hope that the deadline he gives us is one that can be lived with. The alternative would be to hold over publication until late summer.

file

February 11, 1963

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

We have just concluded a three-day conference at the Notre Dame Law School on problems of Congressional legislation in the fields of education, employment and voting discrimination. In due course, a full report of the Conference will be issued.

Meanwhile, since there appears to be a likelihood your Administration shortly will submit proposals for new voting legislation, my colleagues at the Conference have requested me, as host, to transmit to you now the enclosed memorandum addressed to that problem.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw
Encls.

COPY

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 18, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

A copy of the letter just going out to Tom Broden is enclosed. I hope I have said in it what had to be said to cut off his fancy notions about separate publication of my background paper.

At the end of the week, or certainly by early next week, I will be back in touch to bring you up to date on my Washington trip this week. Meanwhile, stay healthy and I will be in touch.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb
Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 18, 1963

Professor Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Tom:

Several loose ends remain from the Notre Dame meeting that I would like to touch on now.

First, I would very much appreciate getting the name and address of the particular person at the Reynolds Foundation who was responsible for the grant to Notre Dame assisting the conference. I would like simply to drop a thank you letter to him, as it is nice to make people like this believe they are appreciated in this troubled world.

This afternoon I spoke to Leslie Dunbar on something else and in the course of our conversation the question of possibly publishing some or all of the background paper which I had done for the education materials at Notre Dame came up. My present reaction is that it would be better to have Leslie pirate big parts of that paper for the conference report itself rather than to have it appear separately and in parallel with the conference report. Several reasons occur to me as justifying this decision. For one thing, any publication of the background papers separate from the report would call for major revision of the background paper itself to avoid duplication of material that ought to appear in the conference report. In all frankness, I simply don't have time to do that kind of editing job on the paper and have it completed by the April 15th deadline. Certainly this would be difficult since the editing could not really be undertaken until the conference report itself had been completed. A second concern I have about the publication of the background paper also grows out of considerations of time. Were it to be included in the same time schedule, it should be up-dated to embrace the budgetary figures for the most recent fiscal year. These figures have been made public in the weeks since the report was originally prepared. On this score, too, I plead the defense of no time.

My hope is that the conference report itself will be sufficiently comprehensive that a large part of the material from the background paper will find its way into the report. If this is done, the major objectives which I had in pulling the material together will have been met and I see no need of anything appearing under my name in print. I don't value the idea of seeing my name in print enough to attach much importance to it on that score

I have told Leslie all of this and urged him to feel free to pirate as much of the material from the background paper as he feels appropriate for the final report. He indicated that he intended to write you saying that he would make the effort necessary to finish the report within the deadline which you have set, and I feel confident that he will keep his word.

Thanks again for all you have done. I look forward to hearing from you before long.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

WB

cc: Harold C. Fleming
G. W. Foster
Dean Joseph O'Meara

February 21, 1963

Mr. Burke Marshall
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Harold Fleming and Bill Foster called me yesterday and suggested, I believe as a result of conversations they had had with you, that I send you some notes on the thinking of the Notre Dame conference regarding schools legislation.

A full report of the conference will be issued some weeks hence. Anything that I report to you now is, I am sure you will understand, a somewhat disembodied and unorganized statement, and also one which will have to depend exclusively on my notes. The outline of ideas which follows, may, however, be of help to you and others of the Administration at this time, and if you should want further enlargement upon it, please let me or others who were in attendance know.

It is tedious to do so, but I probably should here make clear that I am writing solely as an invitee, participant, and reporter of the conference, and not as an official of the Southern Regional Council.

The most general conclusion which the conference reached, regarding both the need and the aim of schools

legislation, was that Congress should define an affirmative duty to desegregate and an affirmative duty on the part of the Attorney General to bring suits when, in his judgment, required to enforce the right of attendance in a desegregated school system.

At the risk of over-simplification, three definitions, or aspects, of desegregation may be distinguished:

(a) the individual right of a child to be assigned to school without regard to the child's race;

(b) the individual right of a child to be enrolled in a school system which is not organized on racial principles, either in assignment of children, appointment and assignment of teachers, or in administration;

(c) the individual right of a child to attend an integrated school.

The courts have not yet clearly gone beyond "a." Legislation, however, should not be thought of as limited to the implementing of Brown v. Topeka, but should rather be framed in Congressional recognition that the Supreme Court defines only minimal rights and that the obligation of Congress toward the elimination of inequality is not limited by minimum considerations. There are, moreover, practical reasons for believing that "a" is not a stable definition of desegregation. On the other hand, "c" is a definition of murky import, which is only now begging acknowledgment in the courts. To put the matter differently, "b" may or may not be required by Brown v. Topeka, but is certainly within its ambit; "c", which looks toward "color consciousness" and not toward "color blindness", presents different and unresolved issues. The consensus of the conference was that, at least at this time, legislation should not attempt to reach the right claimed in "c".

In the numbered paragraphs which follow, paragraph #6 is written on the premise of definition "b". In the other paragraphs, although emphasis is the initial start toward desegregation, legislation should be drafted and administrative practices framed in such a way as to indicate that the desegregation sought is that which "b" defines.

The frame of reference for the conference's discussion was the Clark-Celler Bill. This served as a means of organizing both the discussion and thought, though it meant also that much of the thinking was limited to reaction to provisions of that bill. I believe that without making further reference to those provisions, you will be able to relate what is said below to them.

A principal, perhaps the principal, problem addressing itself to legislation was seen to be the existence of some 2,000 school districts, with bi-racial populations, in the South which have made no start toward desegregation. This is a matter which can be dealt with effectively and expeditiously only with the aid of legislation. The conference reached a consensus that what was needed was an enactment which would:

(1) Establish an affirmative duty to desegregate now. In effect, Congress should declare that, as of the time of enactment, "all deliberate speed" requires an immediate beginning. No target date should be specified in the law. Instead, there should be what amount to an implied Congressional endorsement of Brown v. Topeka and a Congressional declaration of the affirmative duty as asserted in Aaron v. Cooper.

(2) Make clear, therefore, that time is no longer a defense in a case seeking the desegregation of schools where no start has been made.

(3) Authorize (not direct) the Attorney General to bring suits to initiate desegregation and

to intervene in support of suits brought by private plaintiffs seeking initial desegregation. Although this should be in the form of an authorization, it should be accompanied by "whereas" clauses or other suitable language which would affirm the duty of the United States and, specifically, the Attorney General to establish the Constitutional rights involved. It was clearly recognized that the Department would require enlarged legal staff. As the first sentence of this paragraph suggests, the conference was, however, both unanimous and very firm in believing that authorization to the Attorney General and the means given to him for fulfilling it should not in any way diminish or interfere with the privilege of private plaintiffs to bring their own suits in advance of, or accompanying, or even in partial rivalry with, as to relief sought, suits brought by the United States.

(4) To facilitate the process every school district* where, at the time of enactment, there are both Negro and white children, and where there are no Negro and white school children in classes with each other, have imposed on it by statute a positive duty to prepare a plan to desegregate its school system. This plan should be, after its adoption, a matter of public record. There should be no requirement that it be filed with any federal office. Filing would be unnecessary unless there was some review by the federal office of the plan; such review could be dangerous insofar as it might create a presumption of approval of issues that are litigable. Had Congress moved into the field of school desegregation in 1954 or 1955, we would now have a different situation. The fact is, however, that the law of school desegregation has to date been constructed through judicial decisions, and it is too late for administrative guidance in

*School districts change frequently. Legislation which uses them as the unit of compliance must be carefully drafted.

the formulation of desegregation plans. The function of the Executive at this time should be defined by Congress as that of enforcing and of facilitating a process, not of shaping it. The plan should be a matter of public record and the non-existence of one a cause for appropriate proceedings, initiated either by the Attorney General or by counsel for private plaintiffs. The conference decided not to recommend a specific time period allowed to a school district for preparation of a plan, after enactment of the law, but there was a clear belief that the 180 days allowed by the Clark-Celler Bill was far too long.

(5) Give aid to those school districts undertaking initial desegregation by making available to them, through some federal office (and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would seem the logical one), information regarding the desegregation experiences of other localities. This service could be given only at request; however, it would make good sense to require HEW to do this as soon after enactment as it could ascertain which districts are subject to the law and could compile the information. In this particular, moreover, there would be no strong reason to confine the information service to districts making initial starts, and the statute might well provide that HEW be a clearinghouse for the accumulation and the supply of information about desegregation and integration developments, North and South. Here, again, caution should be taken that the HEW exercise its role in such a way as not to imply the approval of the United States for any particular methods of desegregation or integration used anywhere at the local level.

(6) Authorize an appropriation to a federal office (and again HEW would seem the logical one), in order to receive applications from school districts, in which the process of desegregation has begun, for project grants described by the applicant and intended to further the process of desegregation. I believe the consensus was that such grants be restricted to districts where, prior to 1954, there were no Negro and white children in classes with each other, though this is a point on which I shall need to get some clarification from my colleagues. In passing on the applications, HEW would have to make a finding that a project would, in fact, further the process of desegregation, although certain other educational criteria could be applied. The determination should be made, however, and the grant given, in relation to the "process" of desegregation, and not in relationship to the locality's "plan". (The distinction may, of course, not be easy to enunciate or observe.) These grants should be recognized as having to do with desegregation; in other words, should not be available for the needs of northern schools which, by such devices, as bussing, etc., are attempting affirmative efforts at integration. The conference concluded, after lengthy discussion, that there is an urgent need for federal assistance in helping schools, nation-wide, to overcome the handicaps of disadvantaged children, but that this problem, which is itself of gigantic proportions, ought to be addressed directly by the President and Congress, and should not be brought into a statute whose primary, and indeed exclusive, aim is the establishment of a Constitutional right which is no longer controvertible.

(7) Not legislate any withholding of federal funds. There were varieties of opinions on this question, rather than clear-cut division. I shall want to clarify, through

correspondence with the conferees, my understanding of the consensus reached, but I think it was that until the Hill-Burton cases are decided, any legislation would be premature and inexpedient. There was also a widespread belief that this was a matter susceptible to executive action and best left to executive policy making.

(8) Not legislate to the end of expediting cases (I undoubtedly should not use my role of reporter for injecting here a personal comment, but as a non-lawyer my opinions on this subject are weightless, and so I can safely note that I was disappointed in the conference at this point. Bill Foster had elaborated some suggestions along this line in his background memorandum, which seemed to me to be sensible.)

I believe I should conclude with a general remark which was a basic part of the consensus reached:

There is an imperative need for bringing Congress into explicit support of racial equality. Unless and until this is done, the national decision in behalf of equality is clouded and imperfect. Voting legislation has not achieved this end, because it creates and punishes crimes and because it falls short of a Congressional affirmation of equality, in that it reaches, or has in the past reached, only the matter of discriminatory application of laws. For reasons which are now a part of history, the Congressional entrance should be on the schools question. The conference believed that, as a matter of national urgency, schools has superiority, which considerations of legislative or political expediency, understandable or even commendable as they are in other circumstances and years, should not over ride.

I hope this may be of some use to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

SBV
PAV
MJ-file

February 22, 1963

RECEIVED
FEB 25 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

There have been some developments since our meeting at Notre Dame which I think may interest you. On Wednesday, February 20, Harold Fleming, John Silard, Bill Taylor and I had a long meeting with Burke Marshall in the Justice Department. The Administration, as we then understood it, had before it a number of proposals for possible introduction in the Congress. It did not then appear that any firm decision had been made concerning the scope of any Administration bill, but there is some reason to hope that there will be included at least some recommendations respecting education.

We learned also on the 20th that Senator Paul Douglas had put in the Congressional Record a copy of the preliminary report prepared by Leslie Dunbar and John Silard. Since it had not been my impression that we had intended at Notre Dame any more than a private circulation of the preliminary draft, I felt it desirable to write Senator Douglas explaining the context out of which the preliminary report had come and requesting that he also insert my letter in the Record to clarify things a bit. You will find enclosed copies both of the preliminary report and my letter to the senator. I hope that the effort I have made in writing the letter will satisfy you as a reflection of the position taken generally by the Conference on the voting question.

After our meeting in Justice, we asked Leslie Dunbar to send Burke Marshall immediately a summary of the education recommendations the Conference had made. Burke seemed much interested in these and, hopefully, we may be able to influence somewhat the decision the Administration is likely to make in the next several weeks. Burke has also promised to let us know as promptly as possible the nature of the Administration's recommendations, and these will be sent you as quickly as they are in hand. It seems to me useful to do these things, since all of us will want to read Leslie Dunbar's report of the Conference in light of subsequent developments.

Do let me know if you have any further thoughts on the matter, for I have felt some hesitation in taking the actions just described without first clearing with all of you. My reason for it, however, was that it seemed essential to act promptly in the manner in which I did.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosures

P.S. As you gathered reading this, you got the form letter (referring to you) which went out to everyone else. Don't turn against me!

B.

February 20, 1963

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
United States Senate
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Douglas:

I have just learned that you placed in today's Congressional Record the preliminary draft report on "Voting Rights" from the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, held February 8-10, 1963.

Lest there be misunderstanding, I think it important that the context in which the report came out of the Conference be fully understood. Several points are of significance.

The Conference addressed its attention to civil rights problems in the fields of education, employment and voting. As to these three, it was a strongly held consensus of the Conference that both education and employment more urgently need Congressional attention than does voting. It was also recognized that the major recent Congressional efforts have focused exclusively upon voting to the substantial detriment of attention and effort in other areas of civil rights. The opposition voiced, then, in the preliminary report was meant to apply to another legislative drive which would seriously concern itself only with voting problems.

The Conference felt there should be a broader focus of attention upon civil rights, specifically facing up to problems in education and employment. If, in that larger context, some improvements in voting machinery were included, I do not believe the conferees intended to commit themselves against such changes where it can be demonstrated that experience justifies them.

It was, however, the consensus that existing machinery for enforcement of voting rights stands in less need of attention than do other areas of civil rights. Existing legislation and maturing experience under it in the courts are, in the Conference view, generally sufficient to do the job, provided that the full resources of the Executive Branch are energetically used and that Congress sees to it that sufficient staff is provided the Department of Justice.

The final report of the Conference will not be ready for publication until mid-April. Since the preliminary

report on voting rights has been made public through the Congressional Record, I would appreciate having you insert this letter in the Congressional Record also for purposes of clarifying the context out of which it came.

Sincerely,

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Co-Chairman
Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights

Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

A Preliminary Report on Voting Rights from the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, February 8-10, 1963.

The conference considered needs for new or improved Congressional legislation to strengthen education, employment, and voting rights and opportunities. A full report of the conference's conclusions with recommendations for new legislation in the fields of education and employment will be issued later. This preliminary report sets forth the consensus reached regarding the need for additional voting legislation, because the conferees understood that this was a matter of current legislative interest.

The conclusion of the conference was that discrimination against voting rights is an abuse which can be amply and sufficiently corrected by the authority and powers now possessed by the Executive Department and by the Federal courts. Further legislation at this time would be, therefore, unnecessary and the inevitable legislative struggle to enact it could well hinder the prompt and thorough enforcement of present law.

Participants in the conference were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina.

Recent examples conclusively demonstrate that a number of southern communities do not yet intend to permit free Negro registration. The obstructions used are many. They include acts of private violence, such as church burnings in two counties of southwest Georgia, and several shocking cases of violence against persons or personal property, in the same area of Georgia and in Amite and Sunflower counties of Mississippi. There have been, as well, instances where officials have violently treated registration workers, as recognized in the Federal action brought, unsuccessfully, against a police official of Terrell County (Ga.). Retaliatory arrests have been common against registration workers, on charges as frivolous and essentially contemptuous as loitering, when in a moving automobile. In counties of the Mississippi Delta, water service and tax exemption of Negro churches used for registration meetings have been discontinued, and distribution of Federal surplus food commodities cut off. There is harassment and intimidation by private persons as well. Negroes asserting their constitutional rights have frequently been discharged from jobs or had their local credit suspended.

These tactics describe a system whereby, standing between the Negro and his constitutional right, there is massive intimidation calculated to induce acute personal insecurity. To the Negro of one of these counties, ~~natural~~ material authority and power must, even now in 1963, seem far less real than that of his hostile community.

In most of such areas, and particularly in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi there is the added factor of literacy requirements administered unfairly and with deliberate intent to disqualify all or almost all Negroes applying. Cases under the laws of 1957 and 1960 have demonstrated that this problem can be reached by Federal courts. The abuse continues, however, and in Mississippi is aggravated

by a statutory requirement of publication of names of applicants for registration, thus advertising every Negro seeking to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship. Louisiana has revised its literacy tests to make them more resistant to Negro success. The suit filed some months ago by the Department of Justice against the State of Mississippi, but not yet brought to trial, may strike at the roots of the literacy test problem; it almost certainly, however, will be long in the courts.

Voting discrimination is a national disaster, and its demise a necessity for national self-respect. The problem must, therefore, be seen clearly and candidly. As of now, voting discrimination occurs, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant defiance of constitutional and statutory rights. Systematic enforcement of present law can provide full relief.

The objective should be that, by the next Federal election, voting discrimination will be everywhere eradicated. Remembering that flagrant discrimination occurs in only a fraction of southern locales, achievement of the objective through the forthright use of executive and judicial authority is not unrealistic.

Throughout southern states today, an unprecedented and determined effort is being made by Negroes to broaden the electorate. In many parts of the South this is altogether a matter of self-help. But in the areas of discrimination, Negro efforts to register are met by determined resistance from both official and private sources, and Federal help is absolutely required.

Given the fact of this uniquely intensive Negro effort, there can be clearly foreseen a multiplication of incidents requiring Federal attention. The Federal executive should enforce strictly the Federal right to register and vote, as these rights are claimed and asserted by large numbers who never before have done so, in communities which never before have tolerated them.

The Federal executive has ample authority to secure voter registration from all manner of obstructions. Lawlessness may be contained and disarmed, if a clear Federal presence is provided at the first sign of obstruction or retaliation. To this end, Federal marshalls can forthwith be dispatched to the scene. Federal attorneys can move without delay to secure protective orders from the courts. To contain the spread of unlawful obstruction, the protective authority of Federal courts and law enforcement officials must be clear and present, so as to denote the certainty of the Federal commitment.

Nor can the Federal protection be limited to guarantee of physical security for persons and possessions. Where authorities employ economic threats or sanctions, or conspire with private parties to this purpose, the executive can move swiftly and surely. Where necessary, protective injunctions can reach the entire local officialdom. Economic retaliation can be redressed by Federal supports for the victims. And Federal privileges cannot be continued for Constitution violators. They must be reminded that the executive authority reaches far and it reaches deep, when fundamental rights are in jeopardy.

A principal means for achieving nationwide enfranchisement inheres in the authority of Federal courts. The Department of Justice has recently filed

numerous suits where registration officials continue to bar qualified Negro voters. In these cases the courts have ample power.

But a long road lies between the filing of a suit and the actual enfranchisement. In the brief months until the 1964 elections, numerous pending suits must be tried and resolved. Decrees must be entered and fair registration provided in time to allow thousands of previously disfranchised voters the right of the ballot. Present efforts will not achieve this goal. Also, there has to be candid recognition that some district judges have not been interested in the expeditious settlement of civil rights cases. The Department of Justice must more urgently seek to bring its cases to trial, even over the reluctance of busy or unenthusiastic Federal judges. Decrees can be sought which will provide more meaningful relief to all previously denied their constitutional rights. Where literacy tests have been instruments of abuse, their continued use can be enjoined. Registration powers can be taken from the hands of officials who have flouted the Federal Constitution. The government must seek not merely to unlock the doors of the voting booth for Negro citizens, but to open the doors as clearly as they were previously closed to Negro applicants.

Finally, the time has come for Federal recognition of power and obligation to assist by affirmative support the enfranchisement of Negro citizens. By encouraging the registration of populations previously barred from the ballot, the Government could to some extent redress past injustices. By posters in Federal buildings and on Federal mail trucks, the President can communicate the message of liberty. Thus can we replace the ingrained image of official discrimination, to announce that government has opened the polls for our minority citizens.

The means of defiance are varied and potent, but the combined power of Federal courts and executive is greater by far. In these circumstances, another effort at Congressional voting rights legislation appears misguided. No new law is now required, while two recent enactments and the reservoir of executive authority are yet to be wholly tested. Another legislative debate could only serve to obscure the magnitude of available authority to achieve the necessary objective.

February 25, 1963

Mr. Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Professor of Law
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Tom:

I may die in the attempt, but I will meet the April 15 deadline.

Bill Foster has already reported to you some of my thinking about publishing the background papers, but not all. My opinion could be summarized under three points:

(1) Bill Foster's paper is publishable;

(2) Whether it is published or not is something you and he can work out;

(3) The other background papers are not publishable without considerable revision and strengthening.

It was good being with you. The conference was as enjoyable and constructive as any I have ever attended.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

RECEIVED
FEB 12 1963

February 11, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

The Law Review men indicated a deadline of April 15 for reception of the report manuscript for publication in the issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer that will come out in June. How does this strike you?

I raised with the Law Review men the possibility of publishing Bill Foster's and Dan Pollitt's background papers. They look favorably upon this and throughout the subject that those two background papers and the report might be published in the same issue as a kind of package. I indicated that this would depend to a certain extent on how much of these two background papers is picked up in the report.

If it would help you in preparing the report to know whether the Foster and Pollitt papers are to be published with it, I would be glad to expedite decision of the Law Review men so that you could tailor it accordingly. In any event, I would appreciate your reaction to the publication of the two background papers in the same issue with the report.

I thought the conference a smashing success whether or not governmental action ensues.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Professor of Law

TFB:es

February 25, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Before now I should have written to say again how greatly I enjoyed and benefited from the conference. Bill Foster and I in particular have to thank you for your guidance and the support you gave us from the time we came to call on you last summer.

With every best wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 25, 1963

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have looked and looked, but cannot find the slightest trace of the copy you said you would send of the education recommendations you forwarded to Burke. I would like very much to see them, and if another copy is handy I would very much like to have it.

Another copy mailed 2/27/1963

Things are here much the same, and I can't hear any better than I could in Washington, but after all, little that we hear pleases us very much anyway. Maybe I am better off than you are.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Les, I'm positive this was sent along w/copies to NCC & Mean O'Neill. I'll make a picture copy for him

bc: Mr. Harry Jones, NCCHR

February 26, 1963

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
President
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Father Hesburgh:

I am told that you have received, or will be receiving shortly, an invitation to speak in Charlotte at a dinner honoring Mr. McNeill Smith. I think you probably know Mack as the man who did such an extraordinary job as chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee. The dinner is being sponsored by the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, an affiliate of ours.

You must have more invitations to speak than you can possibly get around to. These people, however, have a good man to celebrate, and if you feel that now is the time for you to re-visit the South, this would be a fine occasion.

It was a pleasure to talk with you during the Notre Dame conference on civil rights. I don't believe I have ever been to a meeting which was as instructive.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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LAURINBURG

ROBERT A. MASSEY
FAYETTEVILLE

HOWARD G. MILLER
RALEIGH

WILLIAM S. PAGE
KINSTON

RUFUS P. PERRY
CHARLOTTE

EMERY L. RANN
CHARLOTTE

THOMAS R. THRASHER
CHAPEL HILL

VERNON C. TYSON
SANFORD

JOHN H. WHEELER
DURHAM

February 25, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Dr. T. Franklin Williams, our state chairman, talked with Berl Barnhard and he was enthusiastic about the proposed dinner honoring McNeill Smith. He said he would help us get a speaker, either a member of the Commission, or some other top-notch person.

We are writing first to Father Hesburgh--both Dr. Williams and Mr. Barnhard will write--and we will appreciate it if you will write Father Hesburg and support our invitation. We want to stage the dinner the first week in April but could do it later if we have to.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Harry

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/b

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 26, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The copy of the February 21 letter to Burke Marshall finally arrived today. The delay was occasioned by the fact that it was addressed to me generally at the University rather than specifically to the Law School.

I have read it hurriedly and think you have done a first-rate job. I may, later in the week, drop Burke a line to amplify a couple of minor points, though I am not even sure this is necessary. Should I do this, however, I will be sure to send you a copy.

Again, it was a swell job. Thanks.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

February 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thanks for your thoughts on publishing the background papers. Bill Foster doubts that he will be able to do any additional work on his paper if such were necessary for its publication. I think we will have to suspend consideration of Foster's and Dan Pollitt's background papers until it is clear how much of them you incorporate in the report.

Sincerely,

Tom

Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Professor of Law

TFB:es

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 6

LAW SCHOOL

March 7, 1963

File

Mr. Burke Marshall
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Burke:

Leslie Dunbar has just sent me copies of the letter you wrote to him February 26 and of his reply of March 5. I take my hat off to each of you for having turned out the reflective and responsible letters which you did.

Leslie open with the point that the area of disagreement between you and those at Notre Dame is not great and is largely one of emphasis rather than disagreement in kind. On this I am in hearty agreement. We have attempted, as you know, to live with a ground rule which sought to avoid tactical considerations of what Congress might accept. In substantial measure I think we stayed faithful to that assumption, although clearly there were ultimate pragmatic limitations which shaped the choices which we collectively made.

At the level of tactics, which for you is a critical consideration, it is important to account for Congressional reaction to particular proposals. Frankly, I concur with your judgment that the enforcement machinery we suggested cannot be enacted in the present session. Further, I think that you have in proposing the assistance bill selected the most palatable first step, and I agree with you that its adoption will be of much importance in itself. More than this, I think it likely that a piecemeal approach is more likely over the course of time to bring about substantial Congressional backing of the school desegregation effort. It will, I believe, be easier to return later for further Congressional support once the ice has been broken in any significant way.

You make the good point that we must be ever alert to assure maximum respect for law in the community and on this I am sure none of us are in disagreement. It was, I think, our collective judgment that we did not wish to minimize the difficulties inherent in defining rights which could not be promptly and fully secured. Our recommendation, first that boards had a present duty to announce plans of desegregation, and second that the Attorney General be given permissive authority to initiate enforcement

proceedings, was grounded on the assumption that the magnitude of the job was substantially greater than would be the total resources available to secure immediate compliance everywhere. Having recognized this, we assumed that any decision to enforce would call for the exercise of discretion and hard appraisal of the price paid and the advantage to be gained. There would be the question of making best use of available Justice Department resources. In some instances a community might be selected because much could be achieved with minimal commitment of effort. At the other extreme, extremely difficult situations could be entered--despite some risks in the outcome--simply because they presented obstacles so serious that they had to be attacked.

It, of course, followed from this that the uncomfortable explanation would have to be made that defiance of duty was being permitted to continue in some places simply because machinery for enforcement was not extensive enough to do everything at once. On the other hand, the discretionary power vested in the Justice Department could be invoked, I believe, rather promptly to negotiate or judicially compel desegregation of some hundreds of districts in Florida and in the middle and upper South in which relatively small Negro minority populations are found and in which local resistance is not likely to be serious. Too, discretion would enable action to be taken in some of the larger communities where the likelihood of schools closing for any extended time seemed improbable. This would, of course, still leave the more rural areas with larger concentrations of Negroes in the local population and there will in time, of course, be the need to single out some of these for judicial attack simply because this job, too, must be faced.

I suppose my central point is that for all the difficulties of partial enforcement, the strong arm of the Justice Department can play a useful and needed role. But to return to the assumption that Congress will not adopt enforcement machinery at this time, I accept the fact that we must wait for now before realistically pressing Congress for this authorization. And in the meanwhile, it will indeed be helpful to get the technical assistance support.

Again, I cheer your thoughtful reactions and I am grateful for a chance to see them.

Faithfully,

GWF:skb

G. W. Foster, Jr.

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1963

March 15, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Here is the preliminary draft memorandum for Burke and my covering letter which went with it. The only other copy than the ones sent you and Burke is going to Harold. After talking with Burke, I will revise this and circulate it more generally among the participants in the Notre Dame conference. It certainly isn't my intention to have this one show up in the Congressional Record in this form.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosures

MEMORANDUM

TO: Burke Marshall

FROM: Bill Foster

RE: Suggestions for Voter Registration Litigation

The purpose of this memorandum is to suggest some techniques which may smooth and speed the process of registering and enabling Negroes to vote in the outlaw communities of the Deep South. Most of the techniques have been employed in either voting or school desegregation situations in the past. Some have previously failed to achieve directly the objectives which were sought.

That a particular technique has failed in the past when attempted in isolation and without support of other techniques at the same time does not, it seems to me, finally determine that the technique is without value. What I am suggesting is that a massive use of many techniques at one time and in the same place seems more likely to succeed than does the use of limited means.

Violence, Harassment and Intimidation

The President's Civil Rights Message of February 28, 1963, makes the point that in more than 200 resistant counties there are fewer than 15 percent of voting-age Negroes registered to vote. It is in these hard-core areas that the problems of lawlessness, harassment, fear and Negro inertia are greatest. The process of bringing about change in these places typically commences with only a handful of people who themselves attempt to register or try to assist and encourage others to do so. The few who thus step forward become immediately visible and violence and other forms of harassment can be visited upon them so swiftly and efficiently (because so few are involved) that growth of the process can either be halted or greatly slowed down.

A major problem, then, appears to be one of creating a protected environment in which the process can rapidly grow to the point that resistance becomes ineffective and is therefore abandoned. Given existing local conditions, the creation of such a protection atmosphere seems to call for a major federal presence which temporarily substitutes for the machinery ordinarily afforded by the community for protecting the rights of its citizens.

Without intending to labor unduly matters wholly familiar to you, it may be useful to enumerate some of the areas in which substituted federal machinery is likely to be needed:

(1) Police Protection. At the elemental level of protection against physical violence and destruction of property, local police protection has been too often inadequate. Even on the assumption that local authorities sought to afford all the protection at their command, the resources would in many instances be insufficient. The scattered, rural character of the population imposes a major surveillance burden. Some individuals will probably need around-the-clock police protection. Detection of quickly formed mobs and prevention of burning or shooting up buildings will call for roadblocks and patrolling roads throughout the area. How much federal protection of this kind would be required in any given situation will require difficult decisions to be made at the time. At a minimum, however, several propositions appear clear. First, in advance of moving in on a particular situation, it should be made publicly clear that federal force will be mobilized swiftly and to the extent needed to provide ample protection; in other words, the worst possible conditions have to be assumed and preliminary plans arranged for dealing with these contingencies should they occur. Second, there is good reason to believe that a demonstrated show of force of this kind in several places should drive the point home elsewhere. The side effects of New Orleans and Oxford in the school cases demonstrate this dramatically. We have not had a comparable showdown on voting save in Fayette and Haywood counties, and in Tennessee, at least, the lesson seems to have been learned. Something of the same kind is apparently needed in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and possibly south Georgia. Once done in one or more of these states, the job thereafter should be easier.

(2) Abuse of Local Judicial and Police Powers. In many resistant areas the law enforcement machinery of the community has not been merely inadequate or indifferent to the protection of Negro rights but has been affirmatively employed to harass and resist. The Courts of Appeal in the past two years have stressed the right to preliminary preventive relief under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. This has been in a context which underlined the need for preventive relief to avoid having a case become moot or to prevent changes in circumstance which bar effective total relief. U.S. v. Beaty, 288 F.2d 653, 6 Race Rel. L. Rep. 203 (C.A. 6, 1961); U.S. v. Wood, 295 F.2d 772, 6 Race Rel. L. Rep. 1070 (C.A. 5, 1961), cert. denied 369 U.S. 850 (1962). Moreover, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit has treated as appealable an order of a District Court refusing preliminary preventive relief where it can be shown that the denial of preliminary relief can disrupt the possibility of a judgment on the merits which effectively protects the rights involved, U.S. v. Wood, supra, and the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit issued its own injunction pending appeal where the District Court had declined to act on a similar application by the United States, U.S. v. Beaty, supra. Cases such as these suggest that the measure of protection available for preliminary preventive relief is as broad as that available in protecting a final judgment on the merits. Particularly has this been true where the United States itself has sought the

relief under express statutory authority to protect private constitutional rights. U.S. v. Raines, 362 U.S. 17 (1960); U.S. v. Beaty, supra; and U.S. v. Wood, supra. These cases and others like them appear to support the right of the United States to obtain broad and specific preliminary restraining orders at the outset of litigation in the worst of the outlaw communities. Thus it should be possible from the beginning to obtain orders against harassing arrests and convictions by local public officials and against economic and other kinds of intimidation by named private individuals who collectively threaten reprisals against Negroes who seek to register. Moreover, additional parties defendant may be joined and the restraining orders appear to be valid against anyone with knowledge of the orders who acts in concert with the named defendants. Comparable restraining orders and injunctions have been widely used to protect school desegregation decrees from interference in such places as Clinton, New Orleans and elsewhere. There would appear to be equal reason for using such orders prior to rendition of a final decree in voting cases where necessary to protect the power of the court to render an effective final decree.

(3) Collateral Harassment by Others than Police and Judicial Officers. Harassment of Negroes who seek to register is not confined to local law enforcement officials. Local welfare officials may cut off supplies of surplus foods or discontinue welfare payments. Private holders of debts ~~owing~~ by Negroes may foreclose. School officials may decline to reappoint teachers who engage in registration efforts. Landlords may seek to evict tenants. And violence and other forms of harassment may come from a variety of private sources. Proof of an actual intent to harass can often be difficult to make. See, for example, U.S. v. Board of Education of Greene County, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 770 (S.D., Miss., 1962), where an effort was made to continue a Negro teacher whose contract had not been renewed after she engaged in efforts to register in another county; the local school superintendent conceded he would not reappoint any teacher who had been involved in litigation and the teacher in question had been involved in voting registration litigation.

owed

On the other hand, where reason exists for believing that harassment has been done with an intent to intimidate those who attempt to register, there appears to be a basis for obtaining restraining orders which bar refusals to contract for motives of impeding registration. More than this, defendants against whom such restraining orders run may be made to pay the costs of depositions and other court costs on appeal, an economic burden great enough to deter continued harassment after the bills for court costs come in. This appeared to be of major importance in convincing landlords in Fayette and Haywood counties that intimidation of would-be Negro voters was too expensive an operation.

Again, where evidence does suffice to show a racial motive behind an act of harassment, civil contempt penalties can be imposed without need for a jury trial. Assuming proceedings before a three-judge district court [see discussion infra on the use of a three-judge court], there is reason to believe that contempt proceedings can be successful in states in which the District judges have thus far declined to impose contempt penalties.

Dealing with harassment and intimidation will call for more than judicial proceedings and the use of federal marshals, however. Where economic reprisals occur, Negroes will have need for surplus food and other assistance. In Fayette and Haywood counties a way was found for distributing federal surplus foods. Private contributions also reached these counties once the need for assistance became known. And it is perhaps not inappropriate to add that the Administration found ways of raising from private means the funds needed to pay ransom to Castro in freeing the prisoners held after the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion.

What, in short, is suggested here is a massive federal presence in ~~one or more~~ outlaw counties where the strongest case can be made for substituting federal for local authority in the face of continued defiance and lawlessness. Only recently, at least two students involved in voter registration efforts in Mississippi have been seriously wounded by persons still not apprehended as this is written. In such circumstances it would appear that, coupled with the failure of these areas to permit any significant numbers of Negroes to register, there are adequate grounds for obtaining preliminary restraining orders which bar interference with those engaged in efforts to register and for the substitution of federal enforcement machinery to afford adequate protection to those engaged in these efforts.

The basic point is that such protection is essential from the beginning to insure against reprisals which impair the exercise of voting rights during the pendency of court proceedings. The need for such preliminary preventive orders seems manifest if it is assumed that the objective sought is to permit any Negroes who wish to do so to vote in the next federal elections in 1964. Not to insist upon protection between now and that time almost certainly means that unimpeded participation in the 1964 elections cannot be had.

In addition, federal marshals and, if necessary, federal troops should be readied to go to the scene to assure adequate compliance with preliminary protective orders. Indeed, I would think it within the President's discretion to put federal marshals into a community at the outset of litigation and in advance even of the entry of preliminary court orders where there is substantial reason to believe this kind of protection is needed to assure a local atmosphere in which advantage can be taken of ultimate court orders

creating the needed registration machinery. There seems little point in obtaining registration machinery if local harassment is permitted meanwhile to build to a point that Negroes dare not use the machinery when it becomes available. Nor do I see that anyone would have standing to challenge a Presidential decision that such protective use of marshals was required in that kind of situation.

There is no suggestion here that this kind of major involvement is contemplated for all the counties in which fewer than 15 percent of adult Negroes are registered. What is suggested is that several of the extreme situations be singled out for a massive federal presence of the kind described. The example of these few should suffice to make substantial progress possible in many of the rest. Nor is it suggested that the focus of attention on these few would require relaxation of effort in the other counties still holding out. Negotiation and, where needed, judicial action would be pressed in these also, backed by the obvious threat that recalcitrance would produce in each the same massive presence already evident in the other counties.

There are, of course, risks involved in the decision to have a showdown in several of the worst situations. We can concede that any decision to supplant even temporarily the local machinery of government is destructive of the division between state and federal authority to that extent. And while such a supplanting of local authority should not be lightly undertaken, the controlling point is that federalism is not presently working in the outlaw counties: the temporary substitution of federal machinery is precisely for the purpose of creating the conditions in which local government can work in compliance with requirements of federalism.

Form and Scope of Judicial Proceedings

Implementation of the voting provisions in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 has until now suffered much delay in the courts. Understandably, the legislation has been resisted by those with vested interests in the status quo. There have been constitutional attacks upon the legislation and many efforts to obtain restrictive readings of the powers created by the Congress. One by one, many of the major questions have been put to rest by court decisions, but the process has been a tedious and time-consuming one.

Judicial decisions have, however, firmed up the major substantive provisions in a way which makes it clear that the granted powers are ample and constitutional.

The statutory right of the Attorney General to examine voting records has been fully sustained, and the procedure for obtaining them has

been simplified and speeded by decisions which have swept away as irrelevant many spurious defenses that were earlier urged. The right to examine the records reaches back in time to the earliest registration of any voter still on the lists.

Again, where voting litigation is initiated by the United States, the jurisdiction of the District Court is mandatory. The case must be heard even though state administrative remedies have not been exhausted by individual voters in whose behalf the suit is brought. Strongly worded opinions have stressed the fact that the legislation authorizes preventive relief against harassment and intimidation. Although use has not yet been made of court authority to appoint a voting referee in substitution for local registration machinery, several of the District judges have themselves certified named persons to vote and have ordered to be put into effect by local authorities comprehensive plans for speedy registration of voters. The effect of these actions has been to substitute court-fashioned voting machinery for the machinery previously employed by the state.

Other difficulties, however, have proven more durable. In particular, some District judges in the more resistant areas continue to yield to every delaying tactic attempted by the defendants. They have delayed bringing cases to hearing and have held up their own opinions for long periods after the action has been tried. By excluding some evidence and giving great weight to other evidence in the record, they have entered findings which either have proven difficult to overturn on appeal or which, if overturned on appeal, have required further hearings that introduce additional delay.

Bluntly put, the recalcitrance of judges--and not the inadequacy of legislative machinery--appears to be the principal present difficulty. If these courts were issuing the proper preventive protective orders from the outset of litigation, and if they were substituting court-fashioned machinery for the presently defiant local authority, only one major problem would likely remain: a major federal presence might well be required in some instances to assure enforcement of the court orders. But without the orders, authority for this kind of presence is more difficult to come by.

Several suggestions for speeding up the process are tentatively offered.

(1) Requesting a Comprehensive Plan Based on a Timetable. Typically, the complaints in voting cases have asked generally for one or more of the following kinds of judicial relief: (a) an order to permit inspection of voting records; (b) preliminary protective orders to prevent various forms of harassment; (c) findings of a pattern or practice of discrimination with respect to registering and voting; (d) injunctions against the continuation of discrimination. As indicated, however, these demands

for relief have been general. They have not asked for removal of restraints by a stated time in order to permit free participation in elections to be held at some stipulated date. Nor, apparently, have the courts been asked to compel the defendants to produce a plan assuring adequate opportunity for all unregistered adults to become registered by the next election.

Analogies drawn from enforcement of school desegregation suggest that general injunctions against discrimination tend to produce but limited results. On the other hand, comprehensive court-ordered plans have provided a way for replacing dual school systems with unitary nonracial ones. More recently, Negro plaintiffs in school cases have actually submitted their own comprehensive plans to the court with the request either that their own plans be installed or that some alternative equally comprehensive be ordered.

It is suggested here that the courts be asked to direct a comprehensive plan which can guarantee opportunity for any unregistered and qualified persons to participate in the Congressional and Presidential elections for 1964. This could be coupled with a request to the court that the case be promptly heard on its merits in order that the Government might be permitted no later than, say, November 1, 1963, to submit to the court a proposed plan for assuring timely and adequate opportunity to register in advance of the 1964 primary elections.

The advantage of setting the 1964 elections as a target seems evident. It focuses attention on the need to move the case promptly at every stage and should help accelerate the hearing of appeals to assure meeting the deadline sought.

(2) Content of the Comprehensive Plan. In State of Alabama v. U.S., 304 F. 2d 583, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 464, 303 (C. A. 5, 1962), cert. granted and judgment affirmed 83 S. Ct. 145 (1962), the question presented was whether the District Court could by-pass state registration machinery and directly certify the eligibility of named persons who had been discriminated against prior to any court finding that a pattern of discrimination existed. The trial court had found a pattern of discrimination and directed that certain Negroes previously rejected by the local registrar be eligible to vote unless the state could thereafter show they were not qualified. The argument of the state was that, under the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960, the Government could only seek preventive relief; affirmative relief by-passing state registration machinery was not authorized. In rejecting this contention, the Court of Appeals said:

> In declaring that the Court "shall have jurisdiction" and "shall exercise" such power, Congress revealed again a purpose, where necessary, to interpose the Federal Court in the voter qualification process even

> though it meant supplanting successive elements in any State, administrative, judicial, or quasi judicial machinery for review of adverse actions. The Federal Court may--and perhaps must--take action on a showing of discrimination even though to do so effectively bypasses or dispenses with review by a State administrative or judicial tribunal. The occasional necessity for some such interruption of normal, ordinary processes was, therefore, contemplated by Congress. State of Alabama v. U.S., 304 F.2d 583 at 590, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 464 at 469 (C.A. 5, 1962).

In addition, the District Court had entered a comprehensive order which directed local officials to speed the registration process, report regularly and in detail to the court, and generally to remain under court surveillance. See U.S. v. State of Alabama, 192 F.Supp. 677, 6 Race Rel. L. Rep. 189 (M.D. Ala. 1961). In proceedings against East Carroll Parish, Louisiana, a somewhat similar comprehensive decree quite specifically fixed standards and provided for continuing court surveillance. U.S. v. Manning, 205 F. Supp. 172, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 477 (W.D. La. 1962). And the District judge in the same proceedings undertook to determine for himself the qualifications of certain named Negroes to vote after a finding that discrimination had been practiced. See U.S. v. Manning, 206 F.Supp. 623, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 816 (W.D. La. 1962).

The language quoted above from State of Alabama v. U.S. suggests that the circumstances of a particular case may justify by-passing or substantially altering state registration machinery where required to meet the needs of the situation. Other references by the court to the use of the flexible remedies available under equity powers suggest that a wide range of alternatives is at hand in formulating a comprehensive plan for effective voter registration.

One interesting question concerning equity powers is whether the court is obliged to follow the remedial procedures spelled out in the Civil Rights Act of 1960 or is free to substitute for those in the act procedures which the court fashions on its own motion. A provision of the 1960 act, now 42 U.S.C. §1791(e), establishes a procedure under which the court may issue orders qualifying individuals to vote. In substance, §1791(e) has several significant features. First, it requires the court, when requested by the Attorney General, to make a finding whether there has been a pattern or practice of racial discrimination which has caused a deprivation of rights to register and vote. Second, if such a pattern or practice is found to exist, the court is authorized to certify as qualified to vote those persons qualified under State law who show that they have been discriminated against or turned down by local officials after the court had entered its finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination.

Put another way, the statutory procedure in §1791(e) requires individuals to make one more effort to register or vote after the court finding of the pattern before the individual may apply to the court for an order certifying his qualifications. If it is assumed that hostility and harassment continue in the community after the court finds a discriminatory pattern to have existed, this means that each Negro must subject himself to the prospect of further harassment before going to court for help. He must appear before local officials, identifying himself in a way which singles him out for intimidation not only by local officials but also by others who learn of his efforts.

Here, then, is a significant question: May the court relieve Negroes of having to return to the local officials where there is reason to believe they will only be subjected to further harassment? It seems apparent that few Negroes would be willing to take such a risk in a really hostile area and hence the requirement that they must first try to register before obtaining judicial relief could substantially deter the registration process.

There are good reasons to believe that the court may use other procedures than those provided in §1791(e) under these circumstances. For one thing, §1791(e) specifically provides that "This subsection shall in no way be construed as a limitation upon the existing powers of the court." Moreover, the Court of Appeals has already approved at least one case in which the District Court issued certification orders to certain persons without first requiring them to apply once more to local officials after the pattern of discrimination had been found to exist. In the Macon County, Alabama, case the District Court directly issued tentative certification orders to a number of Negroes at the same time the court entered its finding that a pattern of discrimination existed. The point was that the evidence establishing the pattern demonstrated that these individuals had been discriminated against and hence were entitled to immediate relief. The order of the District Court was affirmed on appeal both by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court. State of Alabama v. U.S., 304 F.2d 583, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 464, 803 (C.A. 5, 1962), cert. granted and judgment affirmed 83 S.Ct. 145 (1962). The language of the Court of Appeals in the State of Alabama case, quoted on pages 7 and 8, supra, broadly suggests that the general equity powers of the federal courts will permit setting aside various parts of state registration machinery where necessary to assure effective protection of voting rights. This would appear to include powers to by-pass the particular procedures of §1791(e) where there was substantial reason to believe they would not be effective.

Another situation likely to call for exercise of equitable powers not specified in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 involves the standards employed by the court in certifying Negroes as eligible to vote. The Act of

1960 makes it clear that a certification order may be issued only to those "qualified under State law to vote." 28 U.S.C. §1791(e). The difficulties of determining the standards for qualification under state law can be illustrated by the following set of assumed facts.

Suppose that the evidence before the court showed that local officials traditionally administered a literacy test in such a way that all white residents had previously been permitted to register even though some were virtually illiterate and that all or nearly all Negro residents had been disqualified even though some were quite well educated. The inequality of the practice is obvious. Voting control would be lodged almost exclusively in white hands and the court would be compelled to enter a finding that a pattern of racial discrimination existed. Suppose further that immediately after the court entered its finding of a discriminatory pattern, the local officials then adopted an extremely strict literacy standard which they then sought to apply equally to all subsequent applicants, white and Negro. The effect of this change in standards would be to preserve the advantage gained earlier by registering most of the whites and few of the Negroes. True, the new practice would apply to all subsequent applicants. It would apply unequally, however, to Negro residents who were of voting age during the prior period of lax application of standards to whites. The advantage thus given whites under such a change of standards would appear to be comparable to that gained under the so-called "grandfather clauses" condemned as unconstitutional as long ago as 1915 in Guinn v. U.S., 238 U.S. 347.

Arguably, the District Court should have power to enjoin--for a reasonable time at least--the application of the new standards to Negroes who were of voting age and resided in the county during the period in which they were barred from taking advantage of the lax standards applied to whites. My understanding is that the District Court in effect did this as to perhaps a thousand Negroes in Macon County, Alabama, although this order was not appealed from and does not appear to be reported.

(3) Three-Judge Proceedings against the State. Manifestly, the techniques considered above appear to supply much that is needed for effective enforcement of voting rights, at least in the hands of judges willing to face up to the task. The hard fact is, however, that some of the District judges who sit in the most resistant areas have not faced up to the job. The Courts of Appeal can, in time, fashion orders which take the power of delay largely out of the hands of the District judges who remain hesitant. The process is tedious and time-consuming, however.

With some important reservations, a bold suggestion is offered. This involves the use of a three-judge District Court proceeding for the continuing administration of voter registration. In early March of 1963 the Department of Justice brought to hearing two voting cases before three-judge District Courts. The first, U.S. v. Louisiana, was brought against certain state officials and against voting registrars in several Louisiana

parishes to determine the constitutionality of designated state voting laws. A second suit, also before three judges, was brought against the State of Mississippi, certain state officials, and voting registrars in several Mississippi counties to enjoin on constitutional grounds a number of state statutory and constitutional provisions.

Both cases were heard before panels consisting of two Court of Appeals judges and one District judge. The three-judge court of course calls for the assignment of two judges in addition to the District Court judge before whom the case was commenced. Because of the singular problems involved, the Chief Judge of the Fifth Circuit (who assigns the additional judges) has tended in recent years to assign two Circuit judges to sit with the District judge in three-judge cases, a result which gives a greater dignity to the case.

The grounds for convening three-judge District Courts for trial of a case such as those just described against the States of Louisiana and Mississippi are that injunctive relief is sought against state constitutional or statutory provisions which are claimed to be unconstitutional on their face. Since early 1960 it has been clear that the judges, once they convene to hear the case, have jurisdiction to pass upon all the questions presented in the action. Florida Lime & Avocado Growers v. Jacobsen, 362 U.S. 73 (1960); U.S. v. Lassiter, 203 F.Supp. 20 (W.D. La. 1962), affirmed 371 U.S. 10 (1962).

U.S. v. Lassiter, just cited, is illuminating for the scope of issues considered and the sweep of injunctive orders against persons other than state officials. Defendants in the case included certain state officers, a bus line, a railroad, and various officers and employees of the defendant carriers. Certain Louisiana statutes were attacked on grounds that they violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and also that they constituted a burden upon interstate commerce. It was also claimed that the statutes conflicted with provisions of the antidiscrimination Code promulgated by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1961. The statutes were struck down as unconstitutional and void and the court explicitly made the point that the presence of the issue of facial unconstitutionality gave the court power to "dispose of all issues which are raised in the case." U.S. v. Lassiter, 203 F.Supp. 20 at 24 (W.D. La. 1962). The injunctive orders entered in the court's decree barred all the defendants and those in concert with them from either attempting to enforce the invalidated Louisiana statutes or from violating the provisions of the ICC Code. Finally, the court retained jurisdiction over the case, presumably for purposes of entering, if needed, further orders necessary to furnish the relief demanded.

What the Lassiter case suggests is that a court of judges, once convened to hear a constitutional attack upon the face of a state statute, may retain jurisdiction over all other issues, state and local, raised in the case. The relevance of this broad concept to the cases, previously mentioned, against the States of Louisiana and Mississippi and certain local voting registrars seems evident. The concept suggests that the three judges may continue to hear requests for further relief as necessary to give effective protection to rights generally claimed in the case.

If this assumption is correct, it would appear that a way exists for using three judges to accomplish things which at present individual District judges have declined to do. Thus, the three judges can hear and dispose of such questions as requests for preliminary protective orders and demand a comprehensive plan for registration of persons discriminated against. Arguably, it should be possible to join other voting registrars and others as defendants in the pending case against the State where it appears that action taken elsewhere under the same statutes continues to persist.

There are substantial reasons for hesitation about making such comprehensive use of the three-judge court. First, it imposes a heavy burden on an already overworked judiciary to tie up the time of three judges. Second, it is hardly likely that such a comprehensive use of three judges was intended by Congress in framing the provisions for three-judge proceedings. Finally, there has been a widespread practice, particularly in the Fifth Circuit, of convening three judges only to hear the constitutional attack upon a state statute, then returning the case to a single judge for disposition of subsequent proceedings which do not raise issues of facial unconstitutionality of a statute. The file of Bush v. Orleans Parish, for example, is replete with instances in which three judges have entered the case to dispose of injunctions against state statutes and have thereafter retired, leaving later questions to a single District judge for disposition. The question, however, would appear to be one which is left to judicial discretion on the question whether to employ all three judges to hear and determine the issues which do not involve facial attacks upon the constitutionality of a statute.

With all the hazards and handicaps conceded, the gravity of the enforcement problem in voting cases at the moment would appear to justify serious consideration of the suggestion to make use of three judges for handling of the real hard questions in those states in which existing state laws palpably violate the federal constitution.

In summary, then, this memorandum suggests a major showdown, before courts of three judges, in several of the worst outlaw situations. It also suggests that in coming to this showdown that a major federal presence be contemplated in conjunction with these court proceedings. The suggestions are ones which I would like to see given serious consideration.

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

March 18, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Dr. Dunbar~~ Les:

Here, as requested, is a list of voting cases brought by the Department of Justice. The list was compiled as of October 31. We will have it brought up to date with a statement about the status of each case and I will send you this additional information in a day or two.

I hope this is useful.

Sincerely,

Bill

William L. Taylor
Assistant Staff Director
for Liaison and Information

Enclosure

Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director

October 3, 1962

Richard F. Record, Jr.

Request for list of current voting suits brought by Department of Justice

The list below contains the names and dates of original commencement of all voting suits brought by the Department of Justice under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. Some of these suits have been formally concluded; some have gone no further than filing of the complaint; some have been tried and are on appeal; others have been appealed and are now set down for trial. But the Department keeps the file open on all of these cases and periodically checks to see that the decrees are being observed. The Department regards all of these suits as "active" and for that reason all will be listed here.

ALABAMA

Bullock County - U.S. v. Alabama (Jan. 20, 1961)
Choctaw County - U.S. v. Doggett et al. (June 15, 1962)
Dallas County - U.S. v. Majors (April 13, 1961)
Macon County - U.S. v. Alabama (Feb. 5, 1959)
Montgomery County- U.S. v. Penton (Aug. 3, 1961)
Perry County - U.S. v. Mayton et al. (Aug. 27, 1962)

GEORGIA

Bibb County - U.S. v. Bibb County Democratic Executive Committee (May 16, 1962)
Terrell County - U.S. v. Raines (Sept. 4, 1958)
Terrell County - U.S. v. Matthews et al. (Aug. 13, 1962)

LOUISIANA

The State - U.S. v. Louisiana (Dec. 28, 1961)
Bienville Parish - U.S. v. Ass'n. of Citizens Councils of La. (June 7, 1960)
East Carroll Parish - U.S. v. Deal (Jan. 19, 1961)
East Carroll Parish - U.S. v. Manning (April 28, 1962)
Jackson Parish - U.S. v. Willer (Feb. 21, 1962)
Madison Parish - U.S. v. Ward (Oct. 26, 1961)
Ouachita Parish - U.S. v. Lucky (July 11, 1961)
Plaquemines Parish - U.S. v. Fox (Oct. 16, 1961)
Washington Parish - U.S. v. McElveen (June 29, 1959)

MISSISSIPPI

The State	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Amite County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Claiborne County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Clarke County	- U.S. v. Ramsey (July 6, 1961)
Coahoma County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Forrest County	- U.S. v. Lynd (July 6, 1961)
George County	- U.S. v. Greene (April 13, 1962)
Greene County	- U.S. v. Bd. of Education of Greene County (June 16, 1962
Jefferson Davis County	- U.S. v. Daniels (Aug. 23, 1961)
Le Flore County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Lowndes County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Panola County	- U.S. v. Duke (Oct. 16, 1961)
Pike County	- U.S. v. Mississippi et al. (Aug. 28, 1962)
Tallahatchie County	- U.S. v. Dogan (Nov. 17, 1961)
Walthall County	- U.S. v. Mississippi (Aug. 3, 1961)
Walthall County	- U.S. v. Wood (Sept. 20, 1961)

TENNESSEE

Fayette County - U.S. v. Atkeison (Dec. 14, 1960)
Fayette County - U.S. v. Fayette County Democratic Exec. Committee (Nov. 16, 1959
Haywood County - U.S. v. Barcroft (Dec. 1, 1960)
Haywood County - U.S. v. Beaty (Sept. 14, 1960)

cc: Dr. Cotter
Mr. Brown

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

ROUTING SLIP

TO	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

NAME AND/OR SYMBOL	BUILDING, ROOM, ETC.
1. Mr. Dunbar	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

- [ ] ALLOTMENT SYMBOL
- [ ] APPROVAL
- [ ] AS REQUESTED
- [ ] CONCURRENCE
- [ ] CORRECTION
- [ ] FILING
- [ ] FULL REPORT
- [ ] ANSWER OR ACKNOWLEDGE ON OR BEFORE _____
- [ ] PREPARE REPLY FOR THE SIGNATURE OF _____
- [ ] HANDLE DIRECT
- [ ] IMMEDIATE ACTION
- [ ] INITIALS
- [ ] NECESSARY ACTION
- [ ] NOTE AND RETURN
- [ ] PER OUR CONVERSATION
- [ ] PER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
- [ ] READ AND DESTROY
- [ ] RECOMMENDATION
- [ ] SEE ME
- [ ] SIGNATURE
- [ ] YOUR COMMENT
- [ ] YOUR INFORMATION
- [ ]

REMARKS

Per your request

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1963

FROM	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

NAME AND/OR SYMBOL	BUILDING, ROOM, ETC.	
William L. Taylor Bill	TELEPHONE	DATE 3-27-63

GPO : 1962 O—631039

GSA FORM 14
FEB 62

Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr.
General Counsel

March 26, 1963

Ronald B. Natalie
Staff Attorney

Justice Department Voting Right Enforcement Suits

The current status of the 33 voting right enforcement suits is as indicated below. This listing does not include Department applications to a District Court for an order to compel the opening of voter registration records to Department inspection. It is limited to actual voting rights suits brought under 42 U.S.C. 1971(a) and 1971(b). The suits are listed in order of their institution. The dates given for decided suits are the dates of a decision for the Government; that is, appellate decisions are listed only where the Government lost below.

One cautionary note is in order. The number of decided cases is misleading. In several of these cases, the Department has gone back to the District Court with a claim that the injunction granted is not being obeyed. It could do likewise in many other cases.

	CASE	DATE	SUB-SECTION	REMARKS
✓	1. U.S. v. Raines	9-4-58	1971a	Terrell County, Ga. Decided, 9-13-60
✓	2. U.S. v. Alabama	2-5-59	1971a	Macon County, Ala. Decided, 6-2-62 ✓
✓	3. U.S. v. McElveen	6-29-59	1971a	Washington Parish, La. Decided, 2-29-60 ✓
✓	4. U.S. v. Fayette County Democratic Exec. Comm.	11-16-59	1971a	Fayette County, Tenn. Decided, 4-25-60
✓	5. U.S. v. Ass'n of Citizens Councils of La.	6-7-60	1971a	Bienville Parish, La. Decided, 11-3-61
✓	6. U.S. v. Beaty	9-13-60	1971b	Haywood County, Tenn. Decided, 5-2-62
✓	7. U.S. v. Barcroft	12-1-60	1971b	Haywood County, Tenn. Decided, 5-2-62
✓	8. U.S. v. Atkeison	12-14-60	1971b	Fayette County, Tenn. Decided, 7-27-62 ✓

	CASE	DATE	SUB-SECTION	REMARKS
✓	9. U.S. v. Deal	1-19-61	1971b	East Carroll Parish, La. Settled, 2-3-61 ✓
✓	10. U.S. v. Alabama	1-20-61	1971a	Bullock County, Ala. Decided, 9-13-61 ✓
	11. U.S. v. Majors	4-13-61	1971a	DallasCounty, Ala. Tried 5-3-62 ✓
✓	12. U.S. v. Manning	4-28-61	1971a	East Carroll Parish, La. Decided, 7-23-62 Contempt charged 8-8-62
	13. U.S. v. Ramsey	7-6-61	1971a	Clarke County, Miss. Decided, 2-6-63 ✓
	2-26-63 - 3-judge fed court upheld Constitutionality of U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1960			
	14. U.S. v. Lynd	7-6-61	1971a	Forest County, Miss. Injunction in 4/62. Contempt pending.
	15. U.S. v. Lucky	7-11-61	1971a	Ouachita Parish, La. On appeal. ✓
✓	16. U.S. v. Penton	8-3-61	1971a	Montgomery County, Ala. Decided 11-20-62 ✓
✓	17. U.S. v. Daniel	8-3-61	1971a	Jefferson Davis, Miss. Decided 11-4-63 ✓
	18. U.S. v. Mississippi	8-3-61	1971a	Walthall County, Miss. Postponed until U.S. v. Daniel tried ✓
✓	19. U.S. v. Wood	9-20-61	1971b	Walthall County, Miss. Decided 10-27-61
✓	20. U.S. v. Fox	10-16-61	1971a	Plaquemines Parish, La. Decided 11-3-62
	21. U.S. v. Duke	10-16-61	1971a	Panola County, Miss. Trial, 3/63 ✓
	22. U.S. v. Ward	10-26-61	1971a	Madison Parish, La. On appeal. ✓
✓	23. U.S. v. Dogan	11-17-61	1971a	Tallahatchie County, Miss. Decided 1-21-63

CASE	DATE	SUB-SECTION	REMARKS
24. U.S. v. Louisiana	12-28-61	1971a	State of Louisiana. On appeal
25. U.S. v. Wilder	2-21-62	1971a	Jackson Parish, La. Trial 11-26-62
26. U.S. v. Green	4-13-62	1971a	George County, Miss. Temporary injunction 4/23. Injunction pending
27. U.S. v. Bibb County Democratic Exec. Comm.	5-16-62	1971a	Bibb County, Ga. Decided 6-3-62
28. U.S. v. Doggett	6-15-62	1971a	Choctaw County, Ala. Pending
29. U.S. v. Bd. of Educ.	6-16-62	1971b	Greene County, Ala. Dismissed 8-30-62, Appeal 12-28-62
30. U.S. v. Mathews	8-13-62	1971b	Terrell County, Ga. Temporary injunction denied 8-15-63, suit pending
31. U.S. v. Mayton	8-27-62	1971a	Perry County, Ala. Pending
32. U.S. v. Mississippi	8-28-62 3-9-63	1971a	State of Mississippi plus, Amite, Claiborne, Coahoma, Leflore, Lowndes, and Pike Counties. Three-judge court took jurisdiction 3/63
33. U.S. v. Campbell	1-22-63	1971a	Sunflower County, Miss. Pending.

Injunction issued 11-15-62 restraining registrars from discrimination; 5-22-63 U.S. Dist Judge Thomas ordered registrars to meet twice a month & regularly on non-registration days to process applications & accept voter applications

3-Judge federal panel rejected delaying action & deferred action aimed at removing suit from federal jurisdiction & granted request to examine voting records.

34.	U.S. v. Crawford	2-18-63	Red River Parish, La.
35.	U.S. v. Clement	2-18-63	Webster Parish, La.
36.	U.S. v. Greenwood, Miss.	3-31-63	Filed in Oxford, Miss. 4-2-63: move for TRO withdrawn when 8 registration workers release Hearing on permanent injunction in Oct.
37.	U.S. v. Shefiff Rankin County, Miss.	5-6-63	Filed in Jackson, Miss Pending
38.	U.S. v. Holmes County, Miss.	5/63	Bob Moses case, arson
39.	U.S. v. Jones County, Ga.	6-18-63	Gray Georgia, Jones County election officials, Members of Temporary Exec. Committee, including chairman, James C. Balkcom

File Copy

MEMORANDUM

July 1, 1963

To: Notre Dame Conferees

From: Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Events have overtaken us, and the report of the Notre Dame Conference must be got out quickly, if it is to have the attention we all desired.

A group of the conferees met with me in Washington on June 28 to review a draft I had prepared. My draft was revised and improved as per the enclosure.

This comes to you, therefore, with the approval of Feild, Fleming, Pemberton, Pollitt, Silard, and Dunbar.

CAN YOU REVIEW AT ONCE?

Please write or phone your comments to Harold Fleming by July 8 if at all possible.

Harold will act as final editor. His address is:

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Telephone: 332-5566

- : -

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

July 1, 1963

The attached is for your information. What is to take its place? To be dull is deadly.

LWD

Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Office of the Dean

June 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

It has not been possible for me to read the draft enclosed with your letter of June 24, except the introductory portion. Tom Broden has read it, however, and has sent me a memorandum in which he describes it as "an excellent job". He then appends the following comment:

> "While I agree with Les' version of American history (with one or two exceptions) on pp.3-6, I'm sure many would be inflamed by it. Is this part of the introduction necessary? Could pp.3-6 be deleted without great loss?"

I know less history than either of you but it does occur to me that the pages Tom refers to do not reflect anything said or done at the Conference. The views you express may be wholly right, and it is not my purpose to take issue with them. Tom's comment has raised the question, however, it seems to me, whether this expression of your views is appropriate in a report of the Conference.

I tried to get Tom on the telephone to ask him to write you directly about the matter. As I could not reach him immediately I decided to write you myself and ask him at the first opportunity to send on any supplementary comments he may have to offer.

With all best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

JOSEPH O'MEARA
Dean

JO'M:cw

file
Notre Dame

Research

Carl A. Auerbach — not on Leadership lists
Univ. of Minnesota Law School N.S ? Not on
Minneapolis

Thomas F. Broden, Jr. Not on L-Lists
Notre Dame Law School N.S ? Not on

Remove from 10
Research (at home)

John G. Feild - Cat. 10 (Govt. agencies) N.S Not on
Pres. Cttee. on Equal Employment Opportunity
35-17 Cummings Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland N.S

Harold C. Fleming - UiP list; on N.S
Potomac Inst.

stet

stet

G. W. Foster, Jr. Cat. 7; N.S - Not on
Univ. of Wisc. Law School (Contact - Research) N.S.
Madison

stet

Eli Ginzberg - Cat. 7; N.S - Not on
Columbia University N.S.

stet

Vivian W. Henderson Cat. 7, N.S ? yes Paid expires 1963 N.S.
Fisk University

stet

Paul H. Norgren Cat. 1; N.S ? Not on
Princeton Univ. (address wrong on card)
N.J.

stet

Dean Joseph O'Mmara Cat. 7; N.S - Not on
Notre Dame Univ.

Research

John de J. Pemberton - Cat. 3-1; N.S - the agency is on
ACLU - (Interagency)

Research

Dan. H. Pollitt Not on L-Lists; N.S ? - Not on N.S.
Univ. of North Carolina
or: Nat'l. Labor Relations Bd.

Research

John Silard Not on L-Lists; N.S ? - Not on N.S
Attrney, Washington

stet

Michael I. Sovern Cat. 7; N.S ? Not on.
Columbia University Law School

stet

William Taylor Cat. 8; N.S ? Not on
U. S. Commission on C. R. (Contact - all purpose)

See "Interoffice Memos - 1963"

A Preliminary Report on Voting Rights from the Notre Dame Conference on Civil Rights, February 8-10, 1963.

The conference considered needs for new or improved Congressional legislation to strengthen education, employment, and voting rights and opportunities. A full report of the conference's conclusions with recommendations for new legislation in the fields of education and employment will be issued later. This preliminary report sets forth the consensus reached regarding the need for additional voting legislation, because the conferees understood that this was a matter of current legislative interest.

The conclusion of the conference was that discrimination against voting rights is an abuse which can be amply and sufficiently corrected by the authority and powers now possessed by the Executive Department and by the Federal courts. Further legislation at this time would be, therefore, unnecessary and the inevitable legislative struggle to enact it could well hinder the prompt and thorough enforcement of present law.

Participants in the conference were Carl A. Auerbach, University of Minnesota Law School; Wiley A. Branton, Voter Education Project; Thomas F. Broden, Jr., Notre Dame Law School; Leslie W. Dunbar, Southern Regional Council; John G. Feild, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; Harold C. Fleming, The Potomac Institute; G. W. Foster, Jr., Law School, University of Wisconsin; Eli Ginzberg, Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University; Vivian W. Henderson, Economics, Fisk University; Paul H. Norgren, Industrial Relations Section, Princeton University; Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School; John de J. Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Daniel H. Pollitt, University of North Carolina Law School; John Silard, Attorney, Washington, D. C.; Michael I. Sovern, Columbia University School of Law; William Taylor, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights; John H. Wheeler, Attorney, Durham, North Carolina.

ok

Watch carefully for these people

Recent examples conclusively demonstrate that a number of southern communities do not yet intend to permit free Negro registration. The obstructions used are many. They include acts of private violence, such as church burnings in two counties of southwest Georgia, and several shocking cases of violence against persons or personal property, in the same area of Georgia and in Amite and Sunflower counties of Mississippi. There have been, as well, instances where officials have violently treated registration workers, as recognized in the Federal action brought, unsuccessfully, against a police official of Terrell County (Ga.). Retaliatory arrests have been common against registration workers, on charges as frivolous and essentially contemptuous as loitering, when in a moving automobile. In counties of the Mississippi Delta, water service and tax exemption of Negro churches used for registration meetings have been discontinued, and distribution of Federal surplus food commodities cut off. There is harassment and intimidation by private persons as well. Negroes asserting their constitutional rights have frequently been discharged from jobs or had their local credit suspended.

These tactics describe a system whereby, standing between the Negro and his constitutional right, there is massive intimidation calculated to induce acute personal insecurity. To the Negro of one of these counties, natural authority and power must, even now in 1963, seem far less real than that of his hostile community.

In most of such areas, and particularly in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi there is the added factor of literacy requirements administered unfairly and with deliberate intent to disqualify all or almost all Negroes applying. Cases under the laws of 1957 and 1960 have demonstrated that this problem can be reached by Federal courts. The abuse continues, however, and in Mississippi is aggravated

by a statutory requirement of publication of names of applicants for registration, thus advertising every Negro seeking to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship. Louisiana has revised its literacy tests to make them more resistant to Negro success. The suit filed some months ago by the Department of Justice against the State of Mississippi, but not yet brought to trial, may strike at the roots of the literacy test problem; it almost certainly, however, will be long in the courts.

Voting discrimination is a national disaster, and its demise a necessity for national self-respect. The problem must, therefore, be seen clearly and candidly. As of now, voting discrimination occurs, with but few exceptions, only against Negroes and only in some localities of the South. By their defiance of the constitutional order, these places are virtually outlaw communities. New and more refined legislative remedies are not required to reach this blatant defiance of constitutional and statutory rights. Systematic enforcement of present law can provide full relief.

The objective should be that, by the next Federal election, voting discrimination will be everywhere eradicated. Remembering that flagrant discrimination occurs in only a fraction of southern locales, achievement of the objective through the forthright use of executive and judicial authority is not unrealistic.

Throughout southern states today, an unprecedented and determined effort is being made by Negroes to broaden the electorate. In many parts of the South this is altogether a matter of self-help. But in the areas of discrimination, Negro efforts to register are met by determined resistance from both official and private sources, and Federal help is absolutely required.

Given the fact of this uniquely intensive Negro effort, there can be clearly foreseen a multiplication of incidents requiring Federal attention. The Federal executive should enforce strictly the Federal right to register and vote, as these rights are claimed and asserted by large numbers who never before have done so, in communities which never before have tolerated them.

The Federal executive has ample authority to secure voter registration from all manner of obstructions. Lawlessness may be contained and disarmed, if a clear Federal presence is provided at the first sign of obstruction or retaliation. To this end, Federal marshalls can forthwith be dispatched to the scene. Federal attorneys can move without delay to secure protective orders from the courts. To contain the spread of unlawful obstruction, the protective authority of Federal courts and law enforcement officials must be clear and present, so as to denote the certainty of the Federal commitment.

Nor can the Federal protection be limited to guarantee of physical security for persons and possessions. Where authorities employ economic threats or sanctions, or conspire with private parties to this purpose, the executive can move swiftly and surely. Where necessary, protective injunctions can reach the entire local officialdom. Economic retaliation can be redressed by Federal supports for the victims. And Federal privileges cannot be continued for Constitution violators. They must be reminded that the executive authority reaches far and it reaches deep, when fundamental rights are in jeopardy.

A principal means for achieving nationwide enfranchisement inheres in the authority of Federal courts. The Department of Justice has recently filed

numerous suits where registration officials continue to bar qualified Negro voters. In these cases the courts have ample power.

But a long road lies between the filing of a suit and the actual enfranchisement. In the brief months until the 1964 elections, numerous pending suits must be tried and resolved. Decrees must be entered and fair registration provided in time to allow thousands of previously disfranchised voters the right of the ballot. Present efforts will not achieve this goal. Also, there has to be candid recognition that some district judges have not been interested in the expeditious settlement of civil rights cases. The Department of Justice must more urgently seek to bring its cases to trial, even over the reluctance of busy or unenthusiastic Federal judges. Decrees can be sought which will provide more meaningful relief to all previously denied their constitutional rights. Where literacy tests have been instruments of abuse, their continued use can be enjoined. Registration powers can be taken from the hands of officials who have flouted the Federal Constitution. The government must seek not merely to unlock the doors of the voting booth for Negro citizens, but to open the doors as clearly as they were previously closed to Negro applicants.

Finally, the time has come for Federal recognition of power and obligation to assist by affirmative support the enfranchisement of Negro citizens. By encouraging the registration of populations previously barred from the ballot, the Government could to some extent redress past injustices. By posters in Federal buildings and on Federal mail trucks, the President can communicate the message of liberty. Thus can we replace the ingrained image of official discrimination, to announce that government has opened the polls for our minority citizens.

The means of defiance are varied and potent, but the combined power of Federal courts and executive is greater by far. In these circumstances, another effort at Congressional voting rights legislation appears misguided. No new law is now required, while two recent enactments and the reservoir of executive authority are yet to be wholly tested. Another legislative debate could only serve to obscure the magnitude of available authority to achieve the necessary objective.

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE
SCHOOL OF AGRICULTURE • RALEIGH, N. C.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

July 9, 1963

File

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

The material on the Notre Dame Seminar was received last Friday. I read it hurriedly over the weekend and find it satisfactory. I think the pages referred to by Professor Broden should be retained as written.

I plan to be in Atlanta July 18-19 and I want to talk with you about some aspects of my work here at N. C. State. Look to hear from me shortly after my arrival in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Vivian W. Henderson
Visiting Professor

VWH:ms

See Notre Dame Conf.

MEMORANDUM June 24, 1963

To: Harold C. Fleming
John Feild
John De J. Pemberton
John Silard
William Taylor

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

- ; -

Here it is. Dan tells me we are to meet at 1:00 p.m., Potomac Institute on June 28.

- ; -

June 24, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
South Bend, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

I am enclosing a draft of the conference report which I have just finished. At my request the Washington group of conferees is convening Friday, June 28, and I shall go up to meet with them to discuss this draft. This group, as you will recall, includes Feild, Fleming, Silard, and Taylor, and now also Pollitt who is in Washington for the summer. I have specially requested Jack Pemberton to come down to join us, and he will do so.

In this way, I hope that my draft can be revised in such ways as to have the agreement of these other six persons, and then be submitted to the whole conference membership.

How the finished report can then be best used is a matter I shall have to leave up to others, especially you and Tom Broden. I did want to reassure you, however, that work has been done.

All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
enclosure - 1.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

February 28, 1963

RECEIVED
JAN 4 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I return the second copy you were good enough to send of the letter you wrote Burke Marshall on February 21.

Incidentally, I checked out hurriedly the copies of the Congressional Record for last week and was unable to find either that Paul Douglas had put in our preliminary report or the letter which I had written him. Now my hopes are up that we acted in time to call off the whole performance. In any event, I have written John Silard to ask him for details and will let you know when I have heard from him.

Thanks again for sending the extra copy.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

Enclosure

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON 6

LAW SCHOOL

April 2, 1963

Professor Thomas F. Broden, Jr.
Notre Dame Law School
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Tom:

Thanks for the call this morning. I am grateful to you and the staff members of the Notre Dame Lawyer for the flexibility which you have shown in responding to this rather unusual request we have made for delaying the report of our February meeting.

I will send you separately the draft manuscript of the first chapter of my book and, as I told Mr. Driscoll, my feelings will not be hurt if, in your judgment, you do not wish to publish it. So you should feel completely free in making whatever editorial judgment you think appropriate. I must admit, however, that I would like to see that chapter in print before long and hope that it may be suitable to your purposes.

Please give my regards to the Dean. Thanks again for your good offices.

Faithfully,

G. W. Foster, Jr.

GWF:skb

MJ file and Notre Dame

February 14, 1963

MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED
FEB 18 1963

TO: Professor Eli Ginzberg

FROM: G. W. Foster, Jr.

RE: Compensatory Training for Disadvantaged Groups

This memorandum outlines a proposal aimed at developing recommendations for compensatory programs to assist groups which suffer severe handicaps which grow out of economic, educational, language or racial handicaps.

The Negro would be a major but not an exclusive beneficiary of the programs to be discussed. For one thing, there appears to be distinctive advantage in avoiding efforts which simply highlight Negro handicaps. And, besides, other groups need much of the same kinds of help.

While it would be tempting to confine discussion to recommendations for legislative action by Congress, it is suggested that consideration be given a broader range of alternatives. Thus, it would be helpful to prepare a partial catalog of existing federal programs which might be administratively channeled in ways which provided more direct assistance to disadvantaged groups. It would also be useful to assess present foundation-sponsored programs and to suggest others appropriate for foundation support. Thought should also be given to ways of promoting greater awareness and effort by states, communities and universities, as well as private interest groups such as labor unions and the like.

What is proposed here is a modest start toward bringing the insights of economics, education, law, political and social science to the analysis of issues affecting disadvantaged groups. While it is believed the proposed program would be valuable in itself, it is further hoped that it may contribute importantly to continuing and institutionalized interest in the study of public policies respecting the handicapped.

The proposal calls for one or more off-the-record meetings to which 20 or fewer interested and involved persons would be invited. The format for the meeting (or meetings) would follow the pattern which was used both by the Southern Regional Council in the winter of 1960-61 in

HAROLD C. FLEMING
1501 EIGHTEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

July 22, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Herewith a copy of the Notre Dame report as marked up to conform with suggestions and criticisms of the participants. This irrational process is irksome, I know, and I urge you either not to read the revised version, or to do so numbly.

I have talked to Dean O'Meara and confirmed the fact that he is willing to have it mimeographed with some such notation as: "Pre-publication copy of article to be published in an early issue of The Notre Dame Lawyer." (The issue intended is, in fact, the August issue, but he prefers to retain an out.)

20a
34

The Dean says he will be happy with any distribution plans we collectively evolve. That is, we may severally or in concert send it to anybody we think can use it. He will be willing, if we supply names and addresses, to send it to members of appropriate Congressional committees and/or staffs. All he asks is that we keep him advised of distribution in progress or completed.

Hopefully, we will get a chance to discuss this when you are here in Washington later this week. Meanwhile, if you can mimeograph a suitable quantity (200? More?), that will expedite matters.

As ever,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA
Enc.

July 26, 1963

Dean Joseph O'Meara
School of Law
Notre Dame University
Notre Dame, Indiana

Dear Dean O'Meara:

Enclosed is a copy of the revised draft of the Notre Dame Conference report which Mr. Dunbar has asked me to send to you. An additional 100 copies are being put into the mails to you today.

Harold Fleming has informed us that he will be sending to you some suggested names for distribution to Congressional committees and/or staffs. You should receive his list in a few days.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

July 26, 1963

BCC MMJ

Bernice,

Please send the following:

10 copies of the Notre Dame Conf. Report to:
Harold C. Fleming (label attached)

100 copies of the same report to:

Dean Joseph O'Meara, Notre Dame Law School
(book rate) - label attached

DISTRIBUTION OF NOTRE DAME CONFERNCE REPORT (Notre Dame Lawyer reprints)
November 11, 1963

Marion A. Wright

Prof. Gerhard Lowenburg
Mt. Holyoke

Stephen R. Currier

Claude Sitton

Robert Baker

Hon. John Sherman Cooper (Senatore)

Ralph Purcell

Prof. Robert Harris

Sam Cook

Roy Wilkins

Miss Flora Rhind

The Hon. Harold Tyler

Vernon Eagle

Leland DeVinney

Morris Abram

Don Matthews

preparing its excellent and influential Federal Executive and Civil Rights and by the conference on civil rights legislation at Notre Dame University, February 8-10, 1963. Four or five of the prospective conferees would be assigned to write background papers on various relevant topics. These papers, to be distributed a month or so prior to the meeting to those invited, would attempt to define problems and to summarize and evaluate proposals for dealing with them. Following the meeting, one person would be assigned to write a report pulling together the material and stating the grounds upon which various points of consensus had been reached. The report would thereafter be published, if possible, in some widely available journal and reprints distributed.

A partial list of topics for background papers might include the following:

(1) Prospective Manpower Utilization. Herein a treatment of component elements of the present work force, of patterns of change, and estimates of future needs.

(2) Population Trends. This would embrace such things as growth rates, regional distribution, religious, ethnic and racial distribution, changing rural-urban ratios and migration patterns, together with some appraisal of forces which shape these elements.

(3) Planning, Development and Redevelopment in Rural and Urban Areas. A principal point of focus here would be upon the impact these programs have on isolating (or breaking up) minority groups and the extent to which planning and development programs take into account the distinctive needs of disadvantaged groups.

(4) Schools and the Law. Discussion of permissible legislative choices and constitutional commands respecting organization and operation of school systems.

(5) Psychological and Motivational Handicaps.

(6) Compensatory Training Programs. Here a wide range of topics which, among others, might include the following: (a) remedial techniques including development of specialized teaching materials; (b) specialized training of teachers, social workers, et al.; (c) special programs for migrant workers and rural people generally.

PAGE (s) MISSING

It appears likely that the scope of inquiry required to produce meaningful recommendations will call for at least two separate meetings of the conferees. As a practical question, a three-day weekend appears to be about the maximum time commitment which can be expected for a particular meeting. For one thing, it is difficult to gather a satisfactory collection of busy and involved people for any longer period. For another, experience with like meetings suggests that the discussion group itself tends to run down by the end of three days of intensive interchange of ideas.

Assuming, then, two separate meetings of three days can suffice to produce a useful body of results, a rough budget for the proposal should not exceed a total commitment of $11,700. The estimates upon which the total commitment is based follow:

Travel, lodging, food and incidental expenses for 20 conferees for two meetings of three days each (based on $200 per conferee per meeting)	$ 8,000.
Honoraria for preparation of background papers and final report (at $200 each for a total of six papers and/or reports)	1,200.
Publication and distribution of final report	2,000.
Incidental expenses for phones, correspondence, secretarial help connected with selecting and recruiting invitees	500.
	$11,700.

Several factors could reduce the budget below the maximum figure stated above. For one, a number of the invitees could doubtless charge the cost of their travel to institutions with which they are in some way connected. It is also likely that not all the invitees would, at the last minute, be able to attend (although for budget purposes it would have to be assumed that all would attend). Finally, payment of a modest honorarium to those who prepared the background papers and the final report could be dispensed with; no honoraria were paid in connection with papers and reports involved in the Notre Dame Conference of 1963. My personal view is, however, that a modest honorarium is desirable, both to stimulate production

of a higher quality paper and as an acknowledgment of the added contribution to the meeting by those who prepare the papers (even though the honorarium may bear little relation to the time investment required for preparation of the paper).

In sum, I would guess that an actual outlay of $9,000 would suffice for the proposal as described although a larger maximum commitment should be guaranteed to assure flexibility in planning and execution of the project.

FOOTNOTES

1. Total federal funds involved in the School Lunch Program reached something more than 300 million dollars in 1962, while state and local contributions (largely payments by children) amounted to more than three-quarters of a billion dollars. Conceived as a benefit to children, the program is available to private and sectarian schools as well as public ones and all told nearly one-third of the nation's school children participate in the program. See generally 42 USC §§1751-1760.

2. The "Impact-Area" program is authorized in 20 USC §§631-645. Between 1951 and 1961 something more than one billion dollars was expended for more than 50,000 classrooms housing about 1.6 million pupils. Appropriations for fiscal 1961 amounted to about 60 million dollars. Since a portion of these funds was used to furnish assistance to districts for children whose parents worked on federal reservations but resided elsewhere, the Administration recommended in 1961 a reduction of the Impact-Area program to less than half this amount for 1962 on the grounds that Congress should reconsider this phase of the program if it undertook to enact general federal aid to education. The proposals for general federal aid of course failed in the last Congress.

3. The National Defense Education Act appears generally in 20 USC §§401-589. The Act more directly benefits institutions of higher education than it does the elementary and secondary schools. Some 50 million dollars was available in fiscal 1961 for grants to states and loans to nonprofit private schools for the development of programs for teaching science, mathematics, and foreign languages [funds must be used either for acquiring equipment, minor remodeling of laboratories, or for administration of the program]. Another 15 million dollars was available for grants to states for development of guidance counseling and a further 9 million was available for development of area vocational programs.

4. The George-Barden Act and the Smith-Hughes Act, codified at 20 USC §§11-34, provide something more than 40 million dollars for matching grants to states for training students and teachers in agriculture, home economics, trades and industry, distributive occupations, practical nursing, and the fishing trades. The specific provisions of the two acts have a strong rural flavor and the earmarked authorizations for the various vocations suggest that the farmers and home economists walked off with the largest shares of the funds.

5. See 20 USC §§351-358. The amount appropriated for fiscal 1961 was 7.5 million dollars. According to the 1961 Education Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 147, the formula for distribution of grants to the states weighed heavily in favor of the Southern states because of their rural character and they received 43 percent of the granted funds. The Commission Report also found substantial evidence that these states, or some of them, had systematically discriminated against Negroes in the use they made of the funds.

6. Grants for teaching the mentally retarded are authorized in 20 USC §§611-617 and appropriations for 1961 came to one million dollars, more than half of which was available for grants to states for training personnel to supervise educational programs for the mentally retarded. Grants for teaching the deaf go directly to both public and private nonprofit institutions. See 20 USC §§671-676. An appropriation of 1.5 million was authorized for the program in fiscal 1961, the first year of the program.

7. For 1961 appropriations of 56.2 million dollars were available for matching grants to states to provide both training and medical restoration of the handicapped; and an additional 15.4 million for research and teacher training involving the handicapped. See 29 USC §§31-42.

8. The Cooperative Research in Education Act, 20 USC §§331-332, with appropriations for fiscal 1961 of 3.4 million dollars, would appear to afford an excellent vehicle for conducting studies of school segregation and for evolving programs to aid the desegregation process. It has not at this time been put to work for such an end in any material sense.

9. See Table 1, "Segregation-Desegregation Status," reproduced from Southern School News, Dec. 1962, p. 1, which appears here immediately following these footnotes.

10. See Table 1, referred to in note 9, supra. Between 1961 and 1962 the number of Negroes attending school with whites in these six states rose from 6,882 to 12,066.

11. The Ku Klux Klan Act presently appears as 42 USC §1985.

12. The Clark-Celler Bill was introduced in the Senate as S. 1817 and a summary of the bill's contents appears in the Congressional Record, 87 Cong., 1st Sess., p. 7457. This summary is reproduced as Appendix C of this memorandum.

13. S. 1818, summarized in the Congressional Record, 87 Con., 1st Sess., p. 7458.

14. See the Commission's "Recommendation 1" which is set forth in Appendix A of this memorandum.

15. See the Commission's "Recommendation 2" which is set forth in Appendix B of this memorandum.

16. But see Rippy v. Borders, 250 F.2d 690 (C.A. 5, 1957) [where a rather startling order at an earlier stage of the Dallas case was reversed in

the Court of Appeals on the ground that it failed to provide school authorities with adequate time to prepare]; and Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, 308 F. 2d 491, 7 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 (C.A. 5, 1962) [scaling down the District court's order to embrace fewer grades but enlarging the scope of desegregation at the grade levels affected].

17. When, following Meredith's admission to the University of Mississippi, his case came before the Supreme Court for review, the Court declined to hear it, thus leaving in effect the order of the Court of Appeals which had directed his admission. Fair v. Meredith, 83 S. Ct. 49 (1962).

18. A partial list of federal statutes making special provision for recovery of litigation costs in particular situations is found in 6 MOORE, FEDERAL PRACTICE, 2d ed. pp. 1318-1322. In state courts, wives - even when unsuccessful - may usually recover reasonable attorney fees in actions for separation or divorce; and states in numerous other instances make special provision for reimbursement of litigation costs.

19. See generally Sprague v. Ticonic National Bank, 307 U.S. 161 at 164-166 (1939); and Rolax v. Atlantic Coast Line R. Co., 186 F. 2d 473 (C.A. 4, 1951) [a case involving racial discrimination in which Negro plaintiffs were allowed to recover the full amount of their attorneys' fees because the defendants had forced them back into court by asserting frivolous defenses.

20. The request for attorneys' fees in the Virginia case is reported in Southern School News, Dec. 1962, p. 9. The case in question is Bell v. Powhatan County School Board, not reported as this is written.

21. The Johnson conciliation proposal was introduced into the Senate as S. 499, 86 Cong., 1st Sess. (1959).

22. The recommendation first appeared as Recommendation 1 (b) in the REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, 1959, p. 326. The proposal was renewed as Recommendation 6 (b) in the Commission's 1961 biennial report, reproduced in Appendix A of this memorandum.

23. See the Commission's "Recommendation 2" which is set forth in Appendix A of this memorandum. The Commission's "Recommendation 9," appearing in the same Appendix, also recommended withholding funds under the Library Services Act where districts using them practiced racial discrimination in the use of their public library facilities.

24. See the Commission's "Recommendations 4, 5 and 10," which appear in Appendix A of this memorandum.

25. The Federal Aid to Education bill, entitled "School Assistance Act of 1961," passed the Senate May 25, 1961, as S. 1021, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. See also Sen. Report 255, Calendar No. 228, 87 Cong., 1st Sess. The legislation was thereafter killed in the House. The provision for special education projects appeared in Section 109 of the bill as it passed the Senate.

26. See the Commission's "Recommendation 5," which appears in Appendix A of this memorandum.

27. See the Commission's "Recommendation 12" which appears in Appendix A of this memorandum.

28. See the Commission's "Recommendation 6 (a)" which appears in Appendix A of this memorandum.

ELEMENTS OF A NEW APPROACH TO FEPC LEGISLATION

I. Coverage

A. Shall prohibit discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, creed, religion, ancestry or national origin.

B. Shall apply to all employers engaged in inter-state commerce, all government contractors, all agencies of the Federal government and all agencies, organizations or local and state governmental units which receive Federal funds directly or indirectly, all labor organizations having achieved recognition under the National Labor Relations Act or any other employee association, and all employment agehcies, public and private.

C. Shall require all those covered to take affirmative action to insure that qualified applicants are employed and that employees are treated during employment without regard to their race, color, creed, religion, ancestry or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rate of pay or other forms of compensation; selection for training, including apprenticeship; equal opportunity for membership in employee organizations; equal treatment with regard to seniority rights; equal treatment with regard to all referrals for employment; and equal access to all facilities or services operated or maintained by any person, employer, agency or organization covered by the provisions of this Act.

D. Shall prohibit any individual or organization from interferring with the purposes of this Act.

II. Administration

A. Responsibility for the administration of this Act shall be placed upon the Administrator of the Office of Manpower Administration within the Department of Labor, except that those provisions of the Act relating to Federal employment shall be administered under the authority of the Chairman of the United States Civil Service Commission.

B. Provision shall be made for the development of appropriate regulations by the Administrator authorized the establishment of suitable enforcement, inspection and educational machinery utilizing every appropriate unit of the Department of Labor.

C. Provision shall be made for the continuation of the authority under Executive Order 10925 to appoint Cnntract Compliance Officers within each Federal agency.

D. Provision shall be made for the continuation of the authority under Executive Order 10925 to appoint Employment Policy Officers within each Federal agency.

E. Provision shall be made requiring the cooperation of all Federal Departments and agencies in carrying out the purposes of this Act.

III. Powers, Procedures and Sanctions

A. The Administrator and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission shall have the power to initiate studies, investigations, and surveys into all employment practices covered by the act and to require compliance with the standards established by the Act or subsequent regulation.

B. The Administrator and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission.shall be authorized to issue appropriate orders requiring compliance with the standards established by Act or subsequent regulations.

C. The Administrator and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commissioner shall be authorized to accept complaints from aggrieved individuals and to process them with provision for conciliation and, failing that, shall issue appropriate orders requiring compliance with the provisions of the Act.

D. In the event any respondent fails to comply with an order of the Administrator, the Administrator is authorized to request the appropriate Federal Court for an enforcement order.

E. The sanctions of contract cancellation and debarrment should be continued.

IV. Appeals and Safeguards

A. There shall be established a three member board of Appeals, to which respondents against whom any orders may have been issued by the Administration may appeal for appropriate review.

B. All appeals involving Federal employment shall be made to the field Civil Service Commission.

C. All orders issued by the Administration and upheld by the Board of Appeals may be appealed further to the appropriate Federal Circuit Court of Appeals.

PA
Ohio University
"Ohio"

(3)
file

March 16, 1966

Mr. Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.
Director
Mershon Social Science Program
The Ohio State University
1659 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Furniss:

Thank you for the schedule for the Wilson Park Alumni Reunion. While my schedule is somewhat uncertain, I shall plan to be at the reception at 5:00 p.m. on May 13. I would be grateful if you would have arranged for me a single room at Stouffer's University Inn for that evening.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Rec'd 3/15/66

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
MERSHON SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAM
1659 NORTH HIGH STREET
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

EDGAR S. FURNISS, JR., *Director*

March 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I enclose with this letter a schedule for the Wilton Park alumni reunion on May 13, 1966. As you can see, plans for the event are nearly complete. Stouffer's University Inn, which is near the Ohio State campus. is holding a block of rooms for us for Friday night, the 13th, and we would like to hear from you regarding your time of arrival and the type of accommodations you wish to reserve. The reception and dinner will be held at Stouffer's, but if you would prefer to stay elsewhere, you are, of course, free to make your own arrangements. We would appreciate knowing your plans so that we can inform the Inn about arrival times and types and number of rooms required. I look forward to hearing from you and to welcoming you to Columbus in May.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar Furniss

Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.

ESF:gh
Encl.

Friday, May 13

5 - 6:30 pm	Reception: Stouffer's University Inn
6:30-8:00	Dinner: Welcoming Remarks: Vice President John C. Weaver
	Reply: Warden H. Koeppler
8 - 10:30	Brains' Trust:
	Subject: Great Britain and the United States in the New Europe
	Convener of the Panel: Lawrence Herson
	Moderator: Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.
	Panel Leader: Warden H. Koeppler
	Panelists: Three Wilton Park Alumni
10:30	Adjournment

Saturday, May 14

7:30-9 am	Informal breakfast

Bring up
May 6, 1966

December 8, 1965

Mr. John C. Weaver
Vice President and Dean
The Ohio State University
190 North Oval Drive
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Weaver:

Thank you for your invitation to the May 13 conference and reception. I look forward with pleasure to meeting you, and to renewing the acquaintance of Dr. Koeppler.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
190 NORTH OVAL DRIVE
COLUMBUS, OHIO 43210

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
FOR ACADEMIC AFFAIRS
AND DEAN OF FACULTIES

December 1, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
295 Alpine Way
Forest Park, Georgia

Dear Wilton Park Alumnus:

The Ohio State University is pleased to announce that Dr. H. Koeppler, Warden of Wilton Park, will be Mershon Visiting Professor in Political Science for the Spring Quarter, 1966. To mark the occasion, and the coincident establishment at the University of a Center for Atlantic Policy Studies, I take pleasure in inviting you to a Conference on the campus Friday, May 13.

In addition to a talk by the Warden, there will be a panel ("brains trust"), followed by open discussion. Dr. Koeppler will, in his inimitable style, preside over panel and discussion. Prior festivities will include reception and banquet. Details concerning the program and available housing will be provided later, following receipt of your acceptance. Unfortunately, the very large number of Wilton Park alumni preclude asking all to the Conference. This invitation has accordingly been sent to a limited number, selected to represent professions, geographic locale, and date of attendance at Wilton Park. After I have seen the proportion of acceptances, I shall consider whether additional invitations should be sent. Therefore, please let me have your answer as soon as you conveniently can.

Mrs. Weaver and I, together with other Wilton Park alumni on this campus, look forward to welcoming you and providing a congenial atmosphere for renewing old acquaintanceships.

Sincerely yours,

John C. Weaver
SH

John C. Weaver
Vice President and Dean

JCW:sh

Free Universities "Ohio II."

May 3, 1966

Mr. Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.
Director
Mershon Social Science Program
The Ohio State University
1659 North High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Furniss:

On Friday, May 13, I shall be coming to Columbus from New York on TWA Flight 111, arriving at 3:00 p.m. On arrival I shall come to Stouffer's University Inn and be available for the reception at 5:00 p.m.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 5/9/66 file Universities Ohio

MS - file

Reunion for

American Alumni of Wilton Park

May 13, 1966

5 - 6:30 PM	Reception: Vice President and Mrs. Weaver, 3391 Stonehenge Court
6:30 - 8	Dinner: Welcoming Remarks: Vice President John C. Weaver
	Reply: Warden H. Koeppler
8 - 10:30	Brains' Trust:
	Subject: Great Britain and the United States in the New Europe
	Convener of the Panel: Lawrence Herson
	Moderator: Harold Sprout
	Panel Leader: Warden H. Koeppler
	Panelists: Edgar S. Furniss, Jr.
	William Olson
	Addison W. Parris
10:30	Adjournment

May 14, 1966

7:30 - 9:00 AM	Informal Breakfast

~~Deeply~~ regret taxi-limousine strike has caused me to miss flight New York. Columbus. Please express my deepest regret to Dr. Koeppler, + to Mrs Weaver

American Alumni Attending Wilton Park Reunion

Paul Anthony, Forest Park, Georgia; Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

R. Jean Brownlee, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Dean, College of Liberal Arts for Women, University of Pennsylvania

S. Chadwick Reed, Short Hills, New Jersey; President, The Axe Securities Corporation

James B. Christoph (Mr. and Mrs.), Columbus, Ohio; Associate Professor, Political Science, Ohio State University

Dr. Lemon Clark, Fayetteville, Arkansas; Physician

Robert V. Cummins (Mr. and Mrs.), Indianapolis, Indiana; Director of Advertising, P. R. Mallory and Company, Inc.

John W. DeWolf, (Mr. and Mrs.), Scarsdale, New York; Vice President, G. M. Basford Company

Russell N. Fifield, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Professor, Political Science, University of Michigan

Edgar S. Furniss, Jr. (Mr. and Mrs.), Columbus, Ohio; Director, Mershon Social Science Program, Ohio State University

Lawrence J. R. Herson (Mr. and Mrs.), Columbus, Ohio; Chairman, Political Science, Ohio State University

George D. Humphrey, Laramie, Wyoming; President Emeritus, University of Wyoming

Lester Jayson, Bethesda, Maryland; Director, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress

Stanley Kelley, Jr., Princeton, New Jersey; Chairman, Politics, Princeton University

Ruth Weir Miller, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Executive Director, World Affairs Council of Philadelphia

Walden Moore (Mr. and Mrs.), New York, New York; Director, Declaration of Atlantic Unity

William C. Olson, New York, New York; Dean, School of International Affairs, Columbia University

Addison W. Parris, Chevy Chase, Maryland; Economist, Committee for Economic Development

James K. Pollock, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Professor, Political Science, University of Michigan

J. Paul Scheetz, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Director and Vice President of Planning and Development, The Rust Engineering Company

David Spitz (Mr. and Mrs.), Columbus, Ohio; Professor, Political Science, Ohio State University

Harold Sprout (Mr. and Mrs.), Princeton, New Jersey; Professor, Politics, Princeton, New Jersey

John Seabury Thomson, Chevy Chase, Maryland; Political Scientist, Department of State

John C. Weaver (Mr. and Mrs.), Columbus, Ohio; Vice President and Dean, Ohio State University

Frank H. Weir, Havertown, Pennsylvania; Editorial Staff, Philadelphia Inquirer

Edgar G. Williams (Mr. and Mrs.), Bloomington, Indiana; Associate Dean, Graduate School of Business, Indiana University

Rec'd 7/5/66

File Chris - Okla or gen.

MT - file

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

July 1, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We are about to recover from the paper work and communication associated with the conference held at Fountainhead. We enrolled 212 participants in the conference including 40 Texas principals and 125 Oklahoma principals. We have received many complimentary comments and letters concerning the conference, and I have heard nothing but praise for your presentation.

We always have regrets about efforts made to improve human relations particularly as we view the enormity of the problem and the very small dent that we make in the shell of the problem. I regret first of all that we didn't involve you more in interaction with the group. Your obvious sincerity, knowledge and commitment to the task of improving the status of minority groups is obvious a minute after you begin a discussion. I further regret that I didn't get the opportunity to visit with you more. I do hope that you had the opportunity of exchanging a few ideas with participants as well as get a little rest from your very busy schedule.

Thanks again for coming our way.

Sincerely yours,

Truman

Truman Wester, Director
Consultative Center

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
Research Institute
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

December 3, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are transmitting herewith ten copies of a proposal on "Sources of Social Resistance to Desegregation" originated by Dr. J. E. Dodson, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Chairman of that Department here at the University of Oklahoma.

We have included an indirect charge of 15% of the total cost of this project in the budget. This covers the expenses involved in the routine administration of the project and payment to the University of Oklahoma for services such as heat, lights, janitorial services and the like. In the event that this charge is incompatible with your policies, we would not want the project prejudiced and would be willing to have you strike it from our proposed budget.

If additional information is needed for the evaluation of this proposal, we shall be pleased to hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Verne C. Kennedy, Jr.
Executive Director

K:s
Enc. 10 c Proposal

December 22, 1958

Dr. Verne C. Kennedy, Jr.
Executive Director
University of Oklahoma
Research Institute
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Kennedy:

This is to acknowledge your letter of December 3 transmitting copies of a research proposal on sources of resistance to desegregation. Although we have read the proposal with interest, the Southern Regional Council unfortunately is not in position to give financial support to research projects, however worthy.

I am taking the liberty, however, of sending several copies of your proposal to Mr. Oscar Cohen, program director of the Anti-Defamation League. Mr. Cohen has done more than anyone in the action agencies to encourage and find support for useful research efforts. I am sure he will help if he can.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Oscar Cohen

January 5, 1959

Dr. Verne C. Kennedy, Jr.
Executive Director
University of Oklahoma
Research Institute
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Kennedy:

Oscar Cohen of the Anti-Defamation League has just written me about your proposed research project. Since it is not clear whether or not he has written you, I thought I should give you his reaction.

Unfortunately, Mr. Cohen's conclusion is that he is unable to help. His organization and those sources he is in touch with see a great need for more short-run, action-oriented projects. I am sorry that we couldn't be of more assistance.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

REGARDING

PROPOSED RESEARCH PROJECT

DATE

1-5-59

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE

File
Universities -
Oklahoma
(make folder, I don't think
there is one)

October 5, 1965

Dr. John B. O'Hara
Human Relations Center
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma'

Dear John:

As Glenn Snider requested, here's something. Hope it will suffice.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. ("Public School Integration: Some Thoughts on Policy and Methods")

October 4, 1965

Mr. Glenn R. Snider
Southwest Center for
Human Relations Studies
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Dr. Snider:

Your request for an abstract of my presentation at the Institute could not have been better calculated to make me feel foolish. I threw away the outline about two weeks ago.

However, I shall be happy to attempt to do something adequate and have it to Dr. O'Hara by October 20.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm
cc: Dr. John B. O'Hara

Return to PA

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069

September 22, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am sure you recall the presentation which you made at the Human Relations Institute, held last June, on Factors Related to Successful Desegregation of School Population and Faculties. We anticipate at a later date getting out a rather complete report on the Institute and its follow-up program and one of the highlights of this report should be an abstract of the major presentations which were made at the Institute.

For this reason, we would appreciate it a great deal if you would assume the responsibility of preparing an abstract of approximately 500 to 1000 words concerning the major ideas in your presentation. We realize that this is some burden for you to undertake this long after the presentation, but we are assuming that you have the notes from your talk. We would like to say, also, that we will be able to send you a check in the amount of $35.00 for the trouble. If you are willing to undertake this responsibility, we will appreciate very much receiving your abstract by October 20, 1965. When the abstract is completed please mail it direct to Dr. John B. O'Hara, ~~Human Relations~~ Center.

Your cooperation in this matter is certainly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Glenn R. Snider

Glenn R. Snider

GRS/lv

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069

File

October 11, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We have received your abstract of the presentation you made to our Institute in June. It is precisely what we need.

Thanks very much for your prompt response. The remuneration indicated will be sent in the near future.

Yours truly,

Lonnie H. Wagstaff

Lonnie H. Wagstaff

LHW/lkv

File - University of Oklahoma

August 8, 1966

Mr. Glenn R. Snider
Professor of Education
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Glenn:

Thank you for your thoughtful note. It was my pleasure being with you in Oklahoma as it always will to get out there and visit.

Do remember your promise to let me know whenever you are in this area.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

(1)

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

June 27, 1966

Dr. Paul Anthony, President
Southern Regional Conference
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Just a line to let you know that we appreciate very much the contribution which you made towards stimulating the conference held last week at Fountain Head Lodge.

Your Sunday night presentation was a powerful one and did establish the tone we needed for the seminar. Hoping to see you again in the near future, I am

Sincerely,

Glenn Snider

Glenn R. Snider
Professor of Education

GRS:ljo

See: Truman Wester - U. of Oklahoma.

JBA

(Bob, when you have no further need of the pictures, please see that I get them back to return to Mr. Wester). mj

March 31, 1967

Mr. Truman Wester
Director
Consultative Center
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Truman:

Thank you for the material about the team teaching project. Our Managing Editor now has it, and you will be hearing from him or me further. I continue to think the idea is unique and sound and would like to see it get some attention.

We won't need the photographs, so they are being returned to you. However, for the time being, I would like to keep them with the article.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Yale - Underwriters - U. of Oklahoma.

June 22, 1967

Mr. Truman Wester
Director
Consultative Center
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Mr. Wester:

While going through some of Mr. Anthony's materials in his absence, I ran across the enclosed photographs which you had requested returned to you. I am sorry they were not sent to you sooner.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

March 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

When you were with us at Fountainhead, you asked that a resume of the team teaching project with the Wewoka Public Schools be sent to you for possible publication. We assigned one of our graduate assistants, Mr. Robert Bailey, to coordinate this project and have asked him to prepare an article summarizing the program.

We are enclosing his article as well as a set of pictures which were taken on the scene. If you do not use the pictures, we would appreciate it very much if you would return them to us, since this is the only set that we have.

We are quite pleased with the results of the program and are highly confident that the team teaching approach will resolve the basic desegregation issues in the schools. Even though the superintendent has had some verbal battles with compliance personnel in the U. S. Office of Education, he reports that he has had no harassment, no telephone calls, and no derogatory remarks from the community with regards to his plan to desegregate through team teaching. Since his scheme also includes the elimination of the neighborhood school concept, there will be little reason for housing patterns to defeat him in his program.

I trust that your work is going well and that you are seeing progress across the nation in this vital social issue.

Sincerely yours,

Truman

Truman Wester, Director
Consultative Center

TW/hm
Enclosure

See United Oklahoma. U. 8

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

June 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Reference to your letter dated March 31, 1967, subject: team teaching project.

Review of the Spring issue of New South reflected that you were unable to give any attention to our material about the team teaching project. Request that you return to us that material so that we might re-submitt elsewhere. Thank you for your consideration.

Returned 6/30/67 mj

Sincerely,

Don Hall

Don Hall
Acting Director

DH/jw

Jice Unids / Oklahoma

August 23, 1967

Mr. Bill W. Waltman
Field Consultant
Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Mr. Waltman:

Just before Mr. Anthony left for Washington today, he asked me to send you the enclosed Delta Air Lines ticket stub for his recent trip to Oklahoma City.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Bring up P18
Aug. 1967
Note to Mj - RHA is holding PA's ticket in safe. Pick up for pa

Staying at Sooner House

August 10, 1967

Mr. Bill W. Waltman
Field Consultant
Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Mr. Waltman:

This will confirm my engagement with you at 9:30 a.m. on August 22nd. I shall be arriving in Oklahoma City on August 21st at 9:37 p.m., on Braniff, Flight #338.

Regrettably, I will leave on the 22nd returning at 12:25 p.m.

I look forward to being with you than.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Bring up. Aug 14, 1967

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

August 7, 1967

rec'd. 21

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of July 3. We have you scheduled to speak at 9:30 a.m. We would like for the speech to be related to the human relations dimension in education. We would like for you to talk specifically about the responsibilities of a democratic society toward the education of all youngsters.

Your flight will be met, and a reservation has been made for you at the Sooner House for the night of Monday, August 21.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Waltman

Bill W. Waltman
Field Consultant

BWW/hm

file

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

file
Others

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

August 25, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Let me express our appreciation to you for your splendid contribution to the Oklahoma City pre-school conference. It is our opinion that the conference was a success, that the objectives of the conference were accomplished, and that the teachers in the four schools benefited from their participation.

Your contribution was a most significant one, and we appreciate your effort.

Sincerely yours,

Bill Waltman

Bill W. Waltman
Field Consultant

BWW/hm

Free
Univ. of Okla.
Tulsa

Sept 23

September 26, 1967

Mr. Curtis L. Glassco
Associate Director for Tulsa
Consultative Center
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Curtis:

Enclosed is my airline ticket which represents an expenditure of $163.12 for transportation. The other expenses I will be happy to take care of.

I sincerely appreciate being asked to be a part of your program and continue to have a genuine admiration for how well the Consultative Center does these things.

Incidentally, I did get to see Gordon Lovejoy at the hospital after leaving the meeting. While his condition is very serious, I was pleased to find him in good spirits and mentally alert. His doctors are optimistic about his recovery. I think it would be of value to your program and certainly of great help to him if you could give him something to do. I gather a monetary consideration is not of importance but rather simply giving the man a feeling that he still has work to do.

Again, it was good to be with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure - 1

Bring up Sept. 18

September 8, 1967

Mr. Curtis L. Glassco
Associate Director for Tulsa
Consultative Center
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Mr. Glassco:

As requested in your letter to Mr. Anthony of September 6th, I am enclosing a glossy print and some biographical data for him. When you have made use of the glossy, we would appreciate having it returned.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures - 2.

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

September 6, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you so much for your letter confirming your plans to serve as a consultant for the opening session of the second Human Relations Institute on Saturday, September 23.

We have made your reservation for Friday night, September 22 at the Mayo Hotel. A staff member of the Tulsa Consultative Center will pick you up at the Mayo at 7:45 a.m. Saturday morning and drive you to Roosevelt Junior High School where the Institute will be held.

For your information, I am enclosing a bulletin announcing the Institute and will send you the Institute program as soon as it has been completed.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please call us at LU 3-8222. Would it be possible for you to send us a biographical sketch and a glossy print to use for publicity?

We are looking forward to meeting you and working with you on Saturday, September 23.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis L. Glassco

Curtis L. Glassco
Associate Director for Tulsa
Consultative Center

CLG:aw
Enc.

File Educ. of Okla

August 18, 1967

Mr. Murrell L. Burney
Associate Director
Consultative Center for Tulsa Riverview
Elementary School
512 West 12th Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74119

Dear Mr. Burney:

This will confirm my plans to be with you on September 23rd. At a later date I will let you know my travel schedule, though it will not be necessary for anyone to meet me at the Tulsa airport. I would be grateful, however, if you would make a reservation for me at the Mayo Hotel for Friday night, September 22nd. Would you please give me specific instructions on where to be at 8:00 a.m. on Saturday morning, and I shall be there.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

August 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter is a follow-up to our telephone conversation on Monday, July 24. We are looking forward to having you as the keynote speaker on September 23, 1967 at the opening session of the second Human Relations Institute conducted by the Tulsa Consultative Center.

The Tulsa Consultative Center is engaged in a program with the Tulsa Public Schools to emphasize better preparation of the pupils sent to a desegregated school, the better preparation of the school staffs, and the development of an environment of acceptance and understanding at the sending schools and the receiving schools. One of the main objectives of this program is to provide inservice training for school personnel to help them gain the knowledge, techniques, and understandings which will enable them to become more effective in the school environment. The Consultative Center is conducting this Institute for 100 participants, consisting of teachers, principals, counselors, nurses and clerks on seven consecutive Saturdays from 8:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. These participants will be selected from the 11 target area schools involved in this program.

Our problems here in Tulsa were brought about by the migration of the Caucasians to the suburbs and the consequent movement of the Negroes to the central city area of Tulsa, thus causing a large gap in achievement of basic skills between pupils from different cultural backgrounds who are expected to function effectively in desegregated classrooms. Without the proper understanding, preparation, and encouragement the desegregated school experience may cause the pupils to become inoperative in the learning situation. Another phase of the problem is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to "hold" teachers in assignments in many situations where desegregation is in progress.

We are particularly interested in your presenting to this group of Tulsa school personnel their important role in the quest for equal educational opportunity for all students. This group of participants will be approximately 50-50 bi-racial. Particular emphasis should be placed on the impact and importance of human relations rather than race relations.

We will send you the Institute program as soon as all specifics have been completed so you can see the overall picture of this Institute.

We regret that the Consultative Center is not in the position to offer more than $150.00 plus your expenses as an honorarium. Reimbursement for such will be paid within about three weeks from the date of your presentation, as it takes this length of time to process expense reimbursements through the University of Oklahoma business office.

Please let us know in regard to your plane schedule, as a representative from the Tulsa Center will meet you at the airport. If you wish, we will make reservations at the Mayo Hotel for you for Friday night, September 22.

We are indeed grateful to you for taking time from your busy schedule to come to Tulsa. We are looking forward to meeting you and working with you in September. Dr. John O'Hara has spoken so highly of you and is very pleased that you have accepted this invitation.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please feel free to call the Tulsa Center, phone LU 3-8222 collect.

With kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Murrell L. Burney

Murrell L. Burney
Associate Director
Consultative Center for Tulsa
Riverview Elementary School
512 West 12th Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma, 74119

MLB:aw

Jane
University of Oklahoma

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

September 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

I should like to extend to you our sincere thanks and appreciation for taking time out from your busy schedule to make your presentation to the opening session of the second Human Relations Institute.

We have all heard so many favorable comments from the participants and guests regarding your sincere contribution to the Saturday session. It is felt that you set the stage for a successful Human Relations Institute. We are desperately in need of such frank opinions to help solve some of the enormous problems of desegregation and in developing understanding and commitment to basic human rights and values.

Again, thank you so much. We certainly hope that you will be able to serve as a consultant at the Institute being scheduled for this Spring. We will contact you as soon as the dates have been set up and approved.

With kind personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis L. Glassco

Curtis L. Glassco
Associate Director for Tulsa
Consultative Center

CLG:aw
Enc.

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

file

November 15, 1967

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Please accept my somewhat belated thanks for the very stimulating and contributive contributions you made to our seminar on "The Negro Revolution: Civil Rights or Civil Strife". This written projection of my thanks is late because I have been out of the office on emergency leave. However, I hope that it still conveys my sincere appreciation for the excellent contributions you made to the seminar.

Enclosed please find a check covering your expenses and which, also, includes a small honorarium.

Vernon it was a pleasure for Willola and myself to have the opportunity to meet and converse with you. We hope that if you are this way again, you will not hesitate to call or come by to see us.

If we can be of service to you and your program please do not be reluctant to call upon us.

Sincerely,

Lonnie H. Wagstaff Jr.
Acting Director

LHW:ps
cc: Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
Encl.

Bring up. Feb. 19, 1968 for Mar. 2nd trip

February 12, 1968

Mrs. Audrey Wieman
Administrative Assistant
Consultative Center for Tulsa
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Mrs. Wieman:

This will confirm my attendance at your meeting on March 2nd. I shall arrive on the evening of the 1st, but it will not be necessary for anyone to meet me. I shall be in the lobby at 7:45 a.m., Saturday morning.

I look forward to being with you again.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
CONSULTATIVE CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA, 73069

January 29, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter is a confirmation of our telephone conversation on Monday, January 15. We are indeed looking forward to having you as the keynote speaker on Saturday, March 2, 1968 at the opening session of the third Human Relations Institute being conducted by the Tulsa Consultative Center for school personnel. The topic for your presentation is to be "Major Areas of Conflict and Tension in the Democratic Society and the Responsibilities of a Democratic Society."

Your presentation at the fall Institute was so stimulating and set the stage for a successful Institute. We would like to make it possible for the 100 participants of this Institute to have the opportunity to hear your sincere comments and opinions which are so desparetely needed in developing understanding and commitment to basic human rights and values. Incidentally, these participants will be from fifteen Tulsa schools which have been added to the Consultative Center inservice program.

You will again receive $150.00 honorarium plus your expenses for this presentation.

You do have a reservation at the Mayo Hotel for Friday night, March 1, and we will be glad to meet you at the airport, if you wish. One of our staff members will pick you up at the Mayo at 7:45 a.m. on Saturday and drive you to Roosevelt Junior High School where the Institute is again being held.

We are looking forward to working with you again on March 2. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Audrey Wieman

Mrs. Audrey Wieman
Administrative Assistant
Consultative Center for Tulsa

MEMORANDUM March 5, 1968

To: Ruth House Vick

From: Paul Anthony

When I receive payment from the University of Oklahoma, I am to reimburse the Council for plane fare to Tulsa in the amount of $172.04. The trip was made March 1 & 2, 1968.

File
Univ. of Oklahoma

March 5, 1968

Mrs. Audrey Wieman
Administrative Assistant
Southwest Center for Human Relations
Studies
Consultative Center for Tulsa
Riverview Elementary School
512 West 12th Street
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74119

Dear Mrs. Wieman:

Enclosed is the receipt for my plane ticket. It was, as always, a real pleasure being with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Ticket for $172.04)

File
Univ. of Okla.

March 19, 1968

Dr. Glen Snider
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Glen:

Thanks for bringing me up-to-date on the Center. As I hope you know, I continue to have a very real interest in the Center and an appreciation for what it has been able to do. Recently, I have particularly enjoyed several pleasant visits to Tulsa with Joe Garrison's program.

I am turing your letter over to one of our staff people who deals with placement affairs. I doubt if we have any suggestions that are worthwhile, but if we do you will hear from us further.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

RUSSELL B. LONG, LA., CHAIRMAN
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, FLA.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, N. MEX.
ALBERT GORE, TENN.
HERMAN E. TALMADGE, GA.
EUGENE J. MC CARTHY, MINN.
VANCE HARTKE, IND.
J. W. FULBRIGHT, ARK.
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN.
LEE METCALF, MONT.
FRED R. HARRIS, OKLA.
JOHN J. WILLIAMS, DEL.
FRANK CARLSON, KANS.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, UTAH
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
THRUSTON B. MORTON, KY.
EVERETT MC KINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
TOM VAIL, CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Lee Elmer, U of Okla.

June 15, 1968

Dear Friend:

I am writing to invite your participation in a very important conference to be held July 8-13 at the University of Oklahoma. This year, as for the past nine years, the Southwest Center for Human Relations Studies at the University of Oklahoma, in cooperation with the Oklahoma League of Women Voters and the Oklahoma Council of Churches, will present a seminar entitled "Crises in the Nation: Implications of the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." (Optional two-day registration, July 8-9 for League members.)

I consider this to be a very timely topic and encourage you, if you possibly can, to attend this important seminar in Norman. I understand that some of my associates, as well as the national president of the League of Women Voters, plan to participate.

My association with the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders enabled me to walk the streets of America's urban ghettos and visit the homes of the rural poor. I heard the words of the embittered Negro, the apprehensive white, the despairing poor and the alienated young. I believe a conference such as this can help in establishing a new self-image and a new sense of direction for America.

Please look over the enclosed registration materials carefully and return your registration forms directly to the Human Relations Center, University of Oklahoma.

Looking forward to seeing you at the "Crises in the Nation" conference, I am

Sincerely yours,

Fred

FRED R. HARRIS
U. S. Senator,
Honorary Chairman
"Crises in the Nation" Conference

FRH:pcm
Enclosures

A Seminar on

"CRISES IN THE NATION: IMPLICATIONS OF THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS"

July 8-13, 1968
University of Oklahoma

SEMINAR OUTLINE

Monday, July 8...Speakers -- SENATOR FRED R. HARRIS, United States Senator and Member, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders...DAVID GINSBERG, ESQ., Executive Director, National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Washington, D.C.)...MRS. BRUCE BENSON, National President, League of Women Voters (Amherst, Massachusetts)...DR. GEORGE HENDERSON, Professor of Sociology, University of Oklahoma...SMALL GROUP WORKSHOPS...

Tuesday, July 9...Speakers -- MR. JOHN O. BOONE, Director, Project on Administration of Criminal Justice, Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, Georgia)...MR. ROBERT M. TINTSMAN, City Manager (Austin, Texas)...FILM: THE NEED TO CHOOSE (National Council of Churches)...SMALL GROUP WORKSHOPS...

Wednesday, July 10...IN THE OKLAHOMA CITY GHETTO...Speakers -- MR. EDWARD RUTLEDGE, Executive Co-Director, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (New York, New York)...MR. JOE H. LAWTER, Principal, Central High School (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)...MR. STANTON L. YOUNG/MR. MALCOLM DONOHUE, the National Alliance of Businessmen (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)...MR. FROSTY TROY, The Tulsa Tribune (Tulsa, Oklahoma)...MR. KEN GREENWOOD, Radio Station KRMG (Tulsa, Oklahoma)...ORRA G. COMPTON, Executive Director, Oklahoma City Community Relations Commission (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma)...MRS. LOIS H. GATCHELL, Executive Director, Tulsa Community Relations Commission (Tulsa)...MR. WILLIAM Y. ROSE, Executive Director, Oklahoma Human Rights Commission (Oklahoma City)...SMALL GROUP WORKSHOPS...

Thursday, July 11...Friday July 12...Speakers -- MR. HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director of Race Relations, American Jewish Committee (New York, New York)...DR. ROBERT KETNER, Professor of Social Work, University of Oklahoma...MR. ALLEXANDER J. (JOE) ALLEN, National Urban League (New York, New York)...additional speakers...SMALL GROUP WORKSHOPS...

Saturday, July 13...Wind up and final summarization -- Clayton Feaver and Jack Middleton

TO REGISTER --COMPLETE FORM BELOW AND MAIL WITH CHECK OR MONEY ORDER TO: HUMAN RELATIONS SEMINAR, 1700 ASP AVENUE, NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069.....

- -

Name_____ Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____
"A"Registration(July 8-9) for League of Women Voters members only (price includes two texts and one meal. NO CREDIT. $10.00_____.
"B"Registration (July 8-13) for audit or ONE HOUR CREDIT (price includes two texts and one meal). $25.00_____.
"C"Registration (July 8-13) for audit or TWO HOURS CREDIT (price includes two texts and one meal). $35.00_____.
Note: Both "B" and "C" Registrants will have a banquet included at the end of the Seminar
TYPE OF CREDIT DESIRED (Check one)___Sociology___Philosophy___Educ.___Social Work.
Note: For "C" Registration student agrees to prepare acceptable research project and may be asked to return to the University to present the project.

SPONSORS OF THE SEMINAR: S.W. Center for Human Relations, Univ. of Okla.,American Jewish Committee, Oklahoma League of Women Voters, Oklahoma Coucil of Churches, the Human Relations Agencies of Oklahoma and the National Assoc. of Intergroup Rel. Officials

Crises in the Nation, July 8-15

What happened? Why did it happen? What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

Is our nation moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal?

But what can I do?

What is white racism?

Who me! Prejudiced?

But no one makes problems like!

SOUTHWEST CENTER
FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES
1700 Asp Ave.
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Date _____

PLEASE RESERVE AIR-CONDITIONED HOUSING ACCOMMODATIONS AS INDICATED:

Twin Bedroom - Tub & Shower Bath
___One Person $7.50

Request for single occupancy may be confirmed for double occupancy (share room with another conferee) if demand for housing will not permit assignment for single occupancy on date (s) requested.
___Will share if necessary.

___Two Persons (5.00 per person) 10.00
___Three Persons (4.00 per person12.00

COTTAGE UNIT-Two-Twin Bedrooms, Living Room, Kitchen, Dining Area and Tub and Shower Bath.

___One or Two Persons 18.00
___Three Persons 7.00 per person21.00
___Four Persons 6.00 per person 24.00
___Five Persons 5.50 per person 27.50

Arrival Date _____ Time_____
Name:_____
Address:_____
Departure Date:_____

Conference: 10th Annual Human Relations Workshop
July 8-13, 1968

November 21, 1968

Dr. Joe H. Lawter
Director
Southwest Center for Human Relations
Studies
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Lawter:

This is to express, on behalf of those of us here, congratulations on your appointment as Director of the Center. If we can be of any assistance to you or your colleagues, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

of the

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

is pleased to announce

the appointment of

DR. JOE H. LAWTER U. of Okla

as

DIRECTOR Norman, Okla.

effective July 1, 1968

EDUCATION: B.A., Central State College, 1946
M.S., Oklahoma State University, 1947
Ed.D., University of Oklahoma, 1968

EXPERIENCE: Instructor in Education, S.W. State College, 1947-48
Superintendent of Schools, Putnam , Oklahoma, 1948-51
Counselor, Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1951-53
Elementary Principal, Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1953-55
Jr. High Principal, Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1955-60
Sr. High Principal, Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1960-68

file

405 Wadsack Drive Apt. #D
Norman, Oklahoma 73069
February 12, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As a doctoral thesis problem, I am conducting a study to determine "The Effectiveness of two forms of an Experimental Teaching Unit in Reducing Negro Eighth and Eleventh Graders' Negative Attitudes Toward White People." This study will be conducted under the advisement of Dr. G. R. Snider of the University of Oklahoma in collaboration with the Consultative Center for School Desegregation in Oklahoma.

I have developed a set of statements which are designed to ascertain Negro students' attitudes toward whites. However, the instrument needs to be validated.

Therefore, I am requesting that you serve as one of several judges, with extensive knowledge of Negro students' attitudes, who are being asked to review 90 statements to determine whether they express positive or negative attitudes regarding white people.

Enclosed is a copy of the 90 statements along with directions for judging the items. Items will be included in the final version of the instrument on the basis of agreement found among judges.

Please return your completed copy of the instrument to me in the enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope.

The pre-test is scheduled to be given on March 3, 1969. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Wayman B. Shiver

Wayman B. Shiver

WBS/jlw

Enclosure

May 5, 1969

Mr. John Middleton
Human Relations Center
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Jack:

I know the Center has done a great deal of work with teachers. We have just been approcahed by a county school system asking about written materials that would be beneficial to their teachers entering a newly integrated situation. Would you have anything?

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

May 9, 1969

Mr. Jack D. Middleton
Coordinator
Intergroup Relations Unit
Center for Human Relations Studies
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your good and helpful response to my request.

There is some slight doubt that I can be in St. Louis next week. Although, I still hope to be. If I am, I will be more than happy to join you and the others for dinner. If not, Fred will be able to explain my situation.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHWEST CENTER FOR
HUMAN RELATIONS STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069

May 7, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of May 5 which arrived today. It is always a pleasant surprise to hear from you.

Enclosed are the materials you requested. Please look over the bunch and pick the ones you think are most appropriate. Let me know if you need additional copies or need more information.

Paul, I was about to write to you anyway to invite you out to dinner Friday evening, May 16 in St. Louis. In addition to inviting you I am writing Fred Routh, Lloyd Davis, Ed Howden and one or two others. We'll be the guests of the Stouffer Corporation in their new Top of St. Louis restaurant. I would like an acceptance from you as soon as possible.

Perhaps you have heard that we're moving to New Haven. I will become executive director of the Office of Urban Affairs for the Hartford Archdiocese on July 1. Harold Fleming has assured me that southern boys can make it in the East!

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Jack

JACK D. MIDDLETON
Coordinator
Intergroup Relations Unit

P.S. Would you happen to have a glossy print of Herman Long that I could borrow? I have written him in Talladega but haven't heard back from him.

Encls:

Paul: I think there's going to be a new SCLC program at Auburn — Joe

July 31, 1969

Mr. George Henderson
Goldman Professor of Human Relations
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear George:

Enclosed is the filled in questionnaire which you sent. I should like to add a copple of observations to it.

Question #2 lists the priorities for program such as you plan. I have added there under "other" "basic, traditional disciplines." We have found repeatedly that we get people, particularly young people, with substantial experience and a high degree of motivation in interracial, intercultural matters. But all too often they are woefully inadequate in being educated people. I honestly believe that while such matters are important, exposure and experience across racial lines and deep motivation are not enough, and indeed, are crippling if these are the sole qualifications. People in this field need a good solid education first, from History to Physics. They need to know how to write, how to handle the

King's English, how to communicate verbally, and the like. Albeit that you are planning a graduate level program, I believe some of these basic disciplines geared to the graduate level and the remedial level would be very valuable and, incidentally, unique from my observations from small programs elsewhere.

Also, I have omitted answering question #9. In given instances I would be more than happy to offer the names of highly qualified persons in the fieldsyyou indicate. But I think it would be more helpful if I could respond at the time to the specific need.

Do keep me posted on the development of your program. I am very interested in it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

455 W. LINDSEY, #521

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA 73069

July 24, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

I have been assigned the job of designing a Masters degree program in human relations at the University of Oklahoma. It is my intention to make it the best program in the nation. In order to do this, I will need advice from people like you. I want very much for the program to reflect the views of intergroup specialists throughout the country. Therefore, I am asking you to answer the enclosed questionnaire.

I am also enclosing a brief autobiographical statement so that you can get an idea of my background.

Thank you for whatever assistance you can give me.

Sincerely yours,

George

George Henderson
Goldman Professor of Human Relations

Enclosures (2)
GH/jmw

George Henderson, Ph. D.
Goldman Professor of
Human Relations
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Dr. George Henderson, Goldman Professor of Human Relations at the University of Oklahoma, is a specialist in urban sociology and race relations. He received his Ph. D. degree from Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. Prior to joining the faculty at the University of Oklahoma, he worked in a variety of positions, including lecturer for Wayne State University, the University of Michigan and Michigan State University; Assistant to the Superintendent, Detroit Public Schools; Assistant Director of Intercultural Relations, Detroit Public Schools; Assistant Director of Wayne State's Delinquency Control Training Center; Community Services Director, Detroit Urban League; and Social Economist, Detroit Housing Commission. He has written twenty-eight articles which have appeared in professional journals. He has also written a textbook, FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION, which is to be published by Harper and Row. A second book, TEACHERS SHOULD CARE, will also be published by Harper and Row. Dr. Henderson is currently a consultant to the Oklahoma City Public Schools, Tulsa Public Schools, and the Southwest Center for Human Relations. He serves as the Equal Opportunity Representative at O. U. for the U. S. Department of State. In addition to being a member of several professional associations, Dr. Henderson is a member of the Board of Directors of St. Gregory's College (Oklahoma), and visiting professor of sociology at Langston University (Oklahoma).

mj

February 2, 1970

Dr. George Henderson
Goldman Professor of Human Relations
The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear George:

Thank you for the information on your new degree program. We will be happy to have the Council designated as one of your national training sites, so long as we can hold open the option as to whether or not we will be able to provide stipends. This is necessary because of the new tax law. Our income situation is still very uncertain.

Incidentally, I hope we would have some veto power and responsibility for seeing that the interns are available during the year, other than the summer, since our needs vary from time to time.

Dr. Emory Via, Director of our Resources Development Center, will be our representative.

Warmest regards to everybody at Norman.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

50 W Couch Center South
~~455 West Lindsey~~
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

DEPARTMENT OF
HUMAN RELATIONS

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

January 27, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

I am taking the liberty to send you an outline of our new professional degree at the University of Oklahoma: Master of Arts in human relations. It is my hope that you will find it the type of program in which your agency can become involved in some way.

Specifically, I would like to know if your agency will agree to be designated as one of our "national" training sites? If the answer is affirmative, will you or your designated representative be able to attend a two day briefing conference here in Norman the last week in May? In addition, how many interns may we place in your agency for the six week training period in June and July, 1970? Finally, will your agency provide a stipend to the interns to help defray their living expenses? If so, how much?

Whether or not your agency serves as a national training site, I hope that you will refer potential students and staff members (see enclosed announcement) to our program.

Since ours is a program dependant on feedback and evaluation from professionals in the field, I am extending an invitation for your involvement in our curriculum.

Sincerely,

George

George Henderson, Ph.D.
Goldman Professor of
Human Relations

MASTER OF ARTS IN HUMAN RELATIONS

The University of Oklahoma, Graduate College is now accepting a limited number of candidates for a new degree program, Master of Arts in Human Relations. Conceived and designed as a non-thesis program, it will train professionals in the field of human relations. Specifically, the program will prepare individuals for leadership roles in governmental agencies, public school systems, city and state commissions, and other institutions seeking to improve intergroup relations. Broadly, the program has the following objectives:

1. To equip the student to work for the provision of equal opportunities for minority groups, and to seek solutions to other community problems.

2. To provide the student with the minimum knowledge and competence necessary to function effectively as a professional in human relations. Emphasis will be placed on developing skills related to leadership, communication, understanding various group behavior, and social data analysis.

3. To prepare the student for effective leadership in situations where conflict and tension call for analysis and effective coordination of interpersonal and intergroup efforts.

4. To expose the student to legal precedents and other historical developments, and philosophical foundations which form the basis for legalistic and humanistic approaches to improving intergroup relations.

5. To add to the body of knowledge called "human relations" and, concurrently, assist in more clearly delineating the academic parameters of human relations as a field of study.

Admission and General Requirements

Effort will be made to identify and select candidates whose academic preparation, personal qualities and/or past work experiences give promisefor success in the program. Candidates

who satisfy the general requirements of admission to the Graduate College of the University of Oklahoma shall be admitted to full graduate standing in the program.

Each candidate shall complete a planned program consisting of a minimum of thirty-four semester credit hours, including six credit hours of internship. In addition, each candidate shall complete successfully a research paper related to his internship experiences.

Program of Studies

Most of the academic competence will be gained through a series of interdisciplinary courses evolving around the social sciences, the humanities, and education. The program of studies consists of (1) specially designed human relations courses, (2) appropriate courses available in other departments, and (3) social agency experiences.

Since the basic philosophy of the program anticipates the inclusion of certain relevant and contributive courses from various disciplines, the candidates in the program will often not be expected to meet normal requirements within those departments. In some instances, departments will be requested to waive prerequisite requirements for persons enrolled in this program. However, this will not apply to courses leading to the specializations described below.

Students will be expected to complete at least seventeen credit hours in human relations courses. Eleven of these hours will come from the following courses: Introduction to Human Relations (2 hrs.); Theoretical Foundations of Human Relations

(3 hrs.); Current Problems in Human Relations (3 hrs.); and Research in Human Relations (3 hrs.). The remaining six hours will be selected from other courses in the human relations sequence.

Students desiring a "specialization" in an existing University curriculum shall take eleven graduate hours of course work in a field of study other than human relations. Examples of fields of specialization include: education, social work, political science, sociology, philosophy, history, journalism, law medicine, public health, engineering, psychology, literature, speech, economics, business administration.

The program requires completion of "local" and "national" internship experiences, developed in collaboration with various governmental, public, and private agencies within and outside Oklahoma. These field experiences are designed so as to place the candidate in intergroup situations calculated to provide him the most challenging kinds of experiences. Interns will be expected to handle a broad range of intergroup agency problems.

The program is characterized by extensive individual counseling with academic advisors and a graduate committee. Because degree candidates will come from a wide variety of academic and experience backgrounds. considerable flexibility is built-in so that each candidate can pursue the curriculum most suitable for him and can be placed in the internship most apt to be contributive for him and most closely related to his employment goals.

General Examination

After fifteen hours of course work have been completed, the candidate shall be required to take and satisfactorily pass a general examination based on major concepts, issues, and techniques underlying the field of human relations. The examination, however, shall make no attempt to re-examine the candidate over all the course work he has taken. The examination shall be both written and oral and shall take place prior to completion of the final research paper in human relations.

Course Descriptions

H.R. 300 Introduction to Human Relations. 2 hours.
Orientation to the degree program and the nature of intergroup relations concerns. Designed to give the student an overview of the field of study that he is to undertake. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 301 Theoretical Foundations of Human Relations. 3 hours.
An analysis of human relations from the perspectives of the social sciences, the humanities, and education. Team teaching (involving a social scientist, a humanist, and an educator) will be used. In addition, outstanding theorists from the three disciplines will be used as guest lecturers. Prerequisite, advanced undergraduate or graduate standing.

H.R. 302 Current Problems in Human Relations. 3 hours.
In-depth studies of outstanding problems facing social practitioners. The major areas of concern will in-

clude: mental health, education, legislation, news media, welfare,housing, and employment. Team teaching will be supplemented with guest lecturers from low-income neighborhoods and local and national agencies. Prerequisite, Human Relations 301 or consent of the instructor.

H.R. 350 Directed Reading. 1 to 6 hours. Prerequisite, permission of the instructor.

H.R. 360 Research in Human Relations. 3 hours.
Class members will be divided into interdisciplinary teams and given a community problem to research. Team members will analyze their problem from the perspective of their academic specializations. Each student will contribute to a final team report. Prerequisite, advanced undergraduate or graduate standing.

H.R. 400 Seminar in Strategies of Social Change. 3 hours.
A study of techniques for bringing about individual, group, and organizational changes. Special focus will be placed on the philosophies and results of violent and nonviolent tactics. Prerequistie, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 401 Seminar in Human Relations in Literature. 3 hours.
Analysis of majority-minority relations by reviewing historical and contemporary literature: poems, novels, plays, essays, etc. The semantics of prejudice will be examined. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 402 Seminar in Group Dynamics. 3 hours.

An intensive study and critique of social-psychological concepts related to the relative effects of minority group status, poverty, and color differences. Role-playing, socio-dramas, and other similar techniques of introspection will be used to sensitize the class to the effects of intra- and intergroup conflict. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 403 Seminar in Legal Rights and Community Practices. 3 hours.

Analysis of federal laws affecting intergroup relations and community responses to these laws. Attention will be given to laws affecting the health, education, welfare, housing, and financial rights of minority groups. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 404 Seminar in Comprehensive Community Planning. 3 hours.

A review of various approaches to community renewal. Special topics will include: urban renewal, human renewal, community participation, and problems of coordinating interdisciplinary efforts. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 489 Seminar in Local Issues in Human Relations. 3 hours.

Daily situations of intergroup conflict in the university-community and surrounding communities will be analyzed and placed in perspective of national issues. Field visits to the places of conflict will be supplemented with guest speakers. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

H.R. 490 Internship in Human Relations. 2-6 hours.

Field experiences in social agencies within and outside Oklahoma. Each student must have both types of experiences. Must be repeated until six hours of credit are earned. Agency roles and responsibilities will be learned by on-the-job practice. Prerequisite, admission to the degree program in human relations.

Financial Assistance

In addition to stipends for the national internship, a limited number of grants ranging from $500 to $2,500 are available to candidates, depending on their needs. Finally, the Department of Human Relations will award four $3,000 fellowships to outstanding candidates.

For application to the program write:

George Henderson, Ph.D.
Goldman Professor of Human Relations
University of Oklahoma
507W, Couch South
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

April 15, 1970

Mr. George Henderson
The University of Oklahoma
1524 Asp Avenue, Room 507-W
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

Dear George:

While I recognize the rationale, I am sorry that you will be 1971 starting the intern program.

At some late date when we know more about the specifics of the program, we can determine whether I or someone else here should be designated as special instructor, and whether or not a stipend is in order.

I do hope we will have an opportunity to get together in the not too distant future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

May 25-27 meeting postponed until fall.
PA or EV will get letter announcing
E.T.V. by phone 5/19/70

The University of Oklahoma 1524 Asp Avenue, Room 507-W Norman, Oklahoma 73069

April 7, 1970

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

APR 14 1970

Dear Paul:

Thank you for agreeing to have your agency designated as a national training site for students in the University of Oklahoma's human relations program. Since my last letter to you, the Board of Higher Regents approved the program but not for the recommended summer 1970 beginning date. At first, I was quite dejected. Now, after a bit of thought, I can see the ruling as being good. We will have more time to think through the internship as well as to seek funds to: (1) support students and (2) pay for your expenses to visit our campus prior to next summer's (1971) internship. In addition, if agreeable to you, I hope to work out arrangements to appoint you and/or another agency representative as special instructor and provide you a modest stipend for supervising the students.

Department of Human Relations

I would very much appreciate your comments about the revised plan for our cooperative venture.

Sincerely,

George

George Henderson
Goldman Professor of
Human Relations

325-0311 Univ of Okla. (Info.)
325-1756 - Henderson's office

GH:jb

MF - Did one of these get into the files? H.

FORMAL PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH

TO THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ON

SOURCES OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE TO DESEGREGATION

Name and Address of Institution

University of Oklahoma Research Institute
Office of the Executive Director
Norman, Oklahoma

Name of Principal Investigator

Dr. J. E. Dodson
Assistant Professor of Sociology
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Introduction

This research is intended to explore the question of why desegregation attempts have met with apparent success in some southern communities and failure in others. It is based on the observation and reactions to desegregation proceedings are variable, and often unpredictable. For example, the schools were quietly integrated at Oklahoma City, while at Little Rock the same action provoked sustained resistance. The study is primarily interested in combining statistical and community research methods to provide information which could be used in

explaining and predicting the factors that account for such differences among communities. In the present state of affairs there is an urgent need to identify the sources of variability in social opposition to desegregation measures, particularly from the practical standpoint of reducing unnecessary group tensions which may follow attempts to enforce court orders. It is doubtful that contemporary knowledge is adequate for preparing plans to prevent avoidable intergroup tensions.

Research Objectives

A. Community Types

The study will focus on a factor which is usually present in race situations, namely, the prevalence of a disposition by dominant majorities to participate in actions which ensure the continuation of racial barriers. In broad terms, the objective of the study is to employ factor analysis, multiple correlation and analysis of variance to assess the role of such attitudes in explaining differences between two operationally defined community types: (1) nonresisting communities in which desegregation has been accepted with a minimum of social discord such as Oklahoma City, (2) those in which social resistance has provoked intergroup tensions, i.e. Little Rock. For purposes of identification the two are respectively labeled type "A" (accepting communities) and type "R" (resisting communities).

B. Attitude Groups

Two attitude groups will be considered as possible sources of variation between type A and type R communities. One is the prevalence of unfavorable attitudes among the general lay public within each community type, while the other involves corresponding attitudes of small groups composed of influential persons who may be able to affect desegregation proceedings. These are respectively designated as (1) lay and (2) leadership groups. The research question for the first may be stated as follows: Can the differences between type A and type R communities be explained by an uneven distribution of hostile attitudes among the lay public toward desegregation? Contemporary textbooks on race relations provide little concrete evidence for answering this question, although most seem to imply that southern sentiment on the race question is relatively uniform within a given region. Assuming this is true, then differential community reactions to integration proceedings become somewhat puzzling. For if the attitudes of the lay public in two communities are basically alike, then why does desegregation provoke social conflict in one, and not in the other? A possible answer is suggested by the second research question: Can the differences be due to unequal proportions of hostile attitudes among leaders within each community type. It is likely

that certain key individuals within any southern community are capable of triggering latent attitudes of resistance, which if left dormant would have allowed desegregation processes to take their course without disturbance. Some observers believe that the greatest resistance comes from strong vocal minorities acting under the influence of such leaders. This may well be true, but much still remains to be known, such as the social characteristics and relative distribution of these attitude groups.

C. Resistance Types

The two attitude groups described above will be analyzed so as to take account of two types of resistance which are believed to be important in understanding differences in community reaction to desegregation attempts. A distinction is made between (1) participating and (2) nonparticipating resistance to social integration. This distinction is based on the observation that many southern whites have unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes and desegregation, but are unwilling to participate in actions which block attempts to establish racial equality. Such persons are identified in this study as nonparticipating resistors. They may speak or think unfavorably of the Negro, but for reasons of social status, sense of propriety, or sheer convenience they will not demonstrate their feelings by joining opposition groups, attending meetings, or contributing money to prevent desegregation. On the other hand,

an unknown number of persons could be prompted to participate in almost any action which would preserve traditional segregation practices. These individuals are identified in this research as participating resistors.

It should be apparent that a similar distinction may be made for participating and nonparticipating supporters of desegregation. Some individuals have attitudes favoring integration, but for various reasons are unwilling to perform any action calculated to promote it. By contrast, others are favorable and willing to participate in activities which help to end segregation barriers. These counterparts of resistance attitudes will be considered in the research. Thus, eight possible sources of variation will be analyzed for each of the two communities. The basic design of the research will therefore require the collection of data for attitude measurement with the following analytical dimensions.

1. Lay Groups
   - A. Nonparticipating
     - (1) resistors
     - (2) supporters
   - B. Participating
     - (1) resistors
     - (2) supporters

2. Leader Groups
   - A. Nonparticipating
     - (1) resistors
     - (2) supporters
   - B. Participating
     - (1) resistors
     - (2) supporters

Research Procedure

A. Sample Communities

Four communities have been selected for the study. The two resistance types are Little Rock and Dallas, the two accepting types are Oklahoma City and Galveston. Both of the latter have been integrated without incident, whereas the former have either openly opposed desegregation orders or else have made no plans involving a definite time for admitting Negro children to the public schools. Two communities of each type have been selected for the purpose of ensuring some confidence in the results. Each community will serve as a control group on its companion type as well as its counterpart. At this stage of the research it is contemplated to use the first pair of the opposing types to predict variations among their counterparts, Dallas and Galveston.

B. Basic Data

Two categories of information will comprise the basic data of the study. (1) The first consists of attitude scale data obtained from a random sampling of 2000 residents within the four communities, i.e. 500 from each. Two attitude scales will be used, each having two subdimensions which measure participating and non-participating resistance to, and support of desegregation. Both will be constructed by the Edwards Scale Discrimination Method which makes use of the advantages of the Thurston, Likert,

and Guttman Models. Each scale will be validated on known criterion groups. These scales will be administered to both lay and leadership groups. (2) The second category of information will be obtained by direct, personal, tape-recorded interviews with the members of local organizations in each of the communities concerned with opposing and supporting desegregation. Informally acquired knowledge of the members of these organizations will help to identify concealed power structures, maneuverings, and other measures which are not readily accessible to standardized attitude measurement. Five such organizations have been selected for each of the four communities:

1. School Boards
2. White Citizens Council
3. NAACP
4. Council of Churches
5. American Legion

The content of the informal interviewing of these groups will parallel measures of resistance and support which will be obtained on the sampled lay groups, thus providing additional estimates of the relative strength of leadership groups for and against desegregation for each community. Every leader contacted will be asked the same memorized questions.

C. Summary of Variables

The following is a summary outline of the categories of information which will be obtained for every individual in the study.

1. Attitude scale scores, participating, nonparticipating, etc.
2. Race
3. Education in years
4. Length of residence in community
5. Status as layman or leader
6. Family characteristics
   a. Number of children
   b. Marital status
7. Religious membership or preference
8. Organizational membership, i.e. NAACP, White Citizens, other.
9. Age
10. Sex
11. Occupation
12. Income
13. Place of residence by census tract
14. Test scores for social suggestibility

D. Hypotheses

The hypotheses of the research may be classified into the following categories: (1) those concerned with establishing real social differences between the two types of communities, and (2) those concerned with the associated casual factors which may help to account for these differences.

1. With respect to the first, statistical analyses and comparisons of the two community types will provide evidence for testing the following hypotheses:

   a. Type R communities will show significantly greater prevalence of participating resistors among both lay and leadership groups.

   b. Type R communities will have greater proportions of participating supporters among leadership groups, but not among lay groups.

   c. Type A communities will have fewer participating resistors among both lay and leadership groups.

   d. Type A will have more nonparticipating resistors among lay and leadership groups.

   e. Type A will have more nonparticipating supporters among lay and leadership groups.

2. Associated variables which may help to account for these differences:

   a. The greater prevalence of the active resistors in type R communities arises from social influences exerted upon these individuals by associates, employers, clergymen and other opinion leaders. Thus, the participating resistor in type R communities will:

      (1) Have the same social characteristics as nonparticipating resistors, plus an additional tendency to act against desegregation. This hypothesis will be tested by correlation analysis of the two sub-scales in the resistance scale.

      (2) Have read, heard and discussed significantly more unfavorable opinions on racial desegregation than the nonparticipating resistor in both community types.

      (3) Live near and associate with other participating resistors in type R communities.

      (4) Will not differ from the nonparticipating resistors in type A communities for:

         (a) age
         (b) sex
         (c) income
         (d) education
         (e) occupation
         (f) marital status

      (5) Will have significantly more social characteristics associated with suggestibility and persuasion than nonresistors in type R communities. Some of these are:

         (a) lower education
         (b) being single or divorced
         (c) having high anomie scores
         (d) low incomes
         (e) attendance to churches where minister is outspoken critic of desegregation.

(6) A similar but higher degree of correlation with these variables will be found for participating resistors in Type A communities. The theoretical reasoning underlying this hypothesis is that in type A communities there is less agitation designed to arouse public sentiment, and therefore only the most suggestible nonresistors will have exhibited participating tendencies.

b. Exploration of the possible sources of resistance among leaders who are participating resistors in type R communities will reveal that they:

(1) Are uninfluenced by local, state or national pressure groups unless the pressure groups are reference groups for the leaders.

(2) Describe their action as being important matters of principle rather than expediency.

(3) Are conservative and traditional in their attitudes or other social issues.

(4) Less sensitive to sanctions imposed by minorities suchdas economic boycotts.

c. The bridge between leaders and lay participants in both type A and type R communities is group organization. Thus, the approach to organization by participating resistors in type A and type R communities will differ in the following way:

(1) In type R communities participating resistors will have organization in which the leaders have high community prestige; in type A communities participating resistors will not have organizations in which the leaders can get high community interest or support.

(2) In type A communities persons with high community prestige are known as participating supporters; in type R communities no persons of great prestige will be known as participating supporters.

Research Staff

The research staff will be composed of three members of the Oklahoma University Department of Sociology. Their functions and qualifications are described as follows:

A. Project Director

Assistant Professor J. E. Dodson, Ph. D. University of Texas, 1955; Chairman, Department of Sociology. Mr. Dodson has done research in race relations and demography. His publications include:

1. "The Differential Fertility of the Negro Population, Houston, Texas, 1940-50," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, July, 1957, XXXV, pp. 266-279.

2. Minority Group Housing in Two Texas Cities, (will be published as a monograph in a volume on area housing studies sponsored by the Commission on Race and Housing by the University of California Press).

B. Associate Director

Norman R. Jackman, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Ph. D. The University of California, 1955. Mr. Jackman is a specialist in collective behavior and ethnic group studies. He has done research on the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II and is currently engaged in research on the prohibition situation in Oklahoma with Musafer Sherif. His publications include:

1. "Collective Protest in Relocation Centers," Americal Journal of Sociology, November, 1957, LXIII, pp. 264-272.

2. "Survival in Concentration Camps," Human Organization, (to be published in Fall, 1958).

3. "Group Process and Communication in the Prohibition Issue," (to be published, Sociology and Sociological Research, Spring, 1958).

4. Mr. Jackman is writing a monograph on collective behavior under contract with Random House to be published as one of the series of short studies. The manuscript is to be completed November 1, 1958.

C. Statistician

Charles D. Whatley, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Ph. D. Tulane University, 1957. Mr. Whatley is a specialist in research design and statistical analysis. He was research director for a study of public attitudes toward discharged mental patients for the State of Louisiana during 1955-56 while a research fellow at Southeastern State Hospital at Manderville, La. Mr. Whatley during recent months has been undergoing training in the use of electronic computers in sociological research at the Computer Center of the University of Oklahoma.

Research Schedule

A. Preliminary Pilot Study

The period of the research is planned to extend from April 1, 1959 through August 31, 1960. The first six months will be devoted to screening and training a staff of skilled interviewers. Those who prove unsatisfactory at this stage will be eliminated. Both attitude scales will be pretested and administered to a random sample of 400 persons in the two types of communities.

The results will be analyzed in full and reported as a small scale study. This will form the basis for redesigning and improving the larger study to follow. The preliminary stage ends August 31, 1959; a progress report will be issued during the following month.

B. Data for the Main Research Project

Starting September 1, 1959, the statistician will plan and supervise the collection of attitude test data on 1600 randomly sampled persons in the two communities. This data will be coded, processed and analyzed on the IBM Type 650 computer at the University of Oklahoma. During this period the two project co-directors will make all the contacts with local organizations in the communities concerned. They will organize and obtain all tape-recorded interview data with the community leaders, and personally administer the attitude scales to these leaders. This data will be coded and processed along with the results obtained from the lay samples. This period will end April 1, 1960.

C. Analysis, Interpretation, and Write-Up

The final stage of the research will involve the joint effort of the research staff in writing up the findings. It is estimated that approximately six months will be required to complete an organized analysis and summary of the research findings. Fifty copies of the report will be issued in the form of a mimeographed manuscript of approximately 300 to 400 typewritten pages.

Estimated Budget

Salaries and Wages

Research staff of 3 members working one-quarter time, including summers, at $2,000 each	$6,000
Teaching staff replacement three-fourths time	4,500
Secretarial and research assistance	
One research assistant for one year at one-half time	1,400
One full-time secretary for one year	3,000

Social Security and Insurance

Estimated at 3% of direct Salaries and Wages	452

Supplies, Materials and Services

Includes expendable equipment, copies of reprints, reports, etc.	1,800

Travel

For research staff (includes subsistence)	3,500

Other Expenses

Attitude scale data including interviewing costs

1. Administering 2,000 attitude scales at $4 each.	8,000
2. Code p	
2. Coding, punching and IBM preparation	200
3. IBM 650 machine time and programming	800*
Subtotal	$29,650

General Expense

Indirect expenses, 15% of total cost	4,448
Total	$34,100

*The University will contribute one half the cost of the Computer service charge or $800.

Respectfully submitted,

_____

J. E. Dodson, Principal Investigator
Assistant Professor of Sociology
and Chairman of the Department

Approvals

_____

Verne C. Kennedy, Jr., Executive Director
University of Oklahoma Research Institute

_____

Lloyd E. Swearingen, Dean
Graduate College, University of Oklahoma,
and Vice President for Research and Development

File
Univ. of Pittsburgh
on
Univ's-gen. corresp.

June 23, 1964

Mr. Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary
Graduate School of Public and
International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. McCagg:

The morning of July 7 is fine.

It was good meeting you last week. I thought that was a pretty good conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA 15213
CABLE ADDRESS: GSPIA, PITTSBURGHPENN, USA

June 16, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Counsel, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You will perhaps remember our inability to find a convenient meeting time on short notice when I was in Atlanta last November. I find now that I shall be there again on July 6, 7 and 8 and hope that during this time we can arrange to meet. If you could set aside some time now, I am just forming my schedule. I would suggest Tuesday morning, July 7.

The purpose of my visit is to help establish a close relationship between a number of Negro colleges and this School, as well as guiding the college and graduate schools generally in development of their own resources so as to utilize the full potential of the institution in community upgrading.

I look forward to seeing you and I hope we may arrange a meeting. All best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Louis B. McCagg

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary

LBMcC/hl

Make folder

File
Universities -
" Univ. of Pittsburg "

January 23, 1964

Mr. Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary
Graduate School of Public and
International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. McCagg:

I am sorry to be so slow in replying to your letter of December 13, and I regret not seeing you while you were in Atlanta.

I think the interest shown by you and the University of Pittsburgh in the problems of Negro higher education is most worthwhile, and I hope that you will let us know if we may be of any help to you at all.

There has been more interest in recent months in this whole area than I have ever seen before. Some of it is leading to activity with which I think you should be acquainted, if you are not already, because it may deal with the very matters with which you are concerned.

The Carnegie Corporation has underway at least two studies of Negro colleges which, as I understand it, shall seek to cover most of the questions you raise. I suggest that you write to Mr. Frederick H. Jackson at the Carnegie

Corporation. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, with offices here in Atlanta, has beeb, and is now deeply engaged in studying and developing program in this area. I have found that the Woodrow Wilson people are very knowledgeable, and would suggest that you might write to Dean Charles Hounshell, at Emory University, who is the regional representative for Woodrow Wilson.

It seems to me that you would want to investigate these and other activities before deciding on the need for a survey such as you discuss in the last paragraph of your letter.

Finally, I have just received, and not yet had time to do more than skim through, the latest report of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. On the basis of what I have seen so far, and on the stature of its authors I would, however, unreservedly recommend that you get hold of its pamphlet "The Negro Student At Integrated Colleges" by Kenneth Clark and Lawrence Plotkin.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See Universities.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

file

January 21, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Counsel, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Just a month ago, I forwarded you a letter after our plans to get together when I was in Atlanta fell through. I had written you in December, at the urging of Don Matthews at Chapel Hill, to seek your advice about a proposal which grew out of a visit made to a representative group of the negro colleges and secondly, to explore with you the relevance of a study which would examine the offerings of northern universities in the light of the negroes' educational needs and goals. I hope when you have had a chance to review this letter you can let me have your thoughts. I look forward to receiving your advice. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary

LBM/cm

Dec. 31, 1963

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary
Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Penn.

Dear Mr. McCagg:

I have read your recent letter with great interest and care. I think the plans of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs to work with the UNCF colleges in attracting Negro candidates to its program are very commendable, and I hope they can be worked out successfully.

As to the question of getting outside sponsors to finance future candidates through a master's program, I would think that such sponsors could be found, particularly in view of the current efforts by foundations and other groups to aid Negro students and Negro institutions of higher learning. As you undoubtedly know, the Ford Foundation recently announced a grant of $15,000,000 to UNCF colleges, and 35 outstanding business leaders are members of UNCF's national campaign committee to raise $50,000,000. I should imagine that if you were to outline your plans to some of the nation's other leading foundations, you might receive a warm response.

I think you are quite right in feeling that one person or school cannot possibly hope to see or meet all the people who might be interested in the possibilities of graduate work.

For this reason, I feel that your idea of getting other institutions to join with the University of Pittsburgh in forming an association to provide fellowships for Negro graduate students merits serious consideration. In this connection, I think the enclosed copy of a story which appeared in the December 23 issue of the Washington Post will be of interest to you. It may well be that a plan such as that discussed in your letter could be worked out under the auspices of the American Council on Education. I would suggest that you write the Council directly, explaining your ideas and requesting their comments.

The enclosed story also discusses a survey published last week by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro students. It would appear that this survey touches on some of the subjects discussed in the last paragraph of your letter. Before proceeding further with your plans, I think it would be highly advisable for you to obtain a copy of this survey. I also think you should seek the advice and guidance of the Scholarship Service Fund. They may also be able to help you in suggesting possible outside sponsors to help finance a candidate through a master's program. The Fund's address is 6 East 82nd St., New York City.

I hope these comments and suggestions will be helpful to you.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please ~~feel~~ feel free to ~~again, I would like to~~

call on us. I also hope that you will look me up on your next visit

to Atlanta. I look forward to seeing you at that time.

Yours Sincerely,

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

SB

you probably have some thought on this. Please rough draft a reply for my signature

Herewith a rough draft of a reply to this letter.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA, 15213

December 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Counsel, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am sorry that the lateness of my arrival in Atlanta and the fullness of my schedule prevented us from getting together. I had only received your name from Don Matthews the morning I called. However, I would like to write generally of what we are doing here in the hopes that you could make comment upon it. I expect to be in Atlanta again but in the meantime would like to get your advice and counsel first.

In the wake of the civil rights revolution, we have been reassessing our role and what we could do in the education of minority groups in this country. As an initial step, the School recently sent me on a week's visit to eight of the UNCF colleges in an attempt to identify and attract candidates to our programs; to seek general information on financial needs, academic performance, and job opportunities for these students; to explore the possibilities of closer working relationships between the institutions involved, particularly in the form of faculty participation; and finally to discuss generally other means and ways the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs and the various UNCF colleges could in working together provide the type of educational training and background needed for admission into, and advancement in, governmental and quasi-governmental organizations.

This trip was personally a most rewarding experience. I must admit I was not prepared for the generous and warm reception I received throughout the journey. On all sides, I was warmly greeted, spent many hours in the homes of persons with whom I visited, and was encouraged to engage in frank discussions of these and many related issues. It was a heartwarming experience.

From these discussions, there evolved several tentative plans each of which need further exploration and of which we would be most grateful to have, if possible at this time, cursory guidance from you. The idea of the School working with member colleges was warmly received and I suspect that we might have some applications from their graduates. This will probably pose the problem of fairly heavy scholarship assistance which might well go beyond the resources of the School. Should this be the case, do you feel that there would be, for these candidates, outside sponsors who would see them through a masters program. Tuition is $1515 for 11¼ months.

The type of visit which we have recently undertaken, is really a one-shot affair, and while a step in the right direction can only be partially successful inasmuch as one person or one School cannot possibly hope to see or meet all the people (and discuss their needs) who would be interested; therefore, it occurred to me that the University of Pittsburgh should encourage our sister institutions in Pennsylvania and nearby areas to form an association to provide not just one but a great number of fellowships which would be designated for the graduates of the UNCF colleges and which would cover the disciplines and professional schools participating in each of the associate universities. One school coming forward with one or two fellowships is certainly good but does not begin to satisfy the need which would be more nearly met by many graduate schools of the Pittsburgh region (as well as in other areas) offering several score of fellowships. This idea was readily taken to by nearly everyone in the negro colleges with whom it was discussed. The organization and implementation was, of course, not decided, however, a need was recognized for a coordinating and clearing committee to whom applications could be sent and reviewed, and through which publicity would be channeled. Such coordinated effort could also foster a graduate careers conference day, sponsored by the associate graduate schools, and coordinated through the coordinating committee, at each of the negro colleges. Such a presentation should carry considerably more impact than solitary visits by some Schools to a fraction of the UNCF colleges. I shall be very interested in your comment on this proposal.

Finally, I would like to ask about an idea which occurred to me as I was preparing for this recent trip. In preparation for the journey it became quite evident that there were few people (to whom I turned for advice) who had any advice to give inasmuch as they knew very little about the UNCF colleges and no one of them had visited nor did they know members of the UNCF faculties. For this reason this first trip necessarily had to be without the guidance of experience and without any specific knowledge of the students I was to interview, e.g. their backgrounds, resources, and even their interests in graduate study for public service. At the time, it occurred to me if other graduate schools were to move into this area as the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs has just moved in and I can only see that they can and must move quickly and in real strength--the need for a survey report examining the various problems of recruiting in the UNCF area, including expectations; capabilities; limitations; needs, etc. would be of real value in expediting and increasing the interest in and search for negro talent to enter all graduate and professional schools. Specifically, I would be very interested in knowing your feelings on the need for such a survey and the value you think it might have for colleges and graduate schools generally. It became increasingly evident to me as I talked with persons both before and during my trip, as well as observations made during it, that little is known of these southern colleges. Such knowledge as this survey could provide would be of great value in forming an association between the UNCF colleges and northern graduate schools, or so we think now. I shall be most grateful for your counsel on these matters and should be glad to expand in any of these areas for further clarification. The several enclosures are for your reference. With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.

Louis B. McCagg, Jr.
Secretary

LBM/cm

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

Public Administration

This concentration is designed to prepare persons to plan, organize and carry out the broad sweep of programs and services encountered in national, regional, state, or provincial operations. In addition to meeting the needs of the administrative generalist, the curriculum provides an administrative capstone for engineers, economists, lawyers, scientists, business specialists, public health experts, public officials, welfare and other professional personnel.

These programs range from basic training in public administration to advanced preparation for senior responsibilities. Participants in these programs may devote intensive study to one or more of the following areas:

1. Policy and Program Formulation and Execution
2. Administrative Organization and Process
3. Administrative Theory
4. Executive Development
5. Fiscal Processes
6. Management of Human Resources

Persons may be assigned to our regular curriculum for one, two or three trimesters, commencing in early September, January, and April. Participants assigned to this program should be equipped and prepared to engage in seminar work of graduate credit quality.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

Urban Affairs

The emphasis of this program is on training for positions of high level responsibility in Urban Affairs. It features financial, social, physical, and substantive factors in urban development and administration. Specializations are offered leading to practice in the urban policy profession of: Urban Management; Urban Renewal and Urban Planning. Graduate study may also be arranged in Metropolitan Studies without a professional focus.

These programs are for local government personnel and national and provincial officials concerned with local administration, planning and urban development.

These curricula, leading to the master's degree, run for three or four trimesters, (or a total of 12 to 16 months) beginning in September. Participants assigned to this program should be equipped and prepared to engage in seminar work of graduate credit quality.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

Economic and Social Development

This concentration is of particular relevance to officials and students from the newly independent and less industrialized countries. It equips them to participate in the development of national plans; to establish and strengthen governmental services and operations; to plan and implement economic, industrial and social programs and projects; to foster and organize productive enterprises; to provide and utilize economic and technical assistance; and to conduct economic development surveys.

This program is designed for persons in central planning agencies , development agencies, and economic and other ministries engaged in planning, organizing, coordinating, and carrying out development programs and projects.

Persons may be assigned to our regular curriculum for one, two, or three trimesters, commencing in early September, January and April. Participants assigned to this program should be equipped and prepared to engage in seminar work of graduate credit quality.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

International Affairs

This program is designed to prepare personnel for teaching, research, the foreign services, and work in public and private international organizations in the United States and abroad. It includes study in seven interrelated fields, viz.,

1. Research Methodologies in International Affairs
2. Cross-Cultural and Behavioral Analysis
3. Formulation and Execution of Foreign Policies and Diplomacy
4. National Programming for International Security
5. International Law, Organization, and Integration
6. International Communication, Information, and Educational Exchange
7. Economic and Developmental Factors in International Affairs

The student body includes participants who, in most cases, have had significant administrative experience and who are sponsored by AID, UN, UNESCO, OAS, the Institute of International Education, the Armed Services of the USA, USIA, the Department of State, etc.

Persons may be assigned to our regular curriculum for one, two, or three trimesters, commencing either in early September, January, and April. Participants assigned to these programs should be qualified to engage in seminar work of graduate quality.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

The Doctoral Program

A major emphasis of doctoral study is on developing theoretical frameworks for the amalgamation of new and existing bodies of knowledge about administration in public settings, and on developing and understanding of how such knowledge can be applied to the solution of program and administrative problems. Also, it seeks to establish patterns for the further study of public administration in all its aspects. The program integrates knowledge from various professional fields and academic disciplines, as such knowledge pertains to the administrative process in public and quasi-public organizations.

All students enrolled in the doctoral program are expected to undertake work and take comprehensive examinations in five of eight fields. Each of these fields is of sufficient breadth to allow specialization within it, and to permit work in other schools and disciplines of the University.

Two fields are selected from a group of environmental fields of administrative activity. The environmental fields are: (a) International and Intercultural Affairs, (b) Economic and Social Development, (c) National Comparative Administration, (d) Urban Affairs, and (e) Voluntary and Community Organizations.

In addition all students must demonstrate mastery in (1) administrative theory, (2) the processes of administrative action, and (3) a field of public policy related to the two selected environmental fields.

This program is designed primarily to prepare persons for careers in advanced teaching, research, and consultation.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PITTSBURGH 13, PENNSYLVANIA

I would also call your attention to the Institutes we will be holding during the next eighteen months.

The Institute of Administrative Management
October 5, 1964 through January 30, 1965

Participants in this Insitute are given solid grounding in the practices of administration in the development of improved organization, management and methods. The program is now scheduled for the eighth consecutive year.

The Institute features: Case studies, problem situations, individual and group projects, visits to and evaluations of practices of public and private agencies, practical approaches to administrative improvement, and organization and management internships in the Pittsburgh area.

First International Institute on Management of Development Programs and Projects
May 3 through July 26, 1964

This international seminar and workshop is designed to help remedy a universal obstacle to development: the shortage of persons capable of planning, organizing and executing development programs and projects, and of formulating financial proposals. The objective is to help countries throughout the world to achieve their development goals by increasing their competence in project and program management.

Economic, Social and Industrial Development Institute
exact time to be scheduled

This Institute is designed for persons involved in the work of planning, organizing and conducting national development programs and projects, or other experienced personnel moving in the mainstreams of development administration.

The Institute covers the entire range of factors - social, economic, cultural, technological, political and administrative - which condition the process of social and economic growth and modernization of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The twelve-week program includes a field trip to a laboratory of ongoing developmental activity, i.e., Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Mexico.

Make folder "Princeton Univ"
File: Universities
Cabinet #18
Draw 2

January 6, 1964

Professor John F. Sly
Woodrow Wilson School of Public
and International Affairs
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Sly:

I have your letter of December 26 requesting the names of suitable persons for your conference on the Appalachian Region.

I think you might consider the following:

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, President, College of the Bible, Lexington, Kentucky. Dr. Montgomery has spent most of his life living and working in the mountain regions of Virginia and Kentucky. He is very knowledgeable, and has a keen understanding of the area.

Mr. and Mrs. James Stokely, 405 Clifton Heights, Newport, Tennessee. Wilma and Jim frequently write together (under the byline of Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely) for the New York Times Magazine, and other periodicals. Jim is also a poet and Wilma a novelist. They have also been the co-authors of the biography of Will Alexander, and are engaged in research of the East Tennessee mountains and the Civil War. I think your conference will benefit from having either or both.

Galen Martin. Galen was born and reared in the mountains of West Virginia (as was I; he, however, has stayed close to the mountain life and its particular problems). He is now Executive Director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights (an official body), 311 Capitol Building, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Dr. Frank Graham, United Nations official. I think it's safe to say that there is no part in the state of North Carolina, including the mountains, about which Dr. Frank is not a valuable resource.

I have never met Mr. Harry M. Caudill of Whitesburg, Kentucky, nor have I yet been able to read his book; but from comments of my friends, he must be a person you would have to have.

With best regards, and best wishes for a successful conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL RILLING**

PA –

Name?

I thought of suggesting
Ruby Montgomery, Wilma
James Shirley, Galen
Trautman

LD

WOODROW WILSON SCHOOL
OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

December 26, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton will hold a conference on the development of the Appalachian Region on March 20-22, 1964. The purpose of the conference is to evaluate the Report of the Appalachian Regional Commission, which, it is anticipated, will be submitted to the President on or about February 15. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Chairman of the Commission, will give the keynote address of the Conference.

As you will note from the enclosed prospectus, the Conference will be organized into six commissions, each commission to consider a major aspect of the Appalachian problem. It is our plan to have two resource leaders for each commission--one from government and one from outside government. The Woodrow Wilson School will pay all expenses for resource leaders, except for those that may be sent by federal agencies.

I am writing to request that you suggest the names of suitable men or women who have a professional knowledge of the Appalachian region and of the topics to be considered. These topics, as outlined in the enclosed prospectus, are public welfare, manpower (education), social overhead, land and resources, industry, and functional organization. We are eager to obtain the best informed leadership that is available, and we are accordingly writing to those most closely associated with the Appalachian Region for assistance in selecting our resource personnel.

We will deeply appreciate your counsel and guidance in this matter.

Sincerely,

John F. Sly

John F. Sly, Professor
of Politics (Emeritus)

JFS:jm

Conference on Appalachian Development
The Woodrow Wilson School of Public
and International Affairs
Princeton, New Jersey

On March 20 to 22 of 1964, graduate students from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and from several universities in the Appalachian region will gather for a conference on Appalachian Development. They will meet with several social scientists and public servants to evaluate the Report to the President which will be released by the Appalachian Regional Commission in mid-February. The delegates will examine the problems of poverty, unemployment and economic stagnation in the region, and will consider whether the proposals for assistance contained in the Report are adequate for the needs of Appalachia.

Discussions in the conference will be broken down into six commissions:

A. Public Welfare (public health, relief, social security, unemployment compensation, housing)

B. Manpower Development (patterns of unemployment, vocational training and retraining, worker placement and relocation, public education)

C. Social Overhead Development (transportation, electric power, water supply, communications)

D. Land and Resource Development (agriculture, forestry, mining, parks)

E. Industrial Development (regional comparative advantages, policies for attracting industry)

F. The Organization of Assistance (area planning, structure and finance of regional agency, federal and state responsibilities, regional interest groups and agencies, attitudes of the populace, political factors).

Each of these commissions will consider the sociological and economic setting of their problem, the political groups and interests concerned, the relevant existing federal, state, local, and private programs, the unfulfilled needs, the adequacy of the Appalachian Regional Commission's proposals to meet those needs, and any proposals for further or alternative assistance that seem called for.

The schedule of the conference will be approximately as follows:

Friday, March 20

2:30 - 5:00	Registration of Participants, briefing on Conference rules and schedule
5:15 - 6:00	Supper (banquet)
6:00 - 6:45	Keynote Speech
6:45 - 7:30	Question Period
7:45 -11:00	Commission Meetings

Saturday, March 21

9:00 -12:30	Commission Meetings
12:30 - 1:30	Lunch
1:30 - 5:00	Commission Meetings
5:00 - 6:00	Free Time
6:00 - 7:00	Supper
7:15 -10:15	Oral Report from Commission F and discussion
7:15 -12:00	Drafting of Reports of Commissions A-E by their appointed drafting committees
10:15 -12:00	Drafting of Report of Commission F and mimeographing of all commission reports

Sunday, March 22

8:00 - 9:30	Breakfast and Reading of Reports
9:30 -12:00	Plenary Session for consideration, amendment, and adoption of Commission Reports A-F
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 3:00	Continued Plenary Session

In order that the delegates may be well informed on the general problems of Appalachia and of the Commission which they select, a set of working papers and a bibliography will be prepared and distributed to all delegates a few weeks in advance of the conference weekend.

To enlarge the audience and magnify the impact of the conference, a report of the proceedings will be printed and distributed to national newspapers and magazines, to newspapers in the Appalachian region, to agencies and interest groups in the Appalachian region, to national organizations concerned with problems of poverty, unemployment, and economic development, to

departments of politics and economics in major universities, to interested members of Congress and of the nine state governments, and to the national party platform committees. It is hoped that these groups will consider the deliberations of the conference to be a stimulating, responsible contribution to the public debate on the chronic afflictions of Appalachia.

Communications concerning the conference should be addressed to -

Blake Smith
The Woodrow Wilson School of
Public and International Affairs
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

File

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PROJECT IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT
216 SEVENTY-NINE HALL

February 6, 1964

JOHN F. SLY
DIRECTOR

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WA 1-6600, EXT. 2247

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter concerning personnel for the Appalachian project at Princeton. The names will be most useful, and I want you to know that we deeply appreciate your generous and helpful cooperation.

Sincerely,

John F. Sly

John F. Sly
Professor of Politics (Emeritus)

JFS:eds

August 8, 1958

Mr. E. W. Richter
Purdue University
Station WBAA
LaFayette, Indiana

Dear Mr. Richter:

I am happy to know about your interesting project and will be glad to cooperate. Fred Routh of our staff has asked me to tell you that he will be available for interview at this office on the afternoon of August 23.

I, too, will be agreeable to that time, if I am in town. There is a fair chance that I will be taking an out-of-town trip with my family that weekend. If you are to have any free time on Friday the 24th, it might be safer for us to plan our get-together then.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
STATION WBAA
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

31 July 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming,

This station has received a grant-in-aid from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, to produce a series of radio programs devoted to the position of the American Negro in our contemporary society. The programs would first of all show the limitations placed upon the Negro in all areas of society, and then deal with the historical forces which have created these limitations. The programs will be distributed nationally.

This summer I have been making recorded interviews with many people across the country, and plan to visit the southern area from August 20 through August 28. You were suggested to me as a valuable contact, as well as Mrs. Dorothy Tilley and Dr. Fred Ralph, and I hope to be able to record interviews with you during this trip. This should require, at the most, two hours of your time, unless the three of you would be free to spend an afternoon with me.

I have already asked Mrs. Tilley whether she could meet me at the S.R.C. office Saturday, August 23, about 1:30pm. I hope that afternoon will also be convenient for you and Dr. Ralph, but if it is not, please drop me a line before August 15 and suggest an alternate time. My assistant and I plan to be in Atlanta from early afternoon of the 21st until early evening of the 24th.

Enclosed is a copy of the rough outline of our programs' content, which we hope will clarify our purposes and give you an opportunity to think about what you might like to say in our chat before the microphone. In general, we are interested primarily in anecdotes and personal opinions. I would prefer to wait for a precise discussion of the interview, however, until our meeting. I do hope you will be interested in our project, and I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,
E. W. Richter
E. W. Richter
Producer

ewr/jdr

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

OUTLINE

NOTE : THIS IS MERELY A ROUGH OUTLINE OF OUR ORIGINAL THOUGHTS IN TRYING TO PLAN THE INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS IN THE SERIES. WE HAVE SIMPLY PUT DOWN QUESTIONS WHICH WE FELT WE SHOULD TRY TO ANSWER WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, NONE OF THIS IS FINAL...WE EVEN EXPECT TO FIND A MORE SUITABLE TITLE FOR THE SERIES, AND WE WILL BE MORE THAN HAPPY TO RECEIVE ANY COMMENTS OR SUGGESTIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, WE HOPE THAT THIS WILL HELP YOU TO MORE CLEARLY UNDERSTAND OUR OBJECTIVES.

PROGRAM #1

FRAMEWORK OF THE NEGRO PROBLEM

I. WHO IS THE NEGRO?
  A. DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORLD'S RACIAL POPULATIONS.
    1. NUMBER OF NEGROES IN THE WORLD
    2. PROPORTION OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION REPRESENTED BY THE NEGRO.
    3. COMPARISON OF THIS PROPORTION WITH OTHER RACIAL GROUPS
    4. PROPORTION OF TOTAL WORLD NEGRO POPULATION RESIDING IN U.S.
    5. RELATIONSHIP OF AM. NEGRO POP. WITH REST OF WORLD'S NEGROES.
    6. FUTURE TRENDS IN WORLD'S NEGRO POPULATION.
      A. RATE OF INCREASE COMPARED WITH CAUCASIAN. DIFFERENCES, IF ANY, IN BIRTH BEHAVIOR.
  B. DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN NEGROES
    1. PROPORTION OF U.S. POPULATION
    2. GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION AND CONCENTRATION AS COMPARED WITH THE TURN OF THE CENTURY
    3. OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

II. WHAT IS THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN AM. SOCIETY
  A. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO
  B. CONSEQUENCES OF THESE ATTITUDES
  C. ASPIRATIONS AND GOALS OF THE NEGRO

III. WHAT ARE THE SOCIOLOGICAL PRONCIPLES AT WORK IN RACIAL RELATIONS IN THE U.S., AND HOW DO THEY AFFECT THE TOTAL SITUATION?
  A. THE SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY

PROGRAM #2

THE NEGRO, AFRICA, AND THE EARLY SLAVE TRADE

I. WHAT WAS THE POSITION OF THE NEGRO IN AFRICA PRIOR TO THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WHITE MAN'S TRADE IN SLAVES?
  A. THE NEGRO CULTURE
  B. TYPES OF SLAVERY PRACTICED
  C. EARLY JUSTIFICATIONS OF SLAVERY

II. WHAT WERE THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WHITE MAN'S TRADE IN SLAVES?
  A. FACTORS THAT LED TO THE WHITE MAN'S INTEREST IN SLAVERY
  B. FACTORS THAT LED THE WHITE MAN TO THE NEGRO
    1. ECONOMIC
    2. MORAL
  C. THE MACHINERY OF THE SLAVE TRADE
  D. THE NEGRO'S REACTION TO SLAVERY
  E. THE BEARINGS OF RELIGION ON THE EARLY SLAVE TRADE

III. HOW DID THE NEGRO SLAVE BECOME A FACTOR IN COLONIAL EXPANSION?
  A. ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS AND THEIR EFFECT
  B. MORAL AND RELIGIOUS CONSIDERATIONS AND THEIR EFFECT

PROGRAM #3

THE NEGRO AND THE RACE QUESTION

WHAT IS MEANT BY "RACE"?
- A. FOREIGN INTERPR ETATIONS; BRAZIL, AN EXAMPLE.
- B. U.S. CONCEPT OF "RACE"
- C. SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT OF "RACE"
  - 1. THE GENETICIST
  - 2. THE SOCIOLOGIST

PROGRAM #4

THE NEGRO, THE SOUTH, THE NORTH

I. HOW DID THE NEGRO FARE IN COLONIAL AMERICA?
- A. THE WORKINGS OF THE SLAVE TRADE IN COLONIAL AMERICA
- B. THE EARLY "FREED-MAN" AND HIS EXPERIENCES NORTH AND SOUTH
- C. DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NEGRO IN THE SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN COLONIES.

II. WHAT FACTORS LED TO THE 1808 LEGISLATION BARRING FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, AND WHAT WERE ITS RESULTS?

III. WHAT WAS THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTH PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR, AND WHAT EFFECT DID THE WAR HAVE ON IT?

IV. WHAT IDEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY REGARDING SLAVERY PRECEDED THE CIVIL WAR?
- A. UNCLE TOM'S CABIN AND RESULTING APOLOGIST LITERATURE
- B. SOUTHERN MINISTERIAL OPINION

V. WHAT IS THE CURRENT DIFFENTIATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IN ATTITUDE AND PRACTICE TOWARD THE NEGRO?

PROGRAM #5

THE NEGRO AND THE URBAN COMMUNITY

I. WHY HAS THE NEGRO MIGRATED FROM AGRARIAN TO URBAN AREAS?

II. WHAT DETERMINED THE NEGRO'S CHOICE OF URBAN AREAS IN WHICH TO SETTLE?

III. WHAT HAPPENED TO THE NEGRO WHEN HE MOVED TO THE CITY?
- A. THE NEGRO'S EXPECTATIONS
- B. WHITE REACTION
  - 1. DIFFERENCE IN TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO IN LARGE AND SMALL CITIES?
  - 2. THE NEW ENGLAND TOWNS.
- C. PROBLEMS ARISING
  - 1. HOUSING
  - 2. EMPLOYMENT
  - 3. HEALTH

III. THE CONTINUING MIGRATORY SHIFT?
- A. NORTHWARD
- B. WESTWARD

IV. WHAT OF THE FUTURE AND ITS ALTERNATIVES?
A. CONTINUED CITY CROWDING LEADING TO SLUM CONDITIONS
B. INCREASING RACIAL STRIFE
C. ACTION COMMUNITIES CAN TAKE TO REMEDY THE SITUATION

PROGRAM #6

THE NEGRO AND LABOR

I. WHAT IS THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE NEGRO IN LABOR?
A. PRIOR TO THE FORMATION OF LABOR UNIONS
B. UNDER CRAFT UNIONS IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES
1. THE CLASS PRINCIPLE VS. THE CASTE PRINCIPLE

II. WHAT WAS THE RELATION OF THE NEGRO TO THE LABOR UNION PRIOR TO WWII?
A. THE NEGRO'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOR UNIONS
B. EARLY UNION ATTITUDES AND THEIR RESULTS
C. CHANGES IN UNION POLICY
D. PRESENT UNION POLICY

PROGRAM #7

THE NEGRO, SCIENCE, INVENTION AND ART

I. DOES THE STATUS OF AN OPPRESSED GROUP CREATE A POSSIBILITY OF SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CULTURE IN WHICH IT EXISTS? IN ART? SCIENCE? INVENTION?

II. WHAT ARE THE FACTORS PLACING A LIMITATION UPON THE NEGRO IN MAKING SCIENTIFIC, INVENTIVE AND ARTISTIC CONTRIBUTIONS?
A. UNDER SLAVERY
B. POST-CIVIL WAR TO 1932 DEPRESSION
C. PRESENT

III. IS THE NEGRO PREVENTED FROM EXPRESSING HIMSELF AS A SCHOLAR AND ARTIST IN OTHER THAN "NEGRO AREAS"?

IV. WHAT HAS THE NEGRO CONTRIBUTED TO THE GENERAL CULTURE?

V. WHAT SPECIAL QUALIFICATIONS, IF ANY, MUST THE NEGRO HAVE IN ORDER TO SUCCEED? DO THESE DIFFER FROM THOSE REQUIRED FROM THE REMAINING POPULATION?

VI. WHAT COULD THE NEGRO CONTRIBUTE IF ALL BARRIERS WERE REMOVED?

PROGRAM #8
THE NEGRO AND EDUCATION

I. WHAT ARE THE NEGRO'S EDUCATIONAL GOALS?

II. HOW DID THE NEGRO FARE EDUCATIONALLY UNDER SLAVERY?
- A. OCCASIONAL EFFORTS OF MASTERS
- B. THE NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL-MARM
- C. SELF-EDUCATION
- D. THE FREE NEGRO

III. WHAT EFFORTS WERE MADE DURING RECONSTRUCTION TO EDUCATE THE NEGRO?
- A. THE NEW ENGLAND SCHOOL-MARM
- B. THE GROWTH OF NEGRO COLLEGES
- C. EFFECTS OF NEGRO EFFORTS ON SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS.

IV. WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE POST-RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD IN REGARD TO EDUCATION?
- A. THE "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL" DOCTRINE
- B. BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
  - 1. HIS PROGRAM
    - A. IT'S SUPPORTERS
    - B. ITS OPPONENTS
- C. NORTHERN ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGRO EDUCATION
- D. THE ROLE OF PHILANTHROPY

V. WHAT HAPPENS TO THE EDUCATED NEGRO?
- A. THE BENEFITS OF AN EDUCATION FOR A NEGRO
- B. HIS DIFFICULTIES IN GAINING EMPLOYMENT
  - 1. EXCLUSION FROM WHITE-COLLAR WORK
  - 2. GENERAL EXCLUSION FROM INTELLECTUAL PURSUITS IN COOPERATION WITH WHITES
  - 3. HIS BEING THROWN BACK ON THE NEGRO SOCIETY TO ASSUME POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP

VI. WHAT ARE THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST EDUCATING NEGROES? THEIR FOUNDATION IN TRUTH?

VII. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT TRENDS IN NEGRO EDUCATION?

PROGRAM 9
THE NEGRO AND AMERICAN LAW

I. WHAT HAS BEEN THE HISTORICAL PATTERN OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE NEGRO?
- A. STATE LEGISLATION UNDER SLAVERY
- B. NATIONAL LEGISLATION UNDER SLAVERY
  - 1. THE ACT OF 1808 BARRING FURTHER IMPORTATION OF SLAVES
  - 2. EMANCIPATION AND CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT
- C. STATE LEGISLATION FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR
- D. NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND SUPREME COURT DECISIONS FOLLOWING THE CIVIL WAR

II. WHAT IS THE CURRENT PATTERN OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE NEGRO IN THE MAJORITY OF SOUTHERN STATES?
- A. THE LEGISLATION PLACING LIMITATIONS UPON THE NEGRO
- B. THE LEGISLATION PROTECTING THE NEGRO

III. WHAT IS THE CURRENT PATTERN OF LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE NEGRO IN THE NORTHERN STATES?

IV. IS THE LAW IN GENERAL APPLIED CONSISTENTLY TO NEGROES AND WHITES?
   A. EXAMPLES
   B. DETERIORATION OF THE WHITE MAN'S RESPECT FOR THE LAW AS A RESULT OF HIS ILLEGAL TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO

V. CURRENT TRENDS IN LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE NEGRO? SOUTHERN EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN SEGREGATION IN FACE OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION.

THE NEGRO, AMERICAN LAW, AND THE BALLOT

1. WHAT LEGAL STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO INSURE THE NEGRO'S RIGHT TO VOTE? WHEN AND WHERE DID THE FIRST NEGROES VOTE?

2. WHAT LEGAL STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO DENY THE NEGRO THE BALLOT?

3. HOW DOES NEGRO VOTING COMPARE IN THE NORTH AND SOUTH?

4. WHAT, IF ANY, ARE THE RESULTS OF NEGRO VOTING?

5. WHY IS THE NEGRO CONCERNED WITH THE VOTE?

PROGRAM #11

THE NEGRO AND RELIGION

I. WHY DID THE NEGRO TURN TO CHRISTIANITY?
   A. THE AFRICAN RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO
   B. THE APPEALS OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE SLAVE
   C. THE FUSION OF PRIMITIVE AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION

II. WHY WAS THE NEGRO PARTICULARLARLY ATTRACTED TO THE BAPTIST AND METHODIST CHURCHES?

III. WHAT ABOUT THE APPEALS OF OTHER RELIGIONS TO THE NEGRO? JEWISH, MOHAMMEDAN, BAHA, JEHOVA'S WITNESSES?

IV. WHAT CAUSED THE NEGRO TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN CHURCHES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF EXISTING CHURCH GROUPS?

V. WHAT ACCOUNTS FOR THE CONTINUED "WILD" RELIGIOUS CULTS AMONG NEGROES? (FATHER DIVINE, ETC.)

VI. WHAT ARE THE CURRENT ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF WHITE CHURCHES TOWARD THE NEGRO?

VII. WHAT IS THE CURRENT NEGRO ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WHITE CHURCHES?

PROGRAM 12

THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZED PROTEST

I. WHAT IS THE HISTORY OF ORGANIZED NEGRO PROTEST?
- A. VESEY
- B. TURNER
- C. FREDERICK DOUGLAS
- D. RICHARD GREENE
- E. MONROE TROTTER
- F. MARCUS GARVEY

II. WHAT ARE THE EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS OF NEGRO PROTEST?
- A. NAACP
- B. NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
- C. THE NEGRO PRESS

III. HOW DID THESE ORGANIZATIONS COME INTO EXISTENCE?

IV. WHAT ARE THEIR DIFFERENCES IN EMPHASIS, IF ANY?

V. DO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF PROTEST REALLY REPRESENT NEGRO OPINION?
- A. THE ORGANIZATIONS' RELATIONSHIP TO THE NEGRO
- B. THE INDIVIDUAL NEGRO'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE ORGANIZATIONS

V. HOW HAVE THE WHITES REACTED TO THESE ORGANIZATIONS ?
- A. THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN, BY AND LARGE.
- B. THE KU KLUX KLAN
- C. THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS
- D. THE LIBERAL

VI. WHAT HAVE THESE ORGANIZATIONS ACCOMPLISHED?

PROGRAM 13

THE NEGRO AND THE NATION

I. WHAT PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION OF THE U.S. IS CONSTITUTED BY THE NEGRO? (REVIEW STATISTICS FROM PROGRAM #1)

II. WHAT ARE THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES? (SUMMARIZE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN FROM THE PRECEDING PROGRAMS)

III. HOW DO NATIONS ABROAD REACT TO THE SITUATION OF THE NEGRO IN THE U.S.?
- A. FOREIGN PRESS COMMENT ON PUBLICIZED RACE INCIDENTS
  - 1. INCIDENTS INVOLVING AMERICAN NEGROES
  - 2. INCIDENTS INVOLVING FOREIGN NEGROES

IV. HOW HAS THE NATION BENEFITTED FROM THE PRESENCE OF THE NEGRO?

V. WHAT IS THE COST TO THE NATION OF ITS TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO?
- A. IN TERMS OF SELF-RESPECT
- B. IN TERMS IF INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING
- C. IN TERMS OF ECONOMICS

VI. WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES OF THE U.S. IN THE FUTURE TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO, AND WHAT ARE THE PROBABLE RESULTS OF EACH ALTERNATIVE?

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
STATION WBAA
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

15 August 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Rather than take a chance on your being out of town Saturday, let's plan to meet about 1:00pm Friday, August 22, as you suggested. If there isn't too much inconvenience to Dr. Routh and Mrs. Tilly, I'd very much like to see them the same afternoon. Do you think they might be free? My apologies for trying to change their appointments, but the schedule is getting so cramped that I need to take advantage of every spare minute.

Since there will not be enough time now to hear from you by mail before I leave Lafayette, I will contact you by telephone when I arrive in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

E. W. Richter

E. W. Richter
Producer

ewr/jdr

THE Last Citizen

WBAA
PURDUE UNIVERSITY
WEST LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

LAFAYETTE, IND. SEP 11 12-M 1959

THE LAST CITIZEN WILL BE HEARD ON WBAA ON FRIDAYS AT 7:00 P.M. STARTING SEPTEMBER 18, 1959.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

THE LAST CITIZEN

During the past few years, we have become increasingly aware of the problems posed by the presence of the Negro in the United States. One of the most widely discussed news events of the second half of this century was the Supreme Court School Decision of 1954. This decision touched off events which have drawn reaction from the most remote parts of the world.

Although the Negro has been on the North American continent since the days of our earliest settlers, his position in our society is virtually that of "The Last Citizen." His problems are, to a great extent, those which were faced by succeeding waves of immigrants, and his situation is such that he might be among the very last of these immigrants, although he was, in fact, among the first. He is "last" in the sense of "least privileged" and of "lowest in status."

It is against this background that we present THE LAST CITIZEN -- a series of programs devoted to increasing our knowledge and understanding of the Negro in America: His problems and the problems he poses to the nation.

In gathering material for this series, we travelled over most of the country to record the comments of over one hundred sociologists, educators, social workers, public figures, and others. A large number of these people are heard during the course of our programs.

Dr. Louis Schneider, professor of Sociology at Purdue University, acted as advisor and associate producer of this series. He is heard in each of the programs as he develops for the listener an understanding of the sociological principles and mechanisms involved in the problems of THE LAST CITIZEN.

E. W. Richter
Producer

CONTRIBUTORS
(In order of first appearance)

Rev. William Borders, pastor, Wheat St. Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.
Dr. Herman Long, director, Race Relations Dept., American Missionary Association
Mr. Seaton Manning, director, San Francisco Urban League
Mr. Harold Fleming, director, Southern Regional Council
Dr. Rayford Logan, Dept. of History, Howard University
Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman, Dept. of History, Brooklyn College
Mr. Ralph McGill, editor, The Atlanta Constitution
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
Miss Lillian Smith
Judge J. Waites Waring, retired U.S. District Judge
Mr. Thurgood Marshall, attorney, Nat'l Assoc. for the Advancement of Colored People
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
Mr. Ed Howden, director, San Francisco Commission on Equal Employment Opportunities
Mr. Jackie Robinson
Dr. Kenneth Clark, Dept. of Psychology, City College of New York
Mr. E. Frederick Marrow, presidential assistant
Miss Pauli Murray, lawyer and author
Dr. John Hope Franklin, chairman, Dept. of History, Brooklyn College
Dr. Allen E. Burdick, professor of Genetics, Purdue University
Dr. Jerome B. Holland, president, Delaware State College
Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, president, Phelps-Stokes Fund
Mr. Fred Routh, asst. director, The Southern Regional Council
Dr. Robert B. Johnson, Director of Research, The Nat'l. Council of Christians and Jews
Mr. Lester Granger, exec. sec., National Urban League
Dr. Irwin Sobel, Dept. of Economics, Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.
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Mr. John Buggs, exec. sec., The Los Angeles Committee on Human Relations
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Dr. Joseph Taylor, program director, Flanner House, Indianapolis, Ind.
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Mr. Lester Granger, exec. sec., The National Urban League
Mr. Wesley Brazier, exec.director, Los Angeles Urban League

Programs

THE Last Cit

(1) "The Last Citizen" – The Negro is many persons: He is the Unknown Man, the Mythical Man, the Various Man, the Controversial Man, the Conscience–Disturbing Man. The general position of the Negro in American society can be raised or lowered by applying pressure on any facet of his overall problem. A number of people contribute comments to the series.

(2) "Prejudice" – It is the person who is at least partially imbued with democratic principles who is likely to be prejudiced--the prejudiced person is basically a "nice" person. Prejudice operates in various ways and takes varying forms.

(3) "It Works Both Ways" – Prejudice effects not only the person against whom it is directed, but the prejudiced person, as well.

(4 & 5) "The Changing Image" – The public image of the Negro has undergone many changes and modifications during the three and one half centuries of his presence on the North American continent.

(6) "Color and Race" – There are varying definitions of what a "race" or even a "Negro" is. The layman has one idea, the scientist another.

(7) "The Second Schoolhouse" – Part I – The matter of Negro education has a long historical background.

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(8) **"The Second Schoolhouse"** – Part 2 – The Negro, even today, has obstacles standing between him and a first-class education. The Supreme Court School Decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the schools has had far-reaching consequences. The Negro has a great deal at stake in his struggle to obtain an education.

(9) **"Migration and Urbanization"** – The rapid cityward movement of a rural Negro population has brought a great number of problems in its wake.

(10) **"The City and the Worker"** – The Negro has had, and continues to have difficulties in improving his work opportunities.

(11) **"A Place to Live"** – An ever increasing urban Negro population continues to have great difficulties in finding adequate housing, and a number of factors make this an exceedingly difficult and complex problem.

(12) **"Negro Crime"** – Crime statistics are subject to criticism. Negro criminality seems explainable in terms of culture, class, and status.

(13) **"The Negro, Organized Religion, and the Church"** – Religion fulfills a number of needs for the Negro. The Negro has, by criteria of church membership, been as devout a Christian as the American white man.

(14) **"Negro Journalism and Art"** – The overriding fact of segregation is fundamental in these fields. But it has not inhibited a number of Negro achievements, and in some cases, may have encouraged them.

(15) **"Intimidation"** – Intimidation has very human consequences. Attempts at the intimidation of the Negro are, even today, not uncommon.

(16) **"Protest"** – Organized Negro protest in the form of violent action dates back to early slave revolts. Organized protest has changed, however, from violent extra-legal activities to non-violent legal ones, and is today expressed in the activities of such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

(17) **"Defense"** – "Defense" means the activities of organizations dedicated to furthering the Negro's cause through social work, education, and discussion. Such "defense" organizations operate on a national, regional, and local scale, and are exemplified by The National Urban League, The Southern Regional Council, and the Committee on Human Relations of the County of Los Angeles.

(18) **"The Present and the Future"** – The future of the Negro may be viewed with cautious optimism.

THE LAST CITIZEN was produced at Purdue University by Radio Station WBAA under a grant from the National Educational Television and Radio Center, and distributed by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

THE SERIES THE LAST CITIZEN, PROGRAMS #1-13, HAS BEEN ORDERED FROM THE 4TH QUARTER 1959 NETWORK OFFERING BY THE 38 NAEB RADIO NETWORK STATIONS LISTED BELOW.

WITH 66 NETWORK STATIONS ORDERING FROM THIS OFFERING, THIS SERIES HAS A PERCENTAGE ACCEPTANCE RATING OF 57.5%.

KFJM: GRAND FORKS, NORTH DAKOTA
KFKU: LAWRENCE KANSAS
KOAC: CORVALLIS, OREGON
KUOW: SEATTLE, WASHINGTON
KUSD: VERMILLION, SOUTH DAKOTA
KWAX: EUGENE, OREGON
KWLC: DECORAH, IOWA
KWSC: PULLMAN, WASHINGTON
WBGU: BOWLING GREEN, OHIO
WLFM: APPLETON, WISCONSIN
WDET: DETROIT, MICHIGAN
WDUQ: PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA
WFSU: TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA
WFPL: LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
WGBH: BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
WHA : MADISON, WISCONSIN
WILL: URBANA, ILLINOIS
WKAR: EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN
WKSU: KENT, OHIO
WMCR: KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN
WMTI: NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
WNAD: NORMAN, OKLAHOMA
WVHC: HEMPSTEAD, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK
WOI : AMES, IOWA
WOSU: COLUMBUS, OHIO
WSOU: SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY
WSUI: IOWA CITY, IOWA
WTDS: TOLEDO, OHIO
WUOM: ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
WUOT: KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE
WAMF: AMHERST, MASSACHUSETTS
KVSC: LOGAN, UTAH
KWAR: WAVERLY, IOWA
WNIC: DEKALB, ILLINOIS
WUNC: CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
WMUB: OXFORD, OHIO
WHAZ: TROY, NEW YORK
KPFA: BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

RECEIVED OCT 2 1959

January 13, 1960

Mr. E. W. Richter
Purdue University
LaFayette, Indiana

Dear Mr. Richter:

I find to my embarrassment that I failed to acknowledge the transcripts of your broadcasts on the American Negro. The series was truly a first-rate job, and I am pleased to have had some small part in it. The widespread use of the broadcasts is indication enough of the quality of the work you and your associates did.

I have circulated the manuscript among our own staff; we can learn much from it.

If you should prepare further such programs, whether drawing on my comments or not, I will appreciate copies.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
STATION WBAA
LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

DECEMBER 11, 1959

MR. HAROLD FLEMING, DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. FLEMING:

WE THOUGHT THAT YOU MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN SEEING HOW OUR PROJECT, THE LAST CITIZEN FINALLY DEVELOPED. THE SCRIPTS ENCLOSED IN THIS FOLDER ARE VERBATIM TRANSCRIPTS OF THE PROGRAMS AS THEY WERE FINALLY BROADCAST.

IN ADDITION TO THE 39 RADIO STATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS NETWORK, IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE SERIES IS ALSO BEING BROADCAST BY THE VOICE OF AMERICA.

AT PRESENT WE ARE ENGAGED IN EDITING OUR INTERVIEW WITH YOU DOWN TO HALF AN HOUR FOR INCLUSION IN A SUPPLEMENTARY RADIO PROGRAM SERIES WHICH WE HOPE THAT THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS WILL ALSO DISTRIBUTE TO THE RADIO STATIONS BELONGING TO ITS NETWORK.

LET US THANK YOU ONCE MORE FOR YOUR KIND CONSIDERATION AND HELP IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS SERIES.

SINCERELY YOURS,

E. W. Richter

E. W. RICHTER
PRODUCER

EWR:AH

McCarthyism under the Magnolias

by WILMA DYKEMAN & JAMES STOKELY

"AT A TIME when the South might well use a renewed vision of Robert E. Lee's virtue or Andy Jackson's vigor," a young Southern liberal said recently, "it seems a shame that we should choose to start reviving the spirit of Joe McCarthy."

An embattled social scientist in Atlanta summed up the situation during a conversation: "One trouble outsiders have in understanding our present difficulties is the culture-lag in the South. McCarthy never caught on down here back in his heyday, but as the last-ditch fight for segregation grows more desperate, all his ugly techniques are revived. At the end of the decade we're in the throes of an experience the rest of the country put behind it in the early Fifties."

One recent example came, perhaps with some appropriateness, in the legislative halls of the nation's capital. When Representative Dale Alford, newly elected Congressman from Arkansas, presented his maiden speech in the House in February, the proposed subject of his discourse was only slightly less sensational than the whirlwind eight-day paste-in campaign which had won him victory over veteran Representative Brooks Hays in last November's election.

Voicing alarm "at the complacency of some officials toward the menace of the Communist conspiracy . . . to make this great nation of ours part of a one-world government, operated from Moscow," Representative Alford then announced he would reveal the close alliance between Communism and "racial agitation" in the South.

The speech was founded largely on intricate webs of association and denunciations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the bi-racial Southern Regional Council, "renegade journalist" Harry Ashmore, "the Warren-Myrdal Supreme Court," and several less prominent individuals and groups. Its "revelations" were often without relevance.

Perhaps the whole performance of equating a controversial issue with Communism and then identifying as fellow travelers those people interested in confronting the issue seems anachronistic to Americans outside the South, where McCarthyism is only a bitter memory. But to many people in the South it is a significant thermometer reflecting the epidemic already in their midst, and a barometer suggesting the proportions of attacks yet to come.

As McCarthyism moves South under the magnolias, most of those against whom the search for subversives appears to be directed are not political Communists as much as racial non-conformists, people who seek a reasonable way of abiding by the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation of the public schools, while those who would subvert the law by defiance and maneuver designate themeselves the super-patriots and inquisitors. By their words the investigators are seeking out Southerners "soft on Communism;" by their acts they are singling out Southerners "soft on segregation."

Of course, the very fact that they feel this necessary indicates the absence of a monolithic South, and reveals that there are many Southerners who abhor the present dilemma and are willing to work for a solution. But the nature of this crisis, with its pull from the past and its emotional undertow, makes it especially susceptible to McCarthyism. In a time of tremendous change at the regional level (involving integration), and deep apprehension at the national level (involving Communism), where these regional racial tensions coincide with our national survival fears, there is created a no-man's land of uncertainty and suspicion. In such an atmosphere, threats and innuendo serve well to intimidate and immobilize creative thought and action on controversial problems.

In October, 1954, Circuit Court Judge Tom P. Brady of Mississippi made an address to the Indianola Citizens' Council. The judge gave a lengthy historical picture of the rise of the vertebrates, the various migrations, nations, and wars of mankind, and such "facts" of eugenics and biology as that "the Negro's brain pan seals and hardens quicker than the white man's." Seeking to explain how the Supreme Court had overlooked all this history and biology in its recent decisions, he cited the influence of the NAACP and the 87 "Communist-front organizations" behind it.

A year later the attempt to identify black leadership and the red cause received added impetus from Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia. In a talk entitled "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP," which was given saturation distribution as a printed pamphlet throughout the South, Cook sought to prove that through affiliations of some of its officers with other organizations, some of which were listed in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and because the Communist Party had an identical stated aim of "full racial equality," the NAACP had "allowed itself to become part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to overthrow the democratic governments of this nation and its sovereign states."

He closed with a warning which was both the most explicit and implicit of any as to what "do-gooder" community leaders might expect if they continued to participate in interracial groups. "Investigations currently are being made . . . the results of which will greatly embarrass those

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good citizens who unwittingly have become involved in their activities. I urge all such persons to take immediate steps to disassociate themselves from these groups . . . before they, their friends, and their congregations are exposed to the anguish and embarrassment which exposure of these groups will necessarily mean."

Such speeches, widely disseminated throughout the South by the segregationist Citizens' Councils, were only the prelude. In March, 1957, a special Louisiana state legislative committee (sometimes called the "watchdog" committee on segregation) held a three-day hearing in Baton Rouge to find "the causes of racial unrest in the South." As the testimony unfolded, however, it seemed that these causes had already been determined. The committee, headed by state Senator William Rainach, did not appear to seek from its six "cooperative" witnesses information as much as confirmation.

The Rainach Committee hearing marked the first appearance on the Southern scene of some of the old pros of the investigative road shows, refurbished now to play the Southern circuit. Manning Johnson, a Negro from New York and self-confessed former Communist, was the star. In 1954 Johnson was the principal denouncer in the loyalty investigation of United Nations Undersecretary Ralph J. Bunche. His accusations were discredited. He himself testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that he believed "some things are more important than the truth," and in 1956 the Board expunged from the record of certain of its hearings what it called "tainted" testimony given by Harvey Matusow, the late Paul Crouch, and Manning Johnson.

Yet Johnson, who was reported to have earned up to $9,096 over a two-year period as a professional former Communist witness, appeared in Louisiana to castigate Judge William Hastie, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt ("somebody should muzzle her and put her in a cage"), Martin Luther King, Jr. ("I think Reverend King could stand a thorough investigation"), the respected Southern Regional Council, and the Mississippi Council on Human Relations.

It was in testimony concerning these two organizations that Johnson's and the committee's irresponsibility became most evident. Having falsely asserted that the Southern Regional Council was founded by a Communist, Johnson compounded falsehood with guilt-by-association and reached from Louisiana over into Mississippi to discuss the Mississippi Council on Human Relations. He had no startling "revelations" about this state group but did take time to read into the record the names and addresses of the officers of the biracial organization.

The reason for publicizing these names and addresses was not made clear, but results came promptly. One board member named, along with the Catholic Bishop of Mississippi and other eminent clergymen, was the wife of a well-known Greenwood, Mississippi, cotton dealer. Six days after Johnson's testimony the dining room of their home was ripped by a bullet blast. A reporter later concluded, "It was not intended to kill but just to frighten."

These public proceedings did not nail down any specific Communist individual or group against which Louisiana and the federal government could move to lessen racial difficulties in the South. Assessments of guilt were conveniently general, emphasizing "racial nationalism," NAACP "dictation" to the Supreme Court and the President, and destruction of individual liberty by the "Communist timetable of world conquest."

Several subsequent investigations have arrived at similar conclusions. Hard on the heels of the disastrous developments in Little Rock, in October, 1957, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, moved into Memphis to study "Communism in the Mid-South." At the end of the two-day hearing, with 14 witnesses, seven had invoked the Fifth Amendment and one, a Little Rock housewife who had made news earlier that autumn by comforting one of the Negro girls in the school crisis, had been accused of affiliation with the Communist Party in 1945. The statement of conclusions, however, was still general: "Communist activity in the Mid-South is highly conspiratorial, deeply cloaked in secrecy." Without specific elaboration these deductions left room for intimidation, without risk of libel, when they asserted that the targets of the Red network were churches, parent-teacher associations, colleges, high schools, and labor organizations.

Three months later, in February, 1958, an investigation of racial agitation in Florida was undertaken by a joint legislative committee in Tallahassee. Senator C. E. Johnson, sponsor of segregation bills at two previous legislative sessions, was chairman. The star witness on this occasion was J. B. Matthews.

Billed as a one-time investigator for the late Senator McCarthy's Committee, it was not pointed out that Matthews had lasted as staff director for McCarthy less than a month. Although he asserted flatly that "Communists or Communist influence were directly involved in every major race incident of the past four years since the Supreme Court 'legislated' on the subject of integration," reports were forced to state that Matthews' further testimony was "general in nature."

The Tampa *Tribune* suggested that the committee's sessions had been "largely devoted to old charges and an intense study of the obvious." It stated that the committee's treatment of the treasurer of the Tallahassee Council on Human Relations "was repugnant to the American concept of fair play," and voiced the hope that in the future the committee might "have evidence which is current, and which is related to Communism."

The Human Relations Council treasurer to whom the paper referred was a respected furniture dealer, James Shaw. The episode involving him highlighted the most unsavory feature of such investigations and one frequently forgotten by many citizens. Equated in the public mind with a trial, these hearings are not bound by the rules of actual courts of law, and their arbitrary development of one point of view may make a mockery of justice.

Shaw was subpoenaed to present the financial records of the Tallahassee Human Relations Council to the committee. When he did so, he was refused the right to make a statement, although one member of the committee wished to hear him. Shaw later told the press: "I wanted to say that I presented the records under protest because I feel that being subpoenaed to bring them here created implications and insinuations about me and my organization. They could have called any officer of the organization and we would have been glad to turn over the records to them. Anyone could have attended any one of our meetings and realized there was nothing to investigate."

His summary of the council's aims and methods must seem modest enough to anyone removed from the total resistance atmosphere of much of the South today: "This organization is not secret. Most of our meetings have been held at the courthouse. One of the purposes of it is to create a line of communication between Negroes and whites. We have not done very much but we have tried to ease the tensions that have been created by statewide political campaigns."

The increasing all-out effort to discredit just these individuals and groups working to "create a line of

communication" and "ease the tensions" became even more evident during a recent investigation conducted in Arkansas. Attorney General Bruce Bennett, who examined witnesses for the state committee, said the hearing would serve "as an educational program more than anything else," and added, "most of our case will be tried at the bar of public opinion." He indicated that those called to testify would be friendly to the committee's purpose, which indeed proved to be true.

Manning Johnson and J. B. Matthews were the principals among these witnesses. Johnson repeated his summary of Communist history and strategy and restated his antagonism to the NAACP which he had voiced at the Rainach Committee hearing in Louisiana. Matthews went even farther than he had during his appearance before the Florida committee. He named as Communists four former residents of Arkansas, two of whom had left the state years before, two of whom had been in Little Rock until recently. The rest of his testimony was largely an effort to link together those groups interested in integration and smear them and their members with one sweeping assertion of witting or unwitting aid to Communism.

This was the same Matthews who wrote back in 1953: "The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." Virginia's Senator Harry F. Byrd promptly declared that Matthews "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue willing to blacken the character of his fellow Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." Following a statement by President Eisenhower, Matthews resigned as staff director of the McCarthy Committee. It is not a history designed to inspire confidence in later accusations of Communist infiltration. Nevertheless, the committee proceeded with its televised probe featuring the testimony of these two men.

Since the hearings in Arkansas in December and Representative Alford's February speech to the House, Attorney General Bennett has branched out in his activities. In March he helped instigate and guide a legislative probe in the adjoining state of Tennesseee.

This exploration concerned the Highlander Folk School, founded and directed by Myles Horton, a native Tennessean. This school has been controversial since its establishment in 1934 by the very nature of its interests: labor organization and, more recently, racial integration. Endorsed by such national figures as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Reinhold Niebuhr, Monsignor John O'Grady, Harry Golden, and former TVA Chairman Gordon Clapp, the school had come under close federal scrutiny when its tax-exempt status was restored over a year ago. But federal clearance did not satisfy Arkansas' Bennett, who flew to Nashville to testify that in his opinion the school is subversive. "Run 'em out! Run 'em out!" he advised the committee members, referring to leaders of the school.

Many Tennesseans resented his advice, recalling a thought-control bill he had introduced in his own state's legislature, making it unlawful "to encourage nonconformance with the established traditions, customs, and usage of the state."

The Chattanooga *Times* commented: "We are neither patrons nor partisans of Highlander Folk School . . . . But unpopularity is not a sufficient reason for official harassment or intimidation. When one man's right to argue an unpopular course is assailed, another's right to advocate the opposite is threatened." Fourteen University of the South professors, who live only five miles from Highlander, in nearby Sewanee, came out in a public statement supporting the school and its "democratic ideals." The Nashville *Tennessean* battled against what it called a "witch hunt," warning that Tennessee did not need or deserve "the distinction of reviving McCarthyism."

Interspersed with the activities of these various official committees have been numerous other investigations, legislative proposals, printed and verbal attacks designed to obscure the black and white problem with the red menace. The NAACP has been under constant fire but other groups gaining increased attention include labor organizations, teachers, the clergy, and interracial councils. (It may be significant for the future that Manning Johnson, one of the favorite "friendly witnesses" of these hearings, wrote an article denouncing the NAACP in a recent issue of the violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense*.)

"The NAACP? Oh, you mean the National Association for the Advancement of the Communist Party." At filling stations and small-town stores in many parts of the South there is ready evidence of the easy acceptance of a scapegoat.

Yet J. Edgar Hoover, in his recent *Masters of Deceit,* a source widely quoted throughout the South on other aspects of Communism, and even praised by Representative Alford in that very speech he made to show red influences in the NAACP, came to the conclusion that NAACP leaders have consistently thwarted the Communist Party's "vigorous efforts" at infiltration. In 1953 Hoover stated: "The American Negro is not hoodwinked by these false messiahs."

Early in 1957 a bill was introduced in the Tennessee legislature providing that a teacher may be fired "if while within the buildings, he shall make pronouncements or engage in or promote discussions for the purpose of influencing students or other persons with reference to the problem of the integration of the races." This particular measure to gag the teachers died, but the spirit behind it did not.

Last year, when 63 Louisiana State University professors signed a Louisiana Civil Liberties Union petition opposing segregation bills which would permit closing of public schools, a legislative inquiry of the professors was launched. Members of the House were reported to feel that "Communism and integration walk hand in hand," and anyone, particularly university faculty members, who opposes legislation aimed at keeping Louisiana schools racially pure "must have subversive tendencies."

In December, 1958, University of Arkansas President J. T. Caldwell felt it necessary to "repudiate unequivocally the imputation that the University of Arkansas has been penetrated by Communists and express the fullest confidence in the members of our faculty." And when the Arkansas Education Association, a statewide organization of white teachers and school administrators, stated as policy a few months ago, "We can never compromise our conviction that the public school system is not expendable," the 21-member Legislative Council was so outraged that it suggested the Education Association members were innocent victims of subversive influence—and ordered an investigation by the Committee on Subversion in Education.

The National Council of Churches has borne much of the brunt of the smear attack on churchmen. One South Carolina editor has said the NCC "will shower respect on anarchists, Communists, and atheists but deny respect to Southerners whose only crime is that they believe in traditional American states rights."

One of the most consistently attacked organizations in the South recently has been the dignified and reasonable Southern Regional Council. This is understandable because it works by, with, and for Southerners of both races in a discussion and research effort to undergird integration with solid fact and lasting effectiveness. Its voice is calm, its work is

constructive, and its effect is cumulative. Unfortunately, much of its energy lately has been diverted in stamping out the leaf fires sparked by irresponsible incendiarists.

The SRC, under its knowledgeable young director, Harold Fleming, is filling a unique need in the region. Pitted against it is the testimony of —again—the ex-Communist, Manning Johnson, whose appearances before the Louisiana Rainach Committee provided the source for the subsequent attacks against SRC. A month after this hearing, in April, 1957, *The Firing Line,* published by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, reported that Johnson's testimony "reflected the Council was formed by James E. Jackson, a Southern organizer of the Communist Party." The source of Johnson's information, in turn, was a boast in *The Daily Worker* on the many accomplishments of the said Jackson. But even the *Worker's* fantasy had not reached as far as Johnson's, for it claimed only that Jackson had "participated in the formation and building of the Southern Regional Council."

It is, of course, a matter of public record that the Southern Regional Council was founded in 1944; its distinguished incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore of the Methodist Church, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, and the late Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina.

The SRC was the successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation which had been founded in 1919 by leading churchmen. Even so conservative and segregationist a newspaper as the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* felt moved in August of last year to clarify the issues in relation to the SRC: "As to the allegation of the Communist *Daily Worker* that James E. Jackson, chief of the Southern branch of the U.S. Communist Party, was a 'co-founder of the Southern Regional Council,' there is nothing to support this . . . he was not at any time an officer, director, or member of that agency. The *Daily Worker's* statement that he was a 'founder' is as unreliable and inaccurate as nearly everything else in that Communist sheet."

In May, 1957, *The Firing Line* made another allegation which was to be widely circulated in segregation circles and at last repeated by Representative Alford in his recent speech. "Records of the American Legion reveal a definite trend of interrelationship between the SRC and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, a defunct Communist front organization."

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is no longer in existence, but it once included in its "interrelationships" many prominent Southerners besides some who were later to be in the SRC. In 1938, at the Southern Conference meeting in Birmingham, Alabama, among those who were part of the proceedings were Governor-elect Burnett Maybank of South Carolina, Alabama's Senator John H. Bankhead, Bishop Robert Lucey of Texas, Governor Bibb Graves of Alabama, and others of equal prominence and reputation. In 1945 the Conference staged a dinner in Washington, D. C., honoring Justice Hugo Black. The toastmaster on this occasion was then Senator, later Vice-President Alben W. Barkley. At the speaker's table was the Honorable James F. Byrnes. Among the sponsors of the dinner were Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, and President Harry S. Truman. Surely guilt by association cannot include all these men.

SRC Director Fleming said not long ago: "The tragedy is that these self-appointed experts on 'subversion' show no understanding whatever of the real Communist movements. It thrives on white supremacy and noisy defiance of desegregation rulings. The Communists wouldn't trade one Governor Faubus for 10,000 new recruits to the Party. By contrast, there are no more effective anti-Communists than those Southerners who are working for orderly compliance with the law of the land. Ironically, these are the very people whom the segregationist vigilantes falsely label 'reds' and 'subversives.' "

Eleven prominent Southern church officials said in a statement in early April: "The time has come for the public to be made aware of the resurgence of McCarthyism in the South. If there is in fact a Communist threat, then Dr. Alford and others like him have a responsibility to report their knowledge to the FBI; if not, they have a duty to check their facts. Otherwise, they themselves are doing the real service to Communism, which battens on confusion, false charges, and the blind defense of racial injustices in our country."

Where inequities exist in our country, it is, indeed, not the Communist Manifesto but the American Constitution that fosters unrest and makes citizens work for change. The McCarthy cry of "Communist" in a time of transition is appealing for two reasons: it is simple and it is emotional. It reduces a complex situation, with many ramifications and subtleties and need for sober logic, to one single outside cause, and stirs a rope-and-fagot reflex.

Most citizens, along with the U.S. Senate, finally came to their senses about the sickness of McCarthyism. Slowly, as Southerners themselves work to replace emotional resistance and bigotry with reason and respect for the law of the land, McCarthyism can be uprooted under the magnolias.

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A Changing City— New Issues and New Relationships

By James R. Dumpson

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FEBRUARY, 1960

■ **A brilliant examination of the urban problems which have created the crisis of the modern city**

A Changing City—New Issues and New Relationships*

By James R. Dumpson

HUNDREDS of years from now, when historians look back at this century, I wonder what they will consider the most pressing issues of our time. With so many difficult questions competing for our attention, would it not be helpful if we could judge their priority from the vantage point of the future?

In my judgment, looking ahead as best we can, one of the problems most closely related to America's future well-being is the crisis of the modern city. The evidence may be seen in every major metropolis from Maine to California: neighborhood deterioration and decay, overcrowded schools, juvenile delinquency and crime, strangled traffic, the near collapse of commuter railroads, the cold war between city and suburb.

Intimately involved with this situation is the problem of intergroup tensions—the frictions that develop as different racial, ethnic, and religious groups rub elbows with one another.

I need hardly tell you that the gravest of tensions are found between whites and non-whites. The proportion of non-whites to whites in our big cities has been rising steadily, and so has the conflict between them. This condition is not going to improve by itself.

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* This article is based on an address delivered to the New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee, November 8, 1959. JAMES R. DUMPSON is the Commissioner of Welfare of the City of New York.

Let me make one point clear at the outset. The accelerated movement of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and other non-whites to the city is not responsible for today's woes, though many people seem to overlook this fact. The recent influx has simply served to intensify problems which existed back in the days when our large cities were almost entirely white. Seventy years ago "the shame of the cities" was a national catchword; as the immigrants of the 1890's began moving in, many older residents began moving out. That was when the so-called Yankee Protestants, having lost the City Halls to the Irish Catholics and their allies among the newer Americans, made the State Houses their fortress.

The difficulties have been mounting ever since. And the reason lies mainly in the fact that officials and citizens alike have neither planned for the future nor reacted to present needs with sufficient determination and vision.

TROUBLE COMPOUNDED BY NEW TRENDS

The results of neglect have been exacerbated by a number of present-day trends. First, America — like other parts of the world — has been experiencing a population boom. In 1930 our population was 123 million; in 1950 it was 150 million; in 1975 it is expected to reach 218 million.

Second, the mobility of our population is fantastically high: in any given year, one out of five families is on the go, and over 5 million persons move from one state to another. Ten per cent of the residents of every state are in-migrants. New York is typical in this respect. Between 1950 and 1957, those who moved *out* of the city equalled the population of Washington, D. C., while those who moved *in* equalled the population of Pittsburgh. During 1955, throughout the country, 20 per cent of all Americans moved, some across the street, some across the continent.

Furthermore, America is becoming increasingly urban. In 1920, half of the population lived in cities; by 1960, the ratio will be three quarters. More than a million acres of farmland are lost to the cities every year.

THE GREAT MIGRATION

Since World War II, more than one and one-half million Negroes have left southern agricultural areas for the industrial centers of the North and West. Migration from Puerto Rico has paralleled this trend —though in smaller numbers. Meanwhile, within the city itself, marked changes have taken place: as non-whites have moved into "the central city," great numbers of middle-class whites have moved out to the suburbs.

Non-whites now comprise 13 per cent of New Yorkers, compared with 6 per cent in 1940; 20 per cent of Chicagoans, compared with 8 per cent in 1940; and 14 per cent of the population of Los Angeles, compared with 6.5 per cent in 1940. Washington, D. C., has a Negro majority.

By 1970, Chicago is expected to be one-third Negro; Manhattan Island, 45 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican. By 1990, it is expected that in 10 of the 14 largest American cities, the

non-white population will range from one quarter to one half of the total.

In short, what we know as "the race problem" will soon have moved from the rural South to the urban North, unless we start planning for a solution now.

Let us consider for a moment why people move. When I review case records of so-called non-residents receiving public assistance in New York, it seems very clear that they come in search of a better life. They are responding to prospects of better employment; they are seeking better housing and better education for their children; they are joining friends and relatives who came before them. Not always so clearly expressed but nevertheless evident is their quest for freedom from intimidation, freedom to enjoy the God-given right to dignity and self-respect.

It is hardly a new motivation. It has impelled the migration of all peoples to America and within America. We shall commit a grave error if we attempt to block this movement, for we will have failed to face the underlying problems of the metropolis and the relations of people within it.

We are only beginning to recognize the psychological import of the mobility of the American people. The human causalties are found in the increasing number of "strangers" who experience rejection and hostility, the frequent transformation of family life and the need to live, or at least to work, in a world of bigness, confusion and impersonality. When people are hurt spiritually, serious social problems result.

PROBLEMS OUTSTRIP SOLUTIONS

It is a tragic fact that as our cities grow and their needs multiply, our capacity for dealing with them seems to diminish. New slums are born more rapidly than old ones are eliminated. New demands for health and welfare services far outweigh our ability to provide the wherewithal. The middle-class groups moving out to the suburbs were far less strain on our social and protective services, and far more productive as tax payers than the economically lower-class groups who replace them.

Even if all city residents were absolutely homogeneous in race, religion and national origin, the exchange of higher-income groups for lower would create serious financial burdens. But of course the American people are not homogeneous, and our unresolved problems of intergroup relations make every issue all the more complicated.

Take, for example, the relocation headaches under slum clearance programs. A great majority of the slum dwellers are non-whites who resent what they regard as callous indifference on the part of upper-class white authorities. And even when slum clearance and relocation are intelligently administered, the resulting luxury housing, far beyond the economic reach of the displaced, can only signify in their eyes that they are not wanted.

I venture to suggest that similar hostility underlies the city-suburb conflict over bailing out the commuter railroads. The city dweller is not greatly moved by the plight of the commuter, whom he regards as

too rich for philanthropy and too aloof for sympathy. Is it too far-fetched to imagine that this clash of class and geography is a clash with racial overtones, and that an increasingly colored city population resents what it regards as suburban lily-white exclusiveness?

Unfortunately, mighty little is being done to resolve these tensions. There is a notable absence of aggressive leadership in intergroup relations in our cities. So, instead of working for long-range improvements, we flounder from one crisis to another, hoping that makeshift measures will prevent catastrophe.

HOUSING AND EDUCATION

Our shortsightedness and neglect are particularly evident in housing and in education.

The shortage of housing, the slum character of most housing available to non-whites, and the hardening segregation patterns in new housing are creating explosive situations in many northern cities. Too often, programs for slum clearance, public housing and urban redevelopment intensify the very conditions they are designed to remedy. Slum clearance has increased overcrowding among the lowest income groups; low-cost public housing has often created new ghettos. The enforced concentration of the poor and the outcast can only breed trouble.

Middle-class non-whites who try to escape city slums quickly learn they are unwelcome in the white suburbs of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Detroit and other large cities. Unless they are willing to settle in segregated communities, their arrival is greeted either by flight of the white residents or by hostility and violence. We shall not eliminate intergroup tensions until we have wiped out the ghetto, be it racial, religious, economic or ethnic; urban or suburban.

In New York City, the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs ordinance, adopted in 1958 to outlaw discrimination in the sale or rental of much private housing, is now in operation; but it is too early to judge its impact. It seems clear, however, that its ultimate effectiveness is hampered by the absence of a state-wide law. We can no longer deal with these issues on a local basis. The right to secure housing without discrimination reaches beyond a single city. It demands state and possibly federal action.

Nor is housing a self-contained issue. Segregated neighborhoods quite naturally have segregated schools. Bad neighborhoods in the depressed enclaves of the central cities quite naturally have bad schools — antiquated, hazardous and overcrowded. Children in these schools are deprived of the equal educational opportunities that are their due.

The demand for integrated classes and better educational facilities for non-white children is snowballing in large cities. In New York, the Board of Education's attempt to improve school conditions through integration brought public protests in the affected white areas. In Chicago, the Board of Education has undertaken to rezone school districts. Demands for integration have been made on the public schools in San Francisco. In many other cities, tensions over segregated schools are

smoldering beneath the surface.

But here, too, in most cases, we see the absence of a clear-cut social policy, designed consciously and deliberately to insure the rights of all youngsters. Even in New York, some of us are not really certain we are committed to a non-segregated school system. True, we initiate moves that may lead to integration. But the objective is utilization of space and increased educational opportunity—not integration per se.

An integrated school system, full utilization of available space and assurance of full educational opportunity for all children are supportable—indeed inseparable—goals. Segregation in our schools must be eliminated if we are to prevent further deterioration of intergroup relations.

MINORITY MILITANCY

Pious statements about the right of all Americans to an equal chance and the nobility of labor are not enough to assure adequate living standards, nor to remove the social disabilities suffered by Negroes and Puerto Ricans in our country, nor to stem their impatience and resentment. In the absence of tangible action by the larger community, these groups will seek their own remedies. Regardless of how understandingly we view the economic boycotts and "buy black" movements, we must note with alarm the economic and social ferment that underlies them. The hospital strike in New York City is a similar example of deep-seated economic and racial grievances giving rise to collective action.

In our great cities, immigrants from many lands learned American ways and the occupational and social skills needed for admission to the American middle class. Gradually, as they, or their children, became assimilated into the life of the community, the prejudices against "greenhorns," "bohunks," and "micks," were overcome. The non-white migrant also learns urban skills and yearns for middle-class status. But his color is an added, and thus far unsurmountable, barrier. Color, unlike cultural difference, does not disappear.

Many Negroes have concluded that the best way to contend with discrimination is through organized group effort—political parties, trade unions, churches and other voluntary organizations. The National Negro Council, organized to advance Negro interests in the labor movement, now claims to represent 1,500,000 members. Negro councils are being formed in many cities. The Dallas Negro Council for United Action declared recently—and it was no idle boast — that its members command "a buying power of $110 million and a voting power of 63,000."

As recently as a decade ago, Negro churches were timid about speaking up for civil rights; most of the voluntary organizations were led by white supporters. Today the Negro clergy are outspoken in their bid for social justice, and voluntary social action organizations are led almost exclusively by able Negroes with ambitious programs.

In the large cities, where political aggressiveness is most evident, the Negro vote is almost wholly at the

service of leaders who demonstrate their willingness to support Negro advancement. Moreover, the Negro's political awareness is extending beyond the borders of America. Between Harlem and the new Negro republics south of the Sahara there is developing a mutuality which is also beginning to include the Moslem world. This, too, will increase the political leverage of Negro leaders in the United States.

The new self-assurance of American Negroes and their impatience with delays in the fulfilment of America's promise are justifiable; but these attitudes portend more rather than less intergroup tension in our cities, and herein lies a matter for deep concern and intelligent, skillful action.

WELFARE PROBLEM IN NEW YORK

To a public welfare administrator, the crisis of the American metropolis has particular meaning. It is vividly reflected in the high dependency rate among Negroes and Puerto Ricans at a time when other groups are enjoying relatively high prosperity. Negroes represent 13 per cent of New York City's population and 45 per cent of its assistance rolls. Puerto Ricans represent 8 per cent of the city's population and 30 per cent of its assistance rolls.

To be sure, dependency is not a group characteristic; and these statistics, taken out of their proper social and economic setting, have been used to support all kinds of anti-minority group charges. I shall assume that no elaboration of the meaningful context is necessary here. The statistics are pertinent because they indicate the intergroup component of several grave problems in welfare administration, especially the recurring question of eligibility requirements for assistance, and the social issues involved in our Aid to Dependent Children program. In my judgment, these are two of the most crucial problems facing public welfare today.

It has been suggested that since many of the people receiving assistance are recent newcomers to the city—chiefly Negroes from the South and Puerto Ricans from the Island—it might be desirable to set up residence requirements for assistance and to deny our welfare services to those who have been in our city less than a certain length of time.

Now, I have no doubt that many of those who favor residence requirements are genuinely seeking to reduce welfare costs. But I submit that the best way to do this is to identify and remove the causes of dependency. To those who, consciously or otherwise, desire to retard any group of citizens in their search for a better life, it should be recalled that *every* American, whatever his color, race, or religion may be, is entitled to live where he chooses without fear of surrendering any of his rights as a citizen. Public assistance, based on need, is a right. It must not be abridged for regional expedience. Need, and need alone, must remain the criterion.

The conflict between minority and majority becomes evident again in the criticism levelled at Aid to Dependent Children. This is the one program in our social welfare structure with the greatest potential for

strengthening family life. Over two million children in the United States are directly served by ADC. Yet this program is subjected to consistent and violent attack.

There is no doubt that ADC has weaknesses which need correction. But it is not the weaknesses that are under attack; it is the fact that ADC serves a large number of out-of-wedlock children—about 20 per cent of the two million receiving aid in communities large and small. The ratio is understandably higher in big cities, rising to 41 per cent in New York. Here again, the minority group representation in the caseload is alarming: 45 per cent, Negro; 30 per cent, Puerto Rican.

Without a doubt, these data are just cause for serious concern and call for immediate remedial actions. But when the community criticizes these aspects of the ADC program, it is criticizing itself. The ADC program reflects the social pathology of the entire community, just as attacks on the program reflect community prejudices.

Indeed, whether in examining eligibility for public assistance or for other welfare services, we find a strong tendency to associate objectionable behavior with minority groups. "Moral indignation toward behavior," states Dean Wayne Vasey, "lends respectability to bias."

Restrictive and punitive legislation in public welfare most frequently results from the public's low opinion of groups receiving public funds. A vital program of public assistance will not gain support if the public strongly disapproves of the beneficiaries. Thus, social welfare in general, and public welfare in particular, have more than a casual interest in the state of intergroup relations in the community.

NO TIME FOR GRADUALISM

Certainly the problems which underlie the crisis of the cities are beyond the scope of any single organization. Governmental leadership may well be required to speed solutions. Discrimination in education, housing, and employment; negative imagery and stereotypes of racial, religious and national-origin groups: these issues threaten the welfare and safety of all.

In my judgment it is folly to rely on gradualism. People are no longer satisfied with bit-by-bit assurance of human rights. We can no longer separate *fair* employment from *full* employment, *fair* housing from *full* housing, *fair* education from *full* education. Intergroup relations organizations and social welfare agencies, no less than government itself, must re-examine their programs and expand their activities to fulfill democracy's promise of full opportunity to all.

Not only may the stability and prosperity of our cities depend on these efforts, but indeed the continued leadership of the American way of life.

For additional copies, write to

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

Institute of Human Relations

165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Purdue Univ -

PROPOSAL

FOR

GRANT-IN-AID

SUBMITTED BY

PURDUE UNIVERSITY

PART I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE CONCEPT OF THE SERIES

THE ROLE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN SOCIETY HAS BEEN BROUGHT INCREASINGLY UNDER PUBLIC SCRUTINY DURING THE PAST FEW YEARS. THE SUPREME COURT DECISIONS REGARDING SEGREGATION IN EDUCATION AND THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE LITTLE ROCK AFFAIR HAVE TENDED TO MAKE US MORE AWARE OF THE POSITION THE NEGRO OCCUPIES IN OUR SOCIETY. NOT ONLY HAS THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BEEN AWAKENED TO THE SITUATION, BUT PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD HAVE SHOWN SENSITIVITY TO THE REPORTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES.

CURRENTLY, NEARLY ONE HUNDRED YEARS SINCE THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATIONS, THE NEGRO IN AMERICA HAS YET TO BECOME FULLY INTEGRATED INTO THE RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, EDUCATIONAL, OR CULTURAL LIFE OF THE NATION OF WHICH HE IS A CITIZEN. A COMBINATION OF PUBLIC APATHY, ANTAGONISM AND MISINFORMATION HAS CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO HIS CONDITION.

IF WE ARE TO BE ABLE TO ANSWER BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL CRITICISM OF THIS COUNTRY'S RACE RELATIONS, IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR US, THE PEOPLE, TO HAVE A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE RACE PROBLEM, THE FORCES WHICH HAVE CREATED IT, AND THE OBSTACLES WHICH MUST BE OVERCOME TO ALLOW IT SOLUTION.

THEREFORE, WBAA PROPOSES TO PRODUCE A SERIES OF RADIO PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO INVESTIGATE THE NATURE OF RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES BY MAKING A CAREFUL AND OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT THEORIES REGARDING THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS INHERENT IN THOSE RELATIONS.

WE WOULD ATTEMPT TO DO THIS BY A SERIES OF CONVERSATIONS WITH A SOCIOLOGIST, PRESENTLY ON THE PURDUE STAFF, WHO HAS INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE OF NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS. THESE CONVERSATIONS WOULD BE AUGMENTED WITH

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TAPE-RECORDED INTERVIEWS AND STATEMENTS FROM PERSONS THROUGHOUT THE NATION WHO HAVE SHOWN AN INTEREST IN, AND KNOWLEDGE OF, THE RACIAL PROBLEM.

THE EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES

EVERYDAY CASUAL CONVERSATION SUPPORTS THE BELIEF THAT VERY FEW PERSONS IN THE UNITED STATES OR ABROAD POSSESS ANYTHING LIKE A ROUNDED KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. THIS OBSERVATION IS FURTHER STRENGTHENED BY THE IMPRESSION ONE GETS FROM READING PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT THE NEGRO IN BOOKS, MAGAZINES AND NEWSPAPERS; FROM STATEMENTS MADE ON THE FLOORS OF CONGRESS; FROM RADIO AND TELEVISION; AND EVEN FROM THE REPORTED EXPERIENCES OF PROFESSORS IN THE CLASSROOM.

A GREAT DEAL OF RESEARCH HAS BEEN DONE ON THE NEGRO IN AMERICA. MANY BOOKS AND ARTICLES FOR SCHOLARLY JOURNALS HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY BOTH NEGROES AND WHITES. HOWEVER, IN DAY-TO-DAY NEWS COVERAGE A GREAT DEAL OF THE BACKGROUND CONTAINED IN THIS VAST BODY OF WORK HAS BEEN OMITTED, EVEN IN CASES WHERE ACTUAL MISINFORMATION HAS NOT BEEN PASSED ON. IN ORDER FOR THE PUBLIC TO GAIN A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROBLEMS EXISTING IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS, THERE IS NEED FOR A DRAMATIC PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF AT LEAST A PART OF THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE ACCUMULATED BY SCHOLARS AND RESEARCHERS. THE PROPOSED SERIES WOULD SEEK TO FULFILL THIS NEED. IT WOULD BE BASED UPON THE PREMISE OF "MUTUAL ILLUMINATION". THIS PREMISE RESTS UPON THE FACT THAT THE ELEMENTS OF THE LIFE OF THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN SOCIETY ARE INTERDEPENDENT. HIS HOUSING DEPENDS UPON HIS WORK OPPORTUNITIES; HIS WORK OPPORTUNITIES DEPEND UPON HIS EDUCATION; HIS EDUCATION DEPENDS UPON HIS STATUS IN SOCIETY; HIS STATUS DEPENDS UPON HIS EDUCATION AND HIS WORK, ETC. THUS, THE PREMISE MAY BE STATED AS: UNDERSTANDING OF ANY PARTICULAR ELEMENT OR PROBLEM AREA IN NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONS WILL INCREASE AS THE UNDERSTANDING OF ADJACENT PROBLEM AREAS IS WIDENED.

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THE METHOD OF TREATMENT

THE GENERAL PROCEDURE WILL BE TO FOCUS ON AREAS OF NEGRO LIFE AND OF NEGRO-WHITE INTER-RELATIONS, SUCH AS IN EDUCATION, LAW, RELIGION, AND OTHER AREAS. IN EACH AREA THE APPROACH WILL BE DOUBLE: HISTORICAL AND ANALYTICAL. THE HISTORICAL MATERIALS WILL SERVE AS BACKGROUND FOR THE DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEMS THAT APPEAR IN THE VARIOUS AREAS.

A COMPREHENSIVE TREATMENT IS IMPORTANT IN A PROGRAM OF THIS KIND, ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO COVER 'EVERYTHING' IN DETAIL. BUT WE WILL STRIVE TO AVOID SUPERFICIALITY. THE OBJECTIVE OF THE SERIES WILL BE TO EQUIP THE LISTENER'S WITH A HIGH SENSITIVITY TO THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE NEGRO QUESTION, AND TO PROVIDE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF PARTICULAR ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM.

PRODUCTION CALENDAR

IT IS PLANNED TO ADHERE TO THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE IN PRODUCING THE PROPOSED SERIES. RESEARCH AND THE RECORDING OF STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS WILL BE DONE DURING THE SUMMER OF 1958; THE ASSEMBLING OF MATERIAL AND WRITING, FALL, 1958; RECORDING, WINTER AND SPRING, 1958-1959.

THE ENTIRE SERIES WILL BE SUBMITTED IN ITS FINISHED FORM ON OR BEFORE MAY 30, 1958.

PART II

THE SERIES

The Production Format

Each program, as planned, will open with a brief dramatic passage based upon an actual occurence in race relations upon which the remainder of the program will be hinged. This passage then will be followed by a conversation between E. W. Richter, the producer of the series and Dr. Louis Schneider, Professor of Sociology at Purdue University. The conversation will deal with the specific area under consideration and will be augmented with tape-recorded statements of authorities and others interested in race relations. Each statement will be discussed against a background of ascertainable fact. In this way, we hope to be able to present as many points of view as possible, as well as to create a commanding word-picture of the many facets of each area under consideration.

The Participants

Members of the Purdue University staff who would participate in the production of this series would be Dr. Louis Schneider of the Sociology Department of Purdue University, who would act as general consultant, Mr. Abraham Barnett of the Purdue Memorial Library, who would act as research consultant, and E. W. Richter of WBAA, who would be the producer. Other consultants for program authentication and advice will be Purdue's Professor Dwight W. Culver, presently on leave serving as Executive Director of the National Council for the Panel of Americans and author of the book "Negro Segregation in the Methodist Church"; and Professor Harold T. Christenson, Head of the Purdue Department of Sociology. In addition, the attached letter has been sent to more than sixty persons soliciting their cooperation. These persons include senators and governors of the southern states, the Negro congressional representatives, Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, Catholic

BAPTIST, AND METHODIST RELIGIOUS LEADERS, RALPH BUNCHE OF THE UNITED NATIONS, A PHILIP RANDOLPH OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, DR. RUFUS CLEMENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, NEGRO AND WHITE AUTHORS WHO HAVE WRITTEN ABOUT THE NEGRO, THURGOOD MARSHALL AND ROY WILKINS OF THE NAACP, GUNNAR MYRDAL, PROFESSOR ALLISON DAVIS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY, DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN OF BROOKLYN COLLEGE, CARL SANDBURG, DR. OSCAR HANDLIN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, E. FREDERICK MORROW, PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT, AND OTHERS.

AS OF THIS DATE, WE HAVE RECEIVED FAVORABLE RESPONSES FROM, AMONG OTHERS, RALPH BUNCHE, DR. HANDLIN, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, DR. CLEMENT, TELFORD TAYLOR, A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, E. FREDERICK MORROW, ALLISON DAVIS, DR. FRANKLIN, MARIAN ANDERSON, STROM THURMOND, THE GOVERNORS OF MISSISSIPPI, VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND AND DR. FRAZIER.

IN ADDITION, THE LETTER SENT TO WALTER REUTHER OF THE UAW, RESULTED IN THAT ORGANIZATION'S MAKING AVAILABLE TO US ITS TAPE FILE ON CIVIL RIGHTS. THIS FILE INCLUDES STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS WITH SOUTHERN AND NORTHERN SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN MADE DURING THE FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION, AS WELL AS THE STATEMENTS OF LABOR LEADERS ON THIS ISSUE.

<u>THE ROLE OF A GRANT-IN-AID</u>

THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION OF A GRANT-IN-AID WOULD BE THAT IT WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE ON-THE-SPOT RECORDINGS WITH THE PERSONS LISTED ABOVE. FURTHERMORE, THE GRANT WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE THE EMPLOYMENT OF PERSONNEL TO CARRY OUT THE RESEARCH REQUIRED. THE BUDGET FOR TRAVEL AND RESEARCH IS NOT AVAILABLE AT PURDUE UNIVERSITY. WITHOUT THESE RECORDINGS, COUPLED WITH EXTENSIVE RESEARCH, THE SERIES WOULD BE A COMMONPLACE TREATMENT BASED UPON READILY AVAILABLE PUBLISHED INFORMATION. FURTHERMORE, THE ACTUAL VOICES OF SUCH PERSONS AS GOVERNOR FAUBUS, ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, RALPH BUNCHE, AND OTHER WIDELY RECOGNIZED FIGURES, WOULD LEND THE SERIES A DRAMATIC IMPACT OTHERWISE UNATTAINABLE.

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The Thirteen Proposed Programs

Following are brief descriptions of the thirteen proposed programs:

Program 1 — The Negro and the Problem
An introduction to the following programs with a brief look at each of the areas to be considered.

Program 2 — The Negro, Africa, and the Early Slave Trade
A survey of the cultural position of the Negro at the commencement of his enslavement. The development and growth of slavery prior to its emergence in the South.

Program 3 — The Negro and the Race Question
A description of the arly treatment of the Negro in this country, as well as of the rationalizations which made his enslavement socially acceptable. These rationalizations would be analyzed and then traced to the present in connection with examining the physical anthropology, abilities, morality, etc., of the Negro.

Program 4 — The Negro, the South, and the North
An investigation of the position and treatment of the Negro in the South as contrasted with the North.

Program 5 — The Negro in the Urban Community
An investigation of the factors which have contributed to the mass migration of the Negro from rural to urban areas, and the problems resulting from this migration.

Program 6 — The Negro and Labor
A study of the relationships of the Negro to both management and labor, first in historical perspective, then in light of current trends.

Program 7 — The Negro, Science, Invention and Art
The Negro's scientific and cultural contributions to the American scene, as well as the limitations placed upon him in making these contributions.

Program 8 — The Negro and Education
A study of the commonly hold beliefs regarding the Negro's intellectual potentialities and investigation of the limitations placed upon the Negro in pursuing an education. His accomplishment.

Program 9 — The Negro and American Law
A presentation of the changing status of the Negro under the general laws, the administration of justice for the Negro under these laws, and legislation directly affecting the Negro.

Program 10 — The Negro and the Ballot
A consideration of the Negro at the polls.

PROGRAM 11 — THE NEGRO AND RELIGION

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE FORCES WHICH HAVE CAUSED THE NEGRO TO ORGANIZE HIS OWN CHURCHES AND THE ATTITUDES OF WHITE RELIGIOUS GROUPS TOWARD THE NEGRO, INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF THE SPLITS AND RECONCILIATIONS IN WHITE CHURCHES OVER THE NEGRO QUESTION.

PROGRAM 12 — THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZATIONS OF PROTEST

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROTEST ACTIVITIES OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS AS THE NAACP AND THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE ON THE ONE HAND, AND ANTI-NEGRO PROTEST ORGANIZATIONS, SUCH AS THE KU KLUX KLAN, ON THE OTHER.

PROGRAM 13 — THE NEGRO AND THE NATION

A SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSIONS DRAWN IN THE PRECEDING PROGRAMS; THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN MILITARY LIFE; THE IMPACT OF THE RACE QUESTION UPON THE NATION IN TERMS OF BOTH NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Tric Klar, C 1, 1954

April 8, 1953

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College
430 S. Michigan Ave.
Chicago 5, Ill.

Dear Frank:

That's a big problem.

Fundamentally the answer is because of the wealth of the continent. Cheap land and an expanding frontier meant that we never had really to solve our problems of industrial relations. I got once into the early history of the New England textile industry. The girls who worked in those mills twelve and fourteen-hour days got mad as hornets and did big turn-outs and, I suppose, frightened the mill owners with their determination to get more. That was in the 1840's. But instead of going on and solving their problem, they and their families went West, and the Irish came in and worked the long hours. And when the Irish got angry and left, here came the Poles and the Italians and the Portugese, and so on. It has always been possible to escape--to move out or up and usually both.

What used to be said in economics classes thirty years ago was that the caste system had a lot to do with the rise of the Labor Party, and that as we had no caste system, we weren't under that pressure. That must be a diminishing pressure in Britain, and it still does not show itself here.

The British economy is one that simply has to plan. So many people on so little land. Imperial expansion floated them, but that amounted to a kind of plan in itself. As that lost its power to float, the working people of England saw--most of them only q u ite dimly--that the islands had to aexert public policy over industry (and agriculture too, for that matter). Hence, a socialist movement with deep purpose.

Working people in this country have never been under such a pressure except spasmodically in times of depression.

When businessis rolling along, every man pins his hopes on his relationship to his boss. The great chance is in fattening the pay check by greater skill or smoother flow of work in the plant (which is where trade unionism comes in) or promotion. So we give only bits of our attention to politics, because politics doesn't matter to our living. In a depression, of course, things turn around. The boss has nothing more to offer, is cutting wages or may have laid you off. So you go for regulating the economy and setting it back on its feet. One or the other of the standard political parties is always ready to promise that. And after business gets rolling again, we all forget about governing it.

That one fundamental idea could be embroidered and footnoted. But that's the bottom of the problem, I think.

Not a soul left at my college in Oxford that I knew except the don in economics, one A. B. Rodger (Balliol). You might perhaps run into him.

I envy you six weeks in that good city.

The high point in recreation, for your and Mrs. McCallister's benefit, is to go to the boat dock on the Cherwell and take a punt and carry along in the punt a hamper which should properly be filled with lobster and salad and white wine and strawberries and Devonshire cream and cake. Pull yourself, albeit awkwardly, a mile or so up to some buttercupped meadow, and land and spread the feast.

I have duly set your other letter into the tickler, to be turned up April 1, 1954, when we will bill you most pressingly for dues and back dues.

Many thanks for helping us with kind words to foundation people. That helps tremendously.

I will hope to get to Chicago before you have gone, and will try to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

C1, 1954

Roosevelt College

OF CHICAGO

430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

TELEPHONE WABASH 2-3580

RECEIVED APR 8 Southern Regional Council

April 6, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was good news that you have been given a tentative release from the ever-recurring financial crisis, by a check from the usual source these days.

I hope your major application with the Fund for the Republic gets an affirmative answer. You have probably been informed that I discussed your application with some of the people involved and I hope that my arguments were persuasive.

We are awfully hard up financially and I think we will have to be excused from being members this year. Maybe we can get back on next year.

We wrote you a letter asking for your help with a stint I have to do this summer in England. I hope you will have time to give me a rather lengthy reply because you have had the kind of experience which will make your answer of real value.

Please give my warm greetings to all of our mutual friends. I see that Phil Hammer has gone with the Com ittee of the South of the National Planning Association. Since I am still sitting on that Board, perhaps I will get a chance to see him.

Sincerely and fraternally,

Frank

Frank McCallister
Director

FM:jnp
rcoeu

April 15, 1955

Mr. Frank McCallister
Director,
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. McCallister:

As Dr. Mitchell is out of the city, I am sending you the address of Mr. Arthur Raper as we have it in our files.*

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Brantley
Secretary to
Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

*Mr. Arthur Raper
Route 1, Box 128
Oakton, Virginia

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

April 13, 1955

APR 14 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Could you please tell me the present whereabouts of Arthur Raper? I'm hoping to get in touch with him as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Frank

Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division

FM:sm
ruoeu

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

RECEIVED NOV 7 1956

File

November 5, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your help. I followed up on your varioua references and used S.R.C. data as well.

All our best.

Agnes

Agnes M. Douty, Assistant Director
Labor Education Division

AMD:jb
ruoeu

September 18, 1956

Mrs. Agnes M. Douty, Assistant Director
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Agnes:

Good to hear from you after all these years.

The employment picture is one of the least documented. I am enclosing some results of a desegregation survey which we did a few months ago and which is being prepared for publication by the Fund for the Republic. Also, in case you missed it, a copy of a story from the New York Times which summed up the situation in the North. Emmet Hughes has a good long piece in the September issue of Fortune on economic opportunities for Negroes. Eli Ginzberg's book The Negro Potential, has some very significant stuff in it. Also enclosed is a list of a few other sources which might be helpful.

I hope all these odds and ends will add up to what you need.

It would be good to sit down for a talk with you and Ken. Let us know if at any time your work brings you this way.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

September 12, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This seems to be "voice from the past" week.

Just this last weekend, Frank McCallister and I, who were teaching at a union institute at Ohio State University, spent a most pleasant evening with Calvin and Elizabeth Kytle whom we had not seen since our Atlanta days.

Now I have occasion to write you for some help.

I have been asked to take part in a panel discussion with one of library community groups on "Integration in Employment - North and South" sometime in October.

I find it difficult to secure any reliable study or summary of what the situation is, or what the trend has been in the last several years.

I am hoping that the Council has kept up with this question, and that perhaps you might be able to send me some material which would be reliable, and usable for the occasion.

I am checking other possible sources as well, but feel that the Council will probably have more to offer on this subject.

If it means sending me something which you need to have returned to your files, I shall be more than happy to return it, after I have made note of the information.

I would appreciate your help very much indeed.

Meanwhile, my greetings to you, and any of our mutual friends whom you may run across soon.

Yours,

Agnes

Agnes M. Douty, Assistant Dir.
Labor Education Division

AMD:sm
uoeu

March 16, 1960

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr. McCallister:

Thank you for your letter of March 10.

I wish to apologize for the delay in sending you a copy of our Special Report. The delay, however, has been caused by our efforts to up-date the report and this has just been completed; hence, I am enclosing a revised copy.

The "ACCA" pamphlet which you mentioned is a good one and has served useful purposes in the Atlanta area.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
Enclosure - 1.

MF - Pls acknowledge + send rept
HCF

Roosevelt University
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION DIVISION

TELEPHONE WABASH 2-3580

March 10, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold,

Would you please send us a copy of the special report issued by the Council referred to in the New York Times of February 27, on the Negro student protests. I would like to be in Atlanta right now for obvious reasons.

I have just heard a good speech by Donald Young, Atlanta School of Social Work, at the National Education Conference sponsored by the United Steelworkers with the help of Indiana and Ohio Universities, for unions taking education programs with Universities. He gave me a copy of a pamphlet from the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action on the Negro citizen in Atlanta, and asked if I would help get some funds to reprint it. I will see what I can do.

Sincerely yours,

Frank

Frank McCallister, Director,
Labor Education Division.

FM:RF
ruoeu

March 22, 1960

Mr. Frank McCallister, Director
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt University
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Frank:

Just back in the office after a week away, I was glad to find your letter.

The demand for our report on the "sit-ins" has steadily outrun the supply, which we taks as a good sign.

Don't you ever visit Atlanta? If so, don't fail to let me know.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

February 10, 1961

Mr. Frank McCallister
Roosevelt University
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Frank:

Reading the Congressional Record -- or the New York Times for that matter -- does have its hazards!

Many thanks for your thoughtful note and the clipping from the Record.

I hope we will see one another again one of these years.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

From the Desk of:

FRANK McCALLISTER
WAbash 2-3580, Extension 35
ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

Clip to Rwd
6 Feb.

Harold Fleming
Sou. Reg. Council

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1961

Dear Harold,

See what comes from reading the Cong. Record!
Congratulations on this fine recognition.

Yours,
Frank

April 7 Tues.

N Bound -
EAL 586 - 7:35 - 8:44
S Bound
EAL 531 - 7:00 - 8:12

September 30, 1958

Dr. R. P. Perry
Mr. Gaius J. Slosser
Mr. Moses S. Belton
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letter of September 22 inviting me to be a participant in the Human Relations Institute and Forum on April 7, 1959. I had heard something of the very promising plans for this program, and I shall be very happy to be a part of it.

I will be writing you about my travel plans sometime in the month preceding the meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AFFILIATED WITH
THE BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
AND
A SUMMER SCHOOL FOR TEACHERS

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

On April 6 and 7 of next year this University with the co-operation or sponsorship of the groups listed below is to hold a Human Relations Institute and Forum. We believe that you will agree that such an event can result in much good.

We are writing to ask that you be a very important integral part of this event by your attendance and being one of five speakers (ten minutes each) in a panel discussion of the topic, Next Steps for the Furtherance of Proper Race Relations in the United States. There will be the usual audience participation. We are convinced that you are qualified to make valuable contributions to the Institute and Forum. The date is the afternoon of Tuesday, April 7, 1959.

For this service, should your sponsoring group not provide your expenses, the University will take care of your travel and entertainment besides an honorarium of twenty-five dollars.

As the above date draws near, please inform us as to the time and means of your arrival in Charlotte. You will be thrilled to know that as a speaker, you will be associated with a notable list of authorities of national and international importance. Please reply soon as to your acceptance of this requested service.

Very truly yours,

R. P. Perry

R. P. Perry, President
Johnson C. Smith University

Gaius J. Slosser Moses S. Belton

Gaius J. Slosser & Moses S. Belton
Directors of the Institute

Co-operating:

The Union Ministerial Association of Charlotte, N. C.
The North Carolina Councils of Churches
The Department of Christian Social Relations of the National Council of Churches
The Department of Social Education and Action of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.
The Charlotte and Southern Regional Councils of Human Relations
The Citizens' Committee

AFFILIATED WITH
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JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 8, 1959

Mr. Harlod C. Fleming, Executive
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friend:

The enclosrues are now being mailed to leaders throughout Southeastern United States. You will note your very important place in the program. Since this program is tightly scheduled it will be necessary for each speaker to adhere strictly to the time allotted.

As we wrote before, our plan is to bring all the messages together into publication. Please, therefore, have your address in manuscript form. We plan for the widest coverage by the various press services. Hence, as you will know, it is well to have a summarized statement to hand to press representatives.

When you know the time and means of your arrival in Charlotte, do please write us so that we can make provisions to meet and to entertain you.

At your earliest convenience, please send us a glossy print photo of yourself.

Believing that together we are to have a notable Institute which shall greatly further its purpose, I am

Faithfully yours,

Gaius Jackson Slosser

Gaius Jackson Slosser
Chairman, Faculty Committee

Enclosures

President Perry has designated the writer to be the one to edit the proposed publication. Hence, certain enclosures are meant to help in the promotion of acquaintance.

Your address in this Seminar should be 10 minutes in length. Each of you 4 men will have 10 minutes for your first messages.

S.

January 19, 1959

Dr. Gaius Jackson Slosser
Chairman, Faculty Committee
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Slosser:

Thank you for your recent letter and interesting enclosures. I shall be looking forward to the Institute in April. Meanwhile, enclosed is a glossy print, as you requested.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure-1 (Photograph)

March [redacted], 1959

REMINDER FOR HCF:

Write letter to Human Relations Institute and Forum directors at Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, NC re travel plans on April 7, 1959.

See: ltr. written Sept. 30, 1958

(Johnson C. Smith University - Gen. Corresp. "J")

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

Charlotte, North Carolina

April 1, 1959

OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
PHONE ED 3-7520

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Please send me by return mail a biographical sketch of Mr. Marion Wright of Linville Falls, North Carolina.

Noted & have sending

We look forward to seeing you at our Institute next week.

Very sincerely yours,

Moses S. Belton, Jr

Moses S. Belton, Director
Public Relations

MSB/s

R.T. Fare: $37.29

April 1, 1959

Dr. Gaius J. Slosser
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Slosser:

I recall that in our last exchange of correspondence you asked me to advise you of my time of arrival in Charlotte for the session of April 7. I expect to arrive on Eastern Air Lines flight number 586 at 8:44 A. M. Tuesday, and to depart on an early evening flight. Since I can easily get to the campus on my own, it will not be necessary to put anyone to the inconvenience of meeting me at that busy time.

I am looking forward to meeting you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Announcing . . .

The Johnson C. Smith University

INSTITUTE ON HUMAN RELATIONS
and
INTERGROUP UNDERSTANDING

An Event of National and International Importance

April 6-7, 1959

Purpose

This Institute is designed to provide careful and critical investigation for the purpose of clearing away misconceptions, separating fact from fiction, and bringing out in broad prospective what is required and what most needs to be studied for better Human Relations.

With the Cooperation of:

Mecklenburg Christian Ministers Association
The North Carolina Council of Churches
The North Carolina Council on Human Relations
The Southern Regional Council
The Department of Social Education and Action, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
The Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches
An Advisory Committee of Citizens

Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

PROGRAM

Sunday, April 5

Promotion of this Institute and its Purpose in the Churches

Monday, April 6

All Lectures and Activities in the University Church except as indicated

8:00- 9:00 Breakfast, University Refectory

8:30-12:00 Registration

9:30- 9:45 Worship, A. H. George

9:55-10:45 Address, Oscar Lee, *One Nation Under God*

11:00-11:50 Address, Liston Pope, *The Church's Place of Leadership in Human Relations*

11:55-12:45 Address, A. O. Steele, *Biblical Teaching and Human Relations*

1:00- 1:50 Luncheon, University Refectory

2:00- 2:15 Worship, Lawrence I. Stell

2:15- 3:05 Address, M. C. Hill, *Human Attitudes and the Nation's Well Being*

3:15- 4:05 Address, John C. Bennett, *Human Attitudes and The Nation's Educational Life*

4:15- 5:05 Address, Frank P. Graham, *Human Attitudes and International Relations*

5:20- 6:30 Dinner, University Refectory

6:45- 8:15 Seminars or Workshops

Biblical Teachings, Dr. Steele, Theological Building

Educational, Social, Dr. Bennett, Theological Building

International, Dr. Graham, University Church

8:30 *Union Community Worship and Lecture Service* (Open to Public)

Music, The University Choir

Worship, H. W. Givens, J. B. Humphrey, Howard Chadwick

Address, The Hon. Marion Wright, *Legal and Moral Aspects of Segregation*

PROGRAM

Tuesday, April 7

FOUNDERS' DAY for The University

8:00	Breakfast, The University Refectory
8:50- 9:10	Worship, John R. Cunningham
9:20-10:30	Address, William Brewer, *Progress to Date*
10:40-11:30	Address, Buell Gallagher, *Color and Conscience*
11:40- 1:00	Panel Discussion, *Next Steps* Will D. Campbell, Harold C. Fleming, Morton R. Kurtz, J. Metz Rollins, Jr.

1:15- 2:30	FOUNDERS' DAY LUNCHEON University Refectory

2:50- 3:05	Worship, Claude U. Broach
3:15- 4:05	Address, Anna Hedgman, *Moral and Spirtual Equipment*
4:10- 5:00	Address, Herman L. Turner, *The Clergy's Place of Leadership*
5:00	Evaluations, Announcements
5:30	Fellowship Dinner, University Refectory

MAKE THIS INSTITUTE A MUST ENGAGEMENT

Use the enclosed blank to inform us as to those who you believe can and will attend. All such persons will be sent information as to the complete program, lecture subjects, registration cost ($2.00), meals, rooms, hotel accommodation, etc.

The Union Community Worship and Lecture Service is open to the general public. Arrange for delegations from your Churches.

Address all communications to:

Director, Human Relations Institute
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

It is expected that many leaders will want to attend this Institute. It is imperative that to insure the acceptance of reservations you mail in your lists of interested persons at once. The privilege to attend will be fully guaranteed to the limit of our accommodations.

WHO'S WHO

Rufus Patterson Perry, President, Johnson C. Smith University

Moses S. Belton, Director, Public Relations, Johnson C. Smith University

John C. Bennett, Dean of Faculty, Union Theological Seminary, NYC

William Brewer, Editor, The Journal of Negro History

Claude U. Broach, Pastor, St. John's Baptist Church, Charlotte

Will D. Campbell, Associate Executive, National Council of Churches

I. Howard Chadwick, Pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Charlotte

John R. Cunningham, Former President, Davidson College, Executive Director, The Presbyterian Foundation.

Harold C. Fleming, Executive, The Southern Regional Council

Buell G. Gallagher, President, The City College, New York City

Arthur H. George, Dean, The Theological Seminary, Johnson C. Smith University

H. W. Givens, Stated Clerk, The Catawba Synod, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Frank P. Graham, Former President, University of North Carolina, Special Ambassador, The United Nations

Anna Hedgman, Former Assistant to the Mayor of New York City

Mozel C. Hill, Professor, Columbia University

J. B. Humphrey, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Colored, Charlotte

Morton R. Kurtz, Executive Director, North Carolina Council of Churches

Oscar Lee, Executive Director, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, The National Council of Churches

Liston Pope, Dean, The Yale Divinity School

J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Representative, Department of Social Education and Action, U. P. Church, U. S. A.

Gaius J. Slosser, Professor, Johnson C. Smith University

A. O. Steele, Professor, Johnson C. Smith University

Lawrence I. Stell, Pastor, Trinity Presbyterian Church, Charlotte

Herman L. Turner, Pastor, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright, Former President, Southern Regional Council, Noted Lawyer and Citizen

April 15, 1959

Mr. Moses S. Belton
Director
Public Relations
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Belton:

It was a pleasure attending the Institute last week and having some small part in that important program.

Am I correct in recalling that travel expenses of the participants were to be borne by the University? If so, my round trip airline fare was $37.29.

I shall look forward to receiving such of the proceedings of the Institute as may later be published.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 20, 1959

RECEIVED APR 21 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your presence on our campus and your participation in our Human Relations Institute enhanced our educational stature mightily and all of us here are indeed grateful that you took the time from your busy schedule to be with us. Your contribution to our program was a tremendous service and we want to thank you and let you know that we are deeply appreciative of and greatly heartened by your interest in our work.

Everyone thought that our initial effort in the area of education for better human relations was a splendid one and we are glad that you could help us make this so.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

R. P. Perry

R. P. Perry
President

AFFILIATED WITH
THE BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

April 24, 1959

RECEIVED APR 27 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed herewith is our check for $3729 covering traveling expenses to our Human Relations Institute. Please accept this with our thanks again for your contribution to our effort.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

R. P. Perry

R. P. Perry
President

RPP:oph

Encl.

RECEIVED APR 30 1959

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY

Charlotte, North Carolina

OFFICE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
PHONE ED 3-7520

April 29, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, North East, Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your letter of April 15, was on my desk when I returned from an eleven-day tour with the choir. Many thanks for your kind expressions concerning our Institute on Human Relations and Intergroup Understanding. We deeply appreciate the contribution which you made to this Institute. We have received a number of favorable comments.

I have called the attention of our Business Manager to your expenses. If you have not already received a check for $37.29, it will be coming to you within the next few days.

The proceedings of the Institute will be published in book form. I am sure that you will receive a copy after they have been published.

Again, we thank you for your kindness and your contribution to the Institute.

With very best wishes and kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Moses S. Belton/s

Moses S. Belton, Director
Public Relations

MSB/s

via air mail

January 24, 1961

Dr. Gaius J. Slosser
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Slosser:

My apologies for not answering sooner your recent letter concerning native-born Southern whites who have notably promoted equal rights. Your request is of the sort that requires and deserves careful thought, and the events of the past few weeks have simply not permitted me to do it justice.

Let me say, first of all, that I am complimented that you and your advisers feel my name belongs on the list; I must say that my own contributions seem to be slight in comparison with that of some of the other names. In any case, I am enclosing a brief biographical sketch, which I trust will serve your purposes.

As for the list generally, I am impressed by the difficulty of singling out any reasonably limited selection of persons as especially qualified for this study. This would involve a full-scale appraisal of any contributions in this field. Of course, there are obvious choices -- such as Will Alexander and Mrs. Ames, most of whom you have listed. I must confess that I am not acquainted

by reputation, or otherwise, with a few persons you have named, and so I cannot judge their relative qualifications.

With this much preamble, I can suggest a few possible additions. One would be George S. Mitchell, my predecessor as director of this Council. I am enclosing biographical data on him. Another would be Paul D. Williams of Richmond, Virginia, a leading Catholic layman and former president of the Council. A Catholic clergyman who may warrant inclusion is Joseph H. Hodges of Richmond, Virginia, whom you will find in Who's Who; he was one of the bishops -- I believe the only one of Southern origin -- who led in the integration of parochial schools, and he has given leadership to such interracial efforts as the Virginia Council on Human Relations.

As for Jewish candidates, I am somewhat at a loss to name persons I know to be of Southern birth. One possibility would be the late Edgar B. Stern of New Orleans, who befriended, through philanthropy and otherwise, education and welfare for Negroes in the South. It would be straining the facts perhaps to describe him as promoter of rights, but this you can judge on the basis of Who's Who and other data that should be readily available.

Although the Quakers have been deeply and fruitfully concerned with race relations, I have been unable to think of any of Southern birth whose accomplishments and reputation would warrant a place in your study.

It might be worth considering the inclusion of some political figure like Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta. He is hardly an uncompromising liberal in all of his public actions, but given the problems of political survival which he has faced, he has shown a remarkable amount of enlightment and courage. There is a brief entry on him in Who's Who.

I hope these random suggestions are of some use to you. If you would care to pose more specific questions about present or potential entries on the roster, I shall be glad to try to help further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA

Gaius J. Slosser
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

December 5, 1961

The Southern Regional Council
Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Sec'y
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Fleming and Associates:—

The enclosed tells its own story. I truly hope that I may have your expert thoughtfulness and care in making answer to the requests made.

I have recently been in extended interviews with President Dabbs and with Guy B. Johnson. Each of them gave me many suggestions, also interesting leads for further research. I believe that two or three of the notable Southern white leaders named on the roster are resident in Atlanta. Will you please be so kind as to furnish me their mail addresses so that I may obtain pertinent biographical data?

I am to give the McCrory Lectures here in this seminary this Spring. One of these lectures is to deal with the notable white Southerners as characterized on the enclosed. This is why I am seeking biographical data. This also applies to you personally.

Your key position has undoubtedly fitted you to add significantly to this roster and, maybe, to subtract from it. The roster lacks the names of Roman Catholics, Jews and Quakers. Can you nominate outstanding leaders from these groups?

Many thanks in advance

Yours, Gaius J. Slosser

URGENT REQUEST FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE FOR HISTORICAL PURPOSES

Please reply to Gaius J. Slosser, Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C.

Notable white men and women, born in the South, who were or are definite promoters of the rights of Negroes. The list is inclusive of both segregationists and desegregationists. It is desirous to construct a roster which is the creation of present day leaders. Please make any additional nominations and feel free to give your reasons in each case. Your comments will be held in confidence.

Will W. Alexander, Jessee Ames, Harry S. Ashmore, Hugo Black, George W. Cable, E. Clayton Calhoun, Will D. Campbell, Warren A. Candler, William Capers, Hodding Carter, John R. Cunningham, James McBride Dabbs, James Hardy Dillard, Plato Durham, P. D. East, Robert Eleazor, Harold C. Fleming, Frank Graham, Atticus B. Haygood, Guy B. Johnson. M. Ashby Jones, Eleanor Jordan, Margaret Long, Ralph McGill, Arthur Moore, William McC. Morrison, Howard Odum, Mrs. Walter Paschall, Eugene Patterson, E. C. Peters, Arthur Raper, Lilliam Smith, Ernest T. Thompson, M. E. Tilley, Herman L. Turner, George W. Walker, Hallie P. Winsborough, Marion Wright.

MRS

Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church; of the Methodist Church; of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.

Various Jewish Rabbis. Various Ministers' Meetings.

United Church Women in the South. Various Quakers.

What is wanted is the nomination of outstanding individual men and women, born in the South who belong in this roster.

Please include pertinent biographical data with your nominations. If any of the above should not be included, in your judgment, do not hesitate to so declare.

Many thanks in advance.

Gaius J. Slosser
(Biography in Who's Who)
Johnson C. Smith University
Charlotte 8, North Carolina

GSM
Hartsfield -
Archbishop Lucey

Read This Message Twice. It Will Pay

E. P. DUTTON & CO., Inc. of NEW YORK

Wish To Introduce You
To What Is Universally Declared To Be
The World's Most Valuable Book
On Christian Unity

THIS EPOCH MAKING WORK

Is Not One Man's Viewpoint;
Is Not One Church's Viewpoint;
Is Not One Country's Viewpoint;
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BUT—

It Presents the Viewpoint of Many Leaders of Many Centuries;
It Presents the Theories and Views of Many Churches;
It Sets Forth the Unity Movements in All Countries;
It is a Scientific Standard History of Church Divisions and Unions Since A. D. 33 Until the Present;
It is a Scholarly, Literary, Encyclopædic Text and Reference Volume of Permanent Value Which Every thoughtful Person Will Regard as *indispensable.*

THIS BOOK IS:

CHRISTIAN UNITY:

ITS HISTORY AND CHALLENGE IN ALL COMMUNIONS IN ALL LANDS

BY

GAIUS JACKSON SLOSSER

B.A., S.T.B., S.T.M., PhD., F.R.Hist.S., Professore of Ecclesiastical History and History of Doctrine in the Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh. Introductions by the Very Reverend, The Archbishop of York, William Temple, D.D., D.Litt., and the Rev. Principal A.E. Garvie, M.A., D.D. of London.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK SAYS:

"There has not been in the world hitherto, so far as I know, any survey of that field that can compare with this in thoroughness and completeness."

DR. GAIUS J. SLOSSER
Author of "Christian Unity"

A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE AUTHOR

DR. SLOSSER received his B.A. (cum laude) at Ohio Wesleyan in 1912. Then followed the degrees of S.T.B. and S.T.M. with brilliant records at Boston University. In 1928 he received the degree of Ph.D., earned in residence, at Kings College of the University of London. The same year he was highly honored by election as a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society. He has made extensive travels around the world, was a chaplain in the World War and was a delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne in 1927. In 1928 he was called to head the Department of Ecclesiastical History and History of Doctrine at the Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh, to the chair formerly occupied by such scholars and historians as Dr. D. S. Schaff. In May 1929 he was elected a full Professor in this noted Chair of this Presbyterian Seminary. He his thoroughly cosmopolitan and scientific in his methods and viewpoint.

What Do The Critics and Reviewer Say:

The London Times, Literary Supplement:

"It is a monument of industry . . . . few explorers will fail to profit by his preliminary charting."

The London Sunday Times (Edward Shillito):

"It is most accurate. There is a fullness and accuracy which will make the book indispensable; and most certainly it is a book of hope."

Principal Dr. Garvie says:

"Dr. Slosser has . . . . devoted himself for several years with diligence and discernment to the study of . . . . eirenic endeavors . . . . and has produced a book showing wide knowledge and sound judgment which will be of great value."

The Missionary Review of the World (Dr. A. J. Brown):

"This is a volume of unusual value. No other book has dealt with this great subject with such comprehensiveness. It presents an immense range of facts, and with remarkable clearness. One will do wisely to buy this book."

The Spectator:

"The latest testimony to humanity's age-long striving to realize the great ideal of the Founder of Christianity. Its value lies particularly in its historical record, which, the Archbishop of York affirms in his introduction, is distinguished by thoroughness and completeness. No effort, from the early Councils of the Church to the latest Lambeth, Australian, Jerusalem Missionary Conferences, is left without full and fair analysis." . . . . "We recommend it."

The Methodist Recorder (London):

"The most comprehensive work on the subject that has appeared in English—perhaps any language" . . . . "the historian will be thankful for the careful documenting and for the diligence in which the subject matter has been brought up to date." "A work of great value."

The Scotsman:

"Dr. Slosser's documented and erudite chapters reveal how rulers, statesmen, and ecclesiastics sought it, (unity), in many lands for various reasons, and prove that the modern movement is largely due to the missionary urge and educational advance." "This massive volume . . . . certainly merits the encomium of the Archbishop of York."

The Expository Times:

"Most timely." "We welcome such a volume."

The Church of England Newspaper:

"A volume which will be of immense value." "We owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Slosser."

Church Times:

"Dr. Slosser manifests immense industry and research." "This book contains a very great deal of information for reference purposes."

The Modern Churchman (London):

"This is altogether a timely book; and its moderation of tone, together with its comprehensive outlook, besides its quiet optimism, make of it an achievement of the very first importance."

The Churchman (London):

"Dr. Slosser deserves our gratitude. Closely printed and arranged so that reference is easy, we hope to make constant use of the volume."

Review of the Churches (Sir Henry Lunn):

Dr. Slosser is to be congratulated on having prepared a much needed volume. It is characteristic of the undoubted services which may be rendered to scholarship in all departments by the immense development of university education in America that Dr. Slosser should have come. This volume will remain a most useful work of reference."

The Manchester Guardian:

"No survey can compare with this in thoroughness and completeness." "It is a veritable arsenal of facts."

The Universe:

"This work is very cheap at the price of a guinea."

The Glasgow Herald:

"Truly a herculean task," . . . . "an immense work" . . . . "and it will be useful."

The United Presbyterian (U. S.):

"The most complete study of the subject" . . . . "a veritable encyclopedia," "thoroughly well indexed. Dr. Slosser has made an exceedingly valuable contribution to this subject."

The Churchman (New York):

"The most exhaustive and comprehensive treaty on the subject of unity, contained in a single volume."

The Christian Century (U. S.):

"Never before has the story been told with such fullness as this work by Dr. Slosser." "There is no book which so adequately presents the historical background against which the modern (church unity) movements should be seen. A scholarly piece of work."

The Christian Advocate (New York):

"This is the most thorough, and by far the best book that has ever been written in this field."

The Federal Council Bulletin (U. S.):

"The nearest approximation in English to an Encyclopedia of Christian Unity. This volume . . . . will be used as a source-book for years by all sermon students of the problem."

The Presbyterian Banner (U. S.):

"Comprehensive . . . . scholarly." "The volume throughout is marked by ample information, fairness of statement and an irenic spirit and cannot but command respect from all parties."

The Christian Union Quarterly (U. S.) (Dr. Peter Ainslie):

"The book we have long waited for." "A work of high merit."

Reformed Church Messenger (Dr. Frederick Lynch):

"Will long remain a valuable book."

The Religious Book Club (U·S.) Dr. Cadman, Dr. Fosdick, Bishop Brent, Bishop McConnell, Miss Wooley:

"This book stands in a field by itself." "Altogether, its is an indispensable volume." "No other survey can compare with this in thoroughness."

The Christian Herald (New York):

"This book is far and away the best book on this subject."

Zion's Herald (Boston):

"Dr. Slosser . . . . is worthy of the admiration that is ever due those who have keenness to discern a worth-while field and then possess the industry that is necessary to work it."

E. P. DUTTON & CO., Inc. Date.....
286 Fourth Avenue
New York

Please send ..... cop..... of CHRISTIAN UNITY by Dr. Slosser to

Name .....

Address .....

Price $5.00 (postage extra). C. O. D..... Enclosed $.....

Make file
Universities - Southern U.

June 1, 1967

Dean Martin L. Harvey
Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Martin:

I have just returned from a brief overseas trip and learned that you spoke here on May 28th. This is merely to tell you how sorry I am that I missed you.

Incidentally, please forgive me for never having thanked you for the very thoughtful telegram you and Clarie sent me at Miles College.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

August 14, 1969

Mr. Jack Jordan
Chairman
Art Department
Southern University
6400 Press Drive
New Orleans, Louisiana 70126

Dear Mr. Jordan:

The address of the Rockefeller Foundation is 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, New York.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY IN NEW ORLEANS
6400 PRESS DRIVE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70126

ART DEPARTMENT

August 9, 1969

Rockerfeller Foundation
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

We're at step higher on the ladder to success! mj

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate your kind attention directed to my area which is Art. Numerous artists of proven ability have applied repeatedly for competitive scholarships in pursuance of the Doctorate degree in Art only to find the grants issued in other fields.

Via return mail, please send to me at the above address the requirements and the application blanks to fill out as a potential recipient.

I will be happy to submit the necessary data promptly in order that I may be eligible for your evaluation and ultimate selection.

Sincerely,

Jack Jordan

Jack Jordan, Chairman
Art Department

/mm

file

JUN 12 1970

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY FOUNDATION
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA 70813

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

June 10, 1970

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Perhaps you have not realized that a year ago you made a generous contribution to Southern University; however, we here at Southern University are very much aware of the role you played in helping us in our continuous stride toward excellence.

Because of the support from you and others in the Baton Rouge area, we were able to attract some topflight faculty members, upgrade many of our departments, and increase our financial aid to students.

Your continued support is anticipated and appreciated.

Sincerely,

Jerry Cole, Jr.
Director

/dt

file - Universities - Stetson Univ.
(cf US folder, please set up one)

April 27, 1965

Dr. James Shumaker
Stetson University
Box 1300
DeLand, Florida

Dear Dr. Shumaker:

We are getting together some material which will be sent to you this week.

Paul Anthony and I have thought hard about your need for a co-director, experienced in human relations work. It strikes us that it will be difficult to find someone available for a two-month period. The one person whom I think might be interested is a person whom I would recommend first, I think, regardless of the availability of others. Frederick B. Routh is presently executive director of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officers. He has longstanding interest in Florida where he lived for many years, and where he taught human relations for some years at the University of Miami. Prior to taking the appointment with NAIRO, he was head of the Michigan FEPC, and prior to that was our field director. Fred's present job is such that it might be possible for him to keep in touch with it while away for two months.

At any rate, I strongly recommend him to you and suggest that you write to him at 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

DRAFT

Make file
Stetson Univ.
+ file in
Universities

July 15, 1966

Mr. John A. Hague
Director of American Studies
Stetson University
DeLand, Florida

Dear John:

My expenses for the trip down were as follows:

Roundtrip jet coach $60.69

Motel 19.14

Total 79.83

It was a real pleasure being with you, and I was very impressed with the leadership of the Institute and the participants.

I hope you and Spike will remember your promise to give me a call when next you are coming to Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure (Motel bill)

Rec'd
7/6/66
mj

STETSON UNIVERSITY

DELAND, FLORIDA
32720

June 29, 1966

DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Dr. Jones tells me that he has arranged to pick you up on Tuesday morning, July 12th. We are also making a reservation for you at a motel a short distance from the campus which I hope you will find convenient.

Could you let me have a title for your lecture on Tuesday evening? This will help us get out a little advance newspaper publicity.

I am looking forward very much to having you with us in the near future.

Sincerely,

John A. Hague

John A. Hague

JAH:zec

Rec'd 6/23/66

STETSON UNIVERSITY
DELAND, FLORIDA
32720

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

June 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

John Hague is out of town for a couple of days and has asked that I write you concerning your arrival at Orlando on July 12. The 7:30 A.M. flight is fine with us if you do not mind since we would value your presence in the institute on that morning. One of us will meet you and will be at the unloading gate of your flight.

It will be good to have you here.

Sincerely yours,

Warren F. Jones Jr.

Warren F. Jones, Jr.
Chairman

WFJ:jpk

STETSON UNIVERSITY
DELAND, FLORIDA
32720

June 6, 1966

DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

It was very good to talk with you on the phone this morning. I am writing to confirm our invitation to you to participate as a consultant in our institute on July 12, 13 and 14. The general title of the institute is "American Character and the American Negro." As I indicated on the phone, we will be considering, during the period of your visit, sources of prejudice and forms of protest as they relate particularly to desegregating school communities. I am enclosing a reading list which indicates the books our students will be required to purchase for the course.

We would like to have you give a public lecture on Tuesday evening, July 12, and to participate as a consultant in the discussions which will take place during the mornings of July 12, 13 and 14.

Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach will be conducting a humanities seminar for teachers who are participating in desegregating school systems and it is possible that they would like to utilize your services as a discussant during one of their sessions in this 3-day period. The stipend for your trip will be $225.00 plus your expenses.

We are looking forward very much to having you as a visitor on campus and as a participant in our institute. If you have any further questions please send them along.

Sincerely,

John A. Hague

John A. Hague
Director of American Studies

JAH:zec

Required Books	AS 505, 506	Summer, 1966
Baldwin, James	THE FIRE NEXT TIME	Dell paperback
Brink, Wm. and Louis Harris	THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN AMERICA	Simon and Schuster
Erikson, Erik H.	CHILDHOOD AND SOCIETY	Norton
Frazier, E. Franklin	BLACK BOURGEOISIE	The Free Press (Macmillan)
Goodman, Mary Ellen	RACE AWARENESS IN YOUR CHILDREN	Collier (Rev.)
King, Martin Luther	WHY WE CAN'T WAIT	Signet
Lewis, Hylan	BLACKWAYS OF KENT	Univ. of N.C.
Potter, David	PEOPLE OF PLENTY	Phoenix(Univ. of Chicago)
Riesman, David	THE LONELY CROWD	Yale
Rose, Arnold	NEGRO IN AMERICA	Torchbook (Harper)
Woodward, C.Vann	THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW	Oxford
Wright, Richard	BLACK BOY	Signet

1 mo. to 6 wks

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

"FIRST WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI"

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

3670 WEST PINE BLVD.
SAINT LOUIS 8, MISSOURI

April 25, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Miss Margaret Dagen has suggested your name to us as a possible guest for our "Campaign Issues '56" television program. We understand that you will be in St. Louis on May 18th and before we extend a definite invitation we would like to hear from you regarding your feelings about appearing on our type of program and also your availability at the time of telecast.

"Campaign Issues '56" is a timely television series presented by Saint Louis University over the facilities of educational station KETC, St. Louis, Missouri. The purpose of the program series is to discover and clarify for our viewing audience some of the major issues of the 1956 presidential campaign and to determine the positions taken on these issues by political parties and other large organizations such as labor, agriculture, education, etc.

Our guest is never required to prepare a talk but he should be prepared to answer the questions asked by our panel of three university professors from the departments of government and law. The questions are objective and political in nature.

Thus far, we have invited a couple of Congressmen, a labor leader and a couple of farm leaders to answer questions concerning major issues in the coming election.

We have not yet presented the Civil Rights Issue and this is what we would want to do on May 18th.

Our program will be telecast at 8:00P.M. Friday, May 18, 1956. A warm-up session to introduce the panel members and to discuss the content and direction of the program is held at 7:00 P.M. preceeding the program. KETC-(Channel 9) is an educational station which serves the Greater St. Louis area. The program is given wide publicity by the newspapers and is very popular with our viewers.

An early reply indicating your interest in this type of program will be greatly appreciated. However, if you are not interested, perhaps we can arrange a special program that could be more instructional in nature and without bringing in the political aspects of the Civil Rights Issue.

Thank you for your immediate attention. We will await your reply.

Sincerely yours,

William J. Lesko

William J. Lesko
Director of Educational TV
Saint Louis University

WJL/JH

April 30, 1956

Mr. William J. Lesko
Director of Educational TV
St. Louis University
3670 West Pine Boulevard
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Lesko:

I have tried some two or three angles to find a way to say that I can agree to do your broadcast May 18th. But I am stuck with the fact that ours is a tax-exempt non-political agency. And therefore I quite clearly should not be spouting advice on issues of the presidential campaign of 1956.

That governs, and I don't know anything I can do. So I can't.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: Mrs. Margaret Dagen

SAINT LOUIS UNIVERSITY

"FIRST WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI"

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

15 NORTH GRAND BOULEVARD
SAINT LOUIS 3, MISSOURI

May 31, 1956

Mr. John Constable
Information Service
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

We shall look forward to receiving "Changing Patterns in the New South" and "What the Supreme Court said...". Just as soon as our workshops are under way, we will inform you of what further copies we may need.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Trafford P. Maher, S.J.

Trafford P. Maher, S.J.
Director, Human Relations Center
for Training and Research

TPM/al

March 6, 1958

Mr. Francis Manis
School of Social Work
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Fran:

Got your good letter of March 5th and hasten to reply so that you will have it in plenty of time to take to the meeting on March 15 and 16. Here are some tentative answers to the questions you raised:

1. Among the social workers active in the South I would list

Florence Sytz, School of Social Work, Tulane University
Whitney Young, School of Social Work, Atlanta University
Arthur Fink, School of Social Work, University of North Carolina
Dave Levine, Florida State University
Martha Horne, Florida State Department of Welfare
Joe Golden and Miss Frankie Adams, both of Atlanta University School of Social Work
Mary Raymond, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, New Orleans
University of Tennessee -- Sue Spencer, Sebastian Tine, Gideon Fry, and Francis Manis

In addition, Ellen Winston, a Commissioner in the North Carolina State Department of Welfare is sympathetic and has done some things behind the scenes. Part of this listing was obtained from Whitney Young, Dean of the School of Social Work at Atlanta University.

2. We are sending, separately, a series of statements made by other helping professions which would be better than a mere cataloging of them here.

3. It seems to me that social workers, and other professionals, cannot long ignore the socially disrupting influence of defying law and order. It would seem obvious that the very nature of the code of ethics of the social worker would move him or her toward some action in the area of desegregation.

Continued . . .

Mr. Francis Manis March 6, 1958

The National Association of Social Workers could very well aid and assist them by coming forth with a decent and professional statement regarding their concern in this area. Some of the Southern social workers need assistance in thinking of this problem in a professional rather than a personal and emotional manner. The NASW can help them in this. Some of these people come back for refresher courses at the various schools of social work. There they could be helped by those who teach.

At your Washington meeting I would suggest you discuss: a) what effect is the desegregation controversy having on the profession of social work -- community support and regard? b) what effect are the tensions of the desegregation controversy having among those whom you seek to serve? c) in communities which have begun the desegregation process what specialized skills are required of social workers? d) how do social work agencies and social workers attached to public agencies move in the area of desegregation without being axed? In other words, can social workers really behave as professionals?

4. We are sending material as outlined under # 2 above. Perhaps this will be helpful.

5. Anything else? Yes! You might suggest that these social workers from the South get in touch with the various state organizations in their respective states. I am enclosing a list thereof.

On another item entirely I have recently heard from Ted Wilcox in Knoxville who has asked for a copy of the self-survey manual. We are sending her this. I am enclosing a blind copy of my answer to her. I believe the letter needs no explanation but should be of interest to you since you have had your finger in that pie so long.

Best regards.

As ever,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosures.
FBR:fcl

Items sent to Francis Manis by second class mail, March 6, 1958:

Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation -- Report No. 37 of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

New South: February 1958
December 1957
November 1957
April 1957

The Law of the Land

State of Mind

Special Report : Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
KNOXVILLE BRANCH

March 5, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

I hear about about you and others in SRC from Galen Martin here but mostly it has been very quiet. That must mean that all of you, as usual, are working very hard.

You, or possibly others in the office, could give me some help. It has to do with a small conference on Desegregation that is scheduled in Washington for the end of next week, March, 15 and 16. It includes one social worker from each of eight southern states, six from " Northern" states, and a few extras. I'll be a consultant-recorder for the conference, whatever that is. This is the first chance for professional social workers, under the auspices of their national organization, to sit down and talk about what their role can be in the whole process of desegregation- and it's certainly past the proper time to do that, in my opinion. I understand there is to be no publicity re this meeting.

Would it be possible for you or others in the office to get back to me by Thursday, March 14, any comments or suggestions on the following:

1. In my wanderings around in human relations areas during the past four years I have failed to encounter social workers(not sociologists) who were active. What social workers, to your knowledge, have been active in the South? I classify social workers as those who have received training thru a graduate school of social work.

2. To your knowledge, have any of the other helping professions such as medicine, clinical psychology, law, nursing, teaching, clergy formulated and publicized a position statement re desegregation as an organization for the guidance of their members. I am familiar with the strong and excellent resolution passed last year by the American Assoc. of Univ. Professors which I recently used while the water was a little hot around here. That's all I know about.

3. How do you and others anticipate that reluctants southern social workers - or other professionals- can be helped to get their feet at least a little bit wet in this field? I think social workers have much to contribute.

4. Is there any material you could either forward or refer me to that would be helpful in relationship to the purposes of the coming conference.

5. Anything else?

Luck

Francis Manis

File
Universities, Tenn.
is no such folder
put in
Univs, Gen.

June 24, 1966

Mr. John Dobson, Librarian
Special Collections
Library
The University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee 37916

Dear Mr. Dobson:

Thank you for your interest in having records and papers of the Southern Regional Council for your collection. The Arnett Trevor Library at Atlanta University was sometime ago designated as the official repository of our records. They have there not only the records of the Southern Regional Council but of our predecessor the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. We are currently working with them to try to find a means to reorganize all of this material, as well as great of other material they have pertaining to other efforts of a similar nature, and to have it micro-filmed. If, and when, this is done I am sure they would be pleased to offer you copies.

The University of Illinois at Chicago is also assembling material of this nature.

We will, however, be happy to send you under separate cover a rather substantial collection of our publications and to add the special collections

division of the library to our mailing list. If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Again we are grateful for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 6/23/66

(3)

LIBRARY
THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE 37916

June 21, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mr. Buford Posey, who is helping us to acquire materials related to the civil rights movement, has suggested that records and papers pertaining to the efforts of the Southern Regional Council in this field would be of great value to our collection. We would like to invite the placement of such items in the University of Tennessee Library to complement the materials being assembled here. We are authorized to state that this project has the endorsement of (among others) Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Cincinnati and Bishop Charles E. Tucker of Louisville. We shall look forward to hearing from you in regard to this request.

Sincerely yours,

John Dobson

John Dobson, Librarian
Special Collections

JD/jg

File
Univ. of Tulsa

December 4, 1967

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Sociology Department
The University of Tulsa
600 South College
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104

Dear Doc:

How good to hear from you.

I had heard that you were home and I am delighted at your progress. I can well imagine how difficult a process you are having and will have but know you will manage.

I too hope for an early opportunity to return to Tulsa and certainly shall plan on a long visit with you.

Warmest regards to Charlie and to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

The University of Tulsa

Sociology Department

December 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

How dare a died-in-the-wool Baptist say - above all in the shadow of a cruicifix - that the devil was in my eyes? I have one or two lears that emerge under such suitable conditions as an extra tight sweater, but certainly not much else of a devilish nature.

After 159 days in the hospital - forty-two of them in the intensive care unit - I am back home. There remains now nothing more serious for me to do than to learn how to walk and how to eat solid food. Each of these is proving remarkably painful and difficult. But, with God's help, this too shall pass.

You made a wing-ding of a hit in your Tulsa speech and the school people are looking forward already to your return. Perhaps at that time we can find a bit more time for a meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon

Gordon W. Lovejoy

GWL:djw

600 South College, Tulsa, Oklahoma, 74104

Bringing up later that not all within galleys were returned a reasonable time

Galleys returned 9/28 or 29/69

(Note letter dt. State Tenn. U. Press is not interested in Dabbs book - Check on Galleys)

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL September 15, 1969

Mr. Steven Cox
University of Tennessee Press
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Cox:

Enclosed are the galleys of the book by James M. Dabbs. The bibliography is not included since it is now being worked on. Incidentally, we had planned to publish this in paperback, although that, as well as a number of other matters, could be reviewed after you determine your interest in it.

The more we think of this, the more we like the idea.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
AUSTIN 12

Jan. 3, 1963

Cabinet #18 - "Universities: Texas
(make folder is none exists)

Les:

Thanks for your kind words about my paper. I am enclosing two copies along with a statement given in September to the Senate Labor Committee which you might find interesting. I should have printed reprints of these soon and will send you a copy. I welcome any comments you might have.

Best regards,

Ray

Ray Marshall

December 3, 1963

Mr. Ray Marshall
Professor of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

file: Make folder "Universities, Univ of Tex."

Dear Ray:

I have finally read your Racial Factors Influencing Entry Into the Skilled Trades, the manuscript of which you sent sometime ago. It's about as good as anything you have written -- and that is high praise. Do you have another copy?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Cr. rel
Vanderbilt

via air mail

November 30, 1959

Mr. Norman D. Bowers
Director of Teacher Education
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Bowers:

We are decidedly interested in the subject matter of your investigations and would be glad to know more about the data you have collected and their proposed publication.

Could you give us more information about the form of the projected publication, how soon publication might be expected, and probable costs? On the basis of these specifics, and any other you think relevant, we could decide whether or not the Council's help is feasible enough to warrant a review of the tapes and other materials.

Our funds for publication are fairly limited. If the costs were beyond our reach, however, we might be able to help secure foundation support.

In any case, I will look forward to hearing further from you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

W. L. SNELL

National Printing Company
971 Peachtree St. • NE • Atlanta 9, Georgia
• TRinity 5-7081

Printers & Lithographers

HF

Suggest reply along these lines:

Material sounds interesting — would like to know more specifically in what form would want to publish, how soon publication could be expected, & probable costs — if after receiving this info, we thought help from SRC feasible, we would like to hear types & could decide then — if SRC helps out in order, possibly could help secure foundation aid

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

11/23/59

LWD –

Your advice, please.

Should we express interest on our own book? Ask for more details? Offer to try to help them finance publication? Say, "Sorry." or what?

HCF

Publication plan? How much? We clear it?

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

November 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Personnel at the Southern Education Reporting Service have suggested that you might be interested in some data that Dr. Robert Soar and I recently collected as part of an on-going project here at Vanderbilt University. We have received money from the U. S. Office of Education's Cooperative Research Program to carry on a two year study entitled "Evaluating Laboratory Training in Human Relations." This study has utilized many of the procedures and techniques developed at the National Training Laboratory in their Bethel, Maine, summer workshops. I am sure you are familiar with the work of this particular group, and will recognize that it is one approach to human relations training.

In the course of our research, we administered laboratory training in human relations to some 25 teachers in two different training groups. The second training group comprised teachers who were particularly resourceful and adept in unstructured group activities. One of the topics of the free discussion period dealt with integration in the classroom. Some of the members in our group had been teachers in integrated classrooms in the Nashville area. Others were to be faced with this problem for the first time in September 1959. These teachers discussed very frankly and freely the many pressures they felt and experienced as they were teaching or were starting to teach in an integrated classroom. Fortunately, we made a tape recording of this discussion and an actual record is available of these teachers' remarks. We have played the tape to a number of educators and psychologists. There is some agreement that the data is most interesting and at an emotional depth rarely encountered.

We have checked the periodic literature and although there is much information dealing with the topic of integration, there is very little that is concerned with how the classroom teacher actually feels and what the pressures and forces are on her at a very personal, individual level. We would be interested in

making the tape and attendant information available to a broader audience; that is why we are writing to you.

We are currently trying to plan what to do with this material, and we are hopeful that we would be able to interest some foundation or organization in underwriting the cost of resulting publications. Specifically, do you have funds for such a purpose and would you be interested in such a project? In addition to the tape, which can be edited very easily, it would be possible to analyze the pressures faced by classroom teachers. If you are interested in pursuing this topic further, we would very much appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially,

Norman D. Bowers

Norman D. Bowers
Director of Teacher Education

NDB:mte

PA ✓

pls let me know

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 5 TENNESSEE

School of Law

April 3, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for your kindness in furnishing the copy of "Executive Support of Civil Rights," issued by your Council.

7

Material of this nature is of particular interest to the staff of the RACE RELATIONS LAW REPORTER, and I would appreciate your checking to see if they are on the mailing list to receive all materials issued by the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Paul H. Sanders

Paul H. Sanders
Professor of Law

PHS/ai

See Edwards - Vanderbilt or Edwards, gen.

April 3, 1967

Vanderbilt University Press
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Please send me one (1) copy of
AND PROMISES TO KEEP by Thomas Krueger.
Enclosed is our check for $6.50.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $6.50)

See Univ S - Vanderbilt

June 5, 1967

Vanderbilt University Press
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Gentlemen:

Occasionally when a book is of particular interest we like to purchase a few copies and have them on hand. Also, publishers usually provide them to us at the regular trade discount; most often 40%.

Will you offer us this discount on the purchase of 20 copies of And Promises to Keep? If so, please consider this letter our order for 20 copies.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MEMORANDUM June 20, 1967

To: Members of SRC

From: Paul Anthony

Some of you may be interested to know of a recently published book -- AND PROMISES TO KEEP: A History of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1932-1948. The book is published by Vanderbilt University Press and its author is Thomas Krueger. We have ordered a small number of copies at the trade discount. The book sells for $6.50, but is available through SRC at $4.50.

-:-

$4.50
7-19-67
C.R.

4.50 M.J.
4.50
9.25

M

SOUTH CAROLINA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
P. O. Box 1461
Columbia, South Carolina 29202

PURCHASE ORDER NO. 101 DATE July 28, 1967

DIVISION OF SPECIAL SERVICES

Quantity	Description	Unit Price	Total Price
1	AND PROMISES TO KEEP (A History of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1932-48.)	$4.50	$4.50
			9-8-67 C.L.
	Sent 9/13/67		
	Order from: Southern Regional Council, Inc. 5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303		

Requested for:
Library x
Audio-Visual
Workshops

Requested by:

Approved by: EKS

SALES ACCOUNTING OF "AND PROMISES TO KEEP:A HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE ON HUMAN WELFARE."

June 23, 1967:

Mr. C. H. Thomas, Jr. ($4.50 received 6/23/67)

June 27, 1967:

Mr. Frank E. Smith ($4.50 received 6/27/67)

July 7, 1967:

Mrs. Alice Spearman ($4.50 Received 7/7/67)

July 19, 1967:

Miss Josephine Wilkins ($4.50 Received 7/19/67)

Sept. 8, 1967

W. E. Solomon ($4.50 Recd 8/8/67)
S.C. ~~Federat~~, Asso.
P.O. Box 1461
Col. S.C. 29202 (for Library)

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

July 5, 1967

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Referring to your memo of June 20, 1967, from Paul Anthony to members of SRC, please send us a copy of "And Promises to Keep: A History of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1932-1948" by Thomas Krueger.

7-6-67 C.L.

Our check for $4.50 is enclosed.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Alice N.Spearman
Executive Director

ft

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 26, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Sent 6/27/67 wl

Please send me a copy of "And Promises to Keep: A History of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1932-1948," by Thomas Krueger. Enclosed is my check for $4.50.

6-27-67
C. L.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Enclosure

Keep Freedom in Your Future With U.S. Savings Bonds

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

MEMORANDUM June 20, 1967

To: Members of SRC

From: Paul Anthony

6-23-67

Some of you may be interested to know of a recently published book -- AND PROMISES TO KEEP: A History of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, 1932-1948. The book is published by Vanderbilt University Press and its author is Thomas Krueger. We have ordered a small number of copies at the trade discount. The book sells for $6.50, but is available through SRC at $4.50.

Please order one of these
Elliott Thomas

4.50 6-23-67 C.L.

Elliott Thomas Jr
Box 1778, S.C. State College
Orangeburg, S.C.
6/22/67

December 2, 1968

Professor T. A. Smedley
School of Law
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Professor Smedley:

Regrettably, the Council does not have funds available for the type of grant you propose in your letter of November 26. It does seem to me, however, that you plan is sound and it also seems to me that there is the possibility that some of the national foundations, other than Ford, would be interested.

You may well have tried all of the foundations listed below, but if you have not, I think it would be worth the effort, preferably by an exploratory visit by you or someone else at Vanderbilt.

1. Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
   Executive Director
   The Field Foundation
   100 East 85th Street
   New York, New York 10028

   (I know that Dr. Dunbar has long been interested in the Race Relations

Law Reporter and this might interest him.)

2. Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

(While I don't know what Mr. Eagle's interest would be, he is a very fine person and located in the same building with the Field Foundation.)

3. Mr. Eli Evans
Program Officer
The Carnegie Corporation
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

(As you likely know, the Carnegie Corporation has recently made a rather substantial contribution to the Southern Education Reporting Service, and I know that Mr. Evans is interested in getting further grants from his board for the South. In this instance, unless you have done so, you might first approach Mr. Evans on the idea of providing the total amount you seek.)

I would appreciate it if you did not say that your approach was at my suggestion, since foundation executives are not particularly appreciative of having their recipients create more business for them.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203 TELEPHONE 254-5411 AREA 615

November 26, 1968

School of Law

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

During the six months since the Race Relations Law Reporter was discontinued, Vanderbilt University has attempted to find a means of reviving the publication, but our best efforts have not yet produced the necessary financial support for the project. However, quite recently the Ford Foundation has showed a definite interest in making a more limited grant to enable us to publish a new periodical which may be called "The Race Relations Law Survey." At present, our plan is to put out a bi-monthly publication of 30 to 40 pages in each issue, somewhat in the nature of the Welfare Law Bulletin issued by the N.Y.U. Law School. It would include summaries of important court decisions in the race relations field, references to relevant state and federal legislation and administrative action, and probably some general discussions of race relations legal problems and trends of development in the area. Space limitations, however, would make it impossible to print the texts of decisions, statutes, administrative agency rulings, etc., as was done in the Reporter.

It has occurred to us that if some additional financial assistance could be obtained from other sources, we might now be able also to revive the Reporter in its original form, although perhaps on a somewhat less inclusive basis. Since much of the basic work of collecting and editing the materials which would appear in the Reporter will have been done in the course of publishing the Survey and will be paid for out of the prospective Ford Foundation grant, we think that an additional sum of about $60,000 per year would enable us to put out both publications and thus offer a much more useful service than would be derived from either publication separately.

My purpose in writing to you is to inquire whether you think that the Southern Regional Council might be able to devote some of its funds to the resumption of publication of the Reporter, if we can obtain similar contributions from various federal governmental agencies and/or foundations. If each of three sources could provide $20,000 per year, or if each of four could provide $15,000 per year, the extra cost of publishing the Reporter could be met. Though we have no commitments from any other possible sources, we have received a number of expressions of need for a continuation of the reporting service.

We shall look forward to hearing your reactions to our plan.

Sincerely yours,

T. A. Smedley

T. A. Smedley
Professor of Law
(Former Director of the
Race Relations Law Reporter)

TAS:lam

VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

July 13, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

From the copy of the letter and outline enclosed you will note that I am promoting a movement for a study guide to be used by churches and other groups in connection with race relation questions. Incidently, I started on this more than a year ago but am just now bring the effort to a head.

In this connection would you please have sent to me any helpful bulletins in the same field put out by your organization. Any criticism of or suggestions regarding the enclosed outline would be appreciated.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

W E Garnett

W. E. Garnett
Rural Sociologist

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY
BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

June 21, 1954

Mr. Emmerson Smith
Director Race Relations Division
Virginia Council of Chruches
109 W. Grace St.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

You no doubt saw in the press that the Virginia Methodist Conference passed a resolution last week providing for (1) preparation of study outlines on race problems for the use of churches and other interested groups, (2) cooperation in such an undertaking with other interested church bodies, (3) an appropiation of $500.00 for the carrying out of such an undertaking (there was an indication that more might be forthcoming later if needed).

In other words, they adopted the resolution prepared by the Social and Economic Relations Board - a resolution based on the outline I had suggested to you with the intention that the material I submitted to you be made the basis of the proposed study outlines. Rev. M. C. Wilkinson of Blacksburg is the chairman of this board and will have the responsibility of implementing the resolution.

Have you taken any further steps in this matter? I will be in Richmond for two committee meetings next Monday, June 28 and hope to get in touch with you before the first one at 10:30.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

W. E. Garnett
Rural Sociologist

Tentative Outline for a Proposed Study Guide Dealing With

NEGRO LIFE AND RACE RELATIONS IN VIRGINIA 1 /

Objectives

To further intelligent interest in and understanding of the many angled emotion-filled problems of race relations through study of factual material on conditions and trends and their implications - local, state, national, international.

To provide in readily accessible form, pertinent and timely material on race relations for the use of church groups, high school seniors, and other interested groups.

Proposed Contents

I. Introductory statements - scope and plan of study outlines; groups for whom intended, etc.

II. Directions for personal observations on local Negro life, and comparisons between Negro-white living conditions and facilities. Observations to cover housing, sanitation, and health conditions, schools, libraries, employment opportunities, participation in community life, etc., with suggestions for supplementary material from public reports, census, etc.

Discussion questions.

III. Race relations resolutions of church bodies and statements from recognized public leaders.

IV. Factual summary of significant Negro life conditions and trends and Negro-white relations generally prevailing in Virginia.

V. Background factors responsible for prevailing race relationships:
1. Slavery attitudes and relationships, reconstruction developments, etc.
2. Newer factors in Negro life and race relationships - advancing education level, increased property ownership, improved standards of living; accomplishments of Negro race; political developments, etc.
3. The findings of modern Anthopology and Psychology on race. National and international implications.

VI. Implications of new conditions and trends -
1. Responsibility of good citizens regarding race relations.
2. Demands of Democracy and Christianity.
3. New Court rulings.
4. Justice to whites to be considered as well as to Negroes.
Discussion questions

1 /This suggested outline for a study guide is subject to amendment by the committee to be responsible for the proposed publication.

2 /Plans are being promoted for the proposed publication under the auspicies of the Race Relations Division of the Virginia Council of Churches in cooperation with the Race Relations, or Social Commissions of several denominations. The Virginia Methodist Conference adopted a resolution June 16, 1954 approving the preparation of such a discussion study guide and appropriated $500 for the undertaking. The resolution also provided for cooperation with other groups.

Material on all points covered in this outline are available in a preliminary draft form in an unpublished unit, prepared for high school students by W. E. Garnett, Rural Sociologist, Va. Agr. Exp. Sta/

July 16, 1954

Mr. W. E. Garnett
Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station
Department of Agricultural Economics
and Rural Sociology
Blacksburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Garnett:

How very nice to have your letter with news of the interesting project.

I put in two things that may be helpful: "Church and Conscience in the South," New South, 1951; and Race — What Does The Bible Say?, published by The Christian Council of South Africa. They went into it quite thoroughly.

Also, I will send you in three or four days, when it comes back from the printer, a new pamphlet we are doing called Answers for Action, which tells what we think should be done about the school matter.

Two main things to get going with:

1. Local interracial neighborhood or town discussion groups, containing a few white and Negro people carefully chosen to sit down together in and make friends on the issue and find the facts and begin to make plans on the Supreme Court's ruling. That is the beginning of health.

2. Contrive honest, courageous representation of the Negro community on the local school board.

We hope, in cooperation with Emerson Smith and his friends, to set up, in Virginia this Fall, and revive the Virginia Interracial group. We have $13,000 we can give it for staff, and diminishing sums for the next two or three years.

I am never in contact with you without recalling, with deep affection, Charlie Burr.

Devotedly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls. - "Church and Conscience in the South"
Race — What Does The Bible Say?

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS AND RACE

"Those of us who have been concerned with human relations have far too easily assumed that where unsegregated schools appear in the South, the children themselves will offer a welcome to the incoming children of the other group. Many children -- perhaps most children -- will reflect the attitude of their parents. That opens the problem of obtaining a positive welcoming attitude."

So spoke a minister in the South last year. Before many days his words began to stir up activity and a distinct campaign to involve religious conscience with parental attitude toward the Negro was underway.

It began with the loan of a field-worker minister from the National Council of Churches headquarters, for a field-trip in October through one of the Southern states. Briefed by the expert staffmembers of the Southern Regional Council, a non-sectarian agency interested in general progress and better human relations in the whole area, the fieldworker began his visits to the seven chief cities of one particular state. He had some names to contact, picked up other names, had to manage all his traveling by bus and trust to local cooperation in order to meet the "key people." In each town and each meeting, he simply opened with the question, "What is the coming supreme court decision on school segregation going to mean in your community (or institution)?"

What did he accomplish?

His report gives his conclusions and notes. "At least the school men with whom I talked were ready to move in the direction of integration. The school boards were the main bones of contention. I hate to say it, but I did not get the idea that the school principals felt it was their job to sell the idea of integration to the school boards. ... There exists a strong core of Southerners who are ready for the step of integration. If the discussion groups in which I sat are typical, then it is clear that anyone who makes a similar field trip will discover many friendly forces. I may be wrong when I suggest that the opposition is a strong and vocal minority."

These favorable impressions gained from stops in typical Southern communities would belie the words and attitudes of the politicians and racists who cry that the South has not "changed" and harbors racial animosity in its heart. Yet it is a growing popular attitude which is contrasted sharply with the view and position taken by the ministry. "The majority of the protestant ministers," reported the fieldworker, "face a great dilemma; on the one hand, there is strong compulsion to right the wrong; on the other hand they recognize the need to carry their people along with them. However, all too few are giving the proper leadership."

Among the lay people cropped up a heartening development: "The influence of the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church and the United Church Women indeed is most

significant. I believe we can attribute a large share of the favorable climate of opinion to the work which these groups have done."

A reader may shrug and say, "Yes, but what can one man do to realize the situation throughout many communities? This is good--but he judges from statements and promises."

He should remember that some two dozen contacts were made and these in only a hastily-planned two weeks on a limited fund. They included executives of church councils, ministerial associations, church women, individual religious leaders, community leaders and school principals. Follow-up and development of such an opening would certainly improve the stability of attitude and encourage many to take some steady steps in their own communities.

Such was the conviction produced by the report of the pioneering fieldworker. Again, this view was immediately shared by other observers, as these developments in early months of 1954 easily show.

The same Protestant headquarters thereupon lent another fieldworker, a Mississippian, who worked in upcountry South Carolina for two weeks, with much the same results.

It sent also another worker, who put in two weeks in southeastern Virginia, again with good results. Besides, it arranged with a Methodist organization to assign five women leaders to travel in Southern states in the same sort of activity, all expenses paid.

The Congregational Church detached one of their leading men in the race relations field to labor in the same program in north-central North Carolina.

The Episcopalians too approved the plan and by this time probably have assigned personnel to the same fields, but in different districts.

On the list for similar cooperation were the American Friends (Quakers) Service Committee and other denominations.

The Mississippian who worked in South Carolina later lectured before St. Louis leaders and ministers (March 29) to spread a sense of responsibility there for peaceful and harmonious integration of public schools. No doubt there have been other efforts and many collaborators.

Of course, these workers and their directors feel, there must be followups, local planning and implementation, local persuasion by local citizens, before the program accomplishes solid and lasting results. But this is a step which has to be carried out by the local citizens, which they even now seem to realize as a logical consequence of their deepened insights. Yet here too it is expected that outside help will be willing to come to their aid through planning, organizing and financing, wherever the need is greatest.

The stimulus has come from the South, the operations are carried on in the South and often by Southerners, the implementation is strictly indigeneous and there can follow no complaint by the politicians and industrialists that "outsiders" have done this.

When one stops to reflect that this constitutes a regional effort towards racial harmony in a section where racism has held sway in a Protestant population, it indicates a strong reversal and an apt application of local energies to quite local problems. It may even be called a good working-out of the principle of subsidiarity, since it calls for the employment of power and talent at the level nearest the problem. Likewise it may be viewed as a true illustration of "states' rights--and duties," which the citizens are anxious to secure and observe for their fellow Americans.

October 24, 1955

Mr. W. E. Garnett
Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station
Department of Agricultural Economics and
Rural Sociology
Blacksburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Garnett:

During last Summer there was organized the Virginia Council on Human Relations. They employed Jack Marion of Richmond as their Executive Director, and William Cooper of Hampton as their part-time Associate Director. They have an office at 100 East Franklin Street in Richmond. Quite a distinguished body of Virginians make up their Board of Directors.

We give the various states a high degree of autonomy within broad allegiance to the general program of the Southern Regional Council.

I send you recent issues of New South, a publications list, and a folder about a new good pamphlet which you ought to use textwise. That is the one called Changing Patterns in the New South. Mighty good stuff; and stuff that is otherwise hard to come by.

I will also send some things to Mrs. Mary Fessler. Mary and I were fotched up together, though she is nearly a generation below me.

Appreciatively

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Under Separate Cover:
New South, February - September '55
Changing Patterns' promotion leaflet
Answers for Action
SRC publications list

VIRGINIA AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS
AND RURAL SOCIOLOGY

BLACKSBURG, VIRGINIA

October 21, 1955

OCT 24 1955

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Would you be so kind as to send me any bulletins issued by the Southern Regional Council within the last year dealing with race questions. I understand your organization planned to initiate some work in Virginia in this field. Might I ask what progress is being made.

Would you also send race segregation circulars to Mrs. Mary Fessler, Blacksburg, Virginia. Incidentally, Mrs. Fessler is the daughter of Dr. Garnett Ryland of the University of Richmond.

With best wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

W. E. Garnett

W. E. Garnett

WEG: gh

February 12, 1957

Dr. David C. Wilson, M. D.
Department of Neurology and Psychiatry
University of Virginia Hospital
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Wilson:

Harold Fleming has turned your letter of February 6th over to me to answer because I direct the field services end of SRC.

You requested the name of a speaker who would present the problem of desegregation in an attractive manner and who would be well enough known to attract local people.

The following annotated list of potential speakers all fit those criteria:

(1) Dr. Dan W. Dodson, Center for Human Relations Studies, New York University, New York, N.Y.
Native of Texas. Former director of New York Mayor's Committee on Unity; Consultant on School Desegregation, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md. Top notcher.

(2) A yet-to-be named School Superintendent, fwom a middle sized Kentucky town, who has experienced desegregation of his school system. (Contact me.)

(3) Mr. James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina.
Native South Carolinian; former Professor of English; member South Carolina Council on Human Relations Executive Committee. Inspirational speaker.

(4) Mr. Marion A. Wright, "Top Knot," Linville Falls, N. C.
Native of South Carolina. Prominant Civil Rights lawyer. President of SRC. The Adlai Stevenson of the South.

(5) Miss Mary Alice Baldinger, National Civil Liberties Clearing House, 1637 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.
Played important role in D.C. desegregation.

(6) Galen A. Martin, Kentucky Council on Human Relations, 208 West Main, Frankfort, Ky.
Native of West Virginia. Young but mature; director of SRC affiliate in Kentucky. The Jack Marion of Kentucky.

Any of these people would do an excellent job for you. Please feel free to use our name in contacting any of them.

If I may be of further service, please let me know. As Patty Boyle will explain, I hope to meet you soon.

Cordially,

Frederick D. Routh
Assistant Director

FDR:mm

J. & W. SELIGMAN & CO.

65 BROADWAY NEW YORK 6, N. Y.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
63 AUBURN AVE N E ROOM 432
ATLANTA 3 GEORGIA
ATT HAROLD C FLEMING ESQ

WE AS BROKERS HAVE SOLD FOR YOUR ACCOUNT AND RISK, PURSUANT TO YOUR ORDER

DATE MAR 7 1957

[X] ON THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE [ ] ON THE AMERICAN STOCK EXCHANGE [ ] OVER THE COUNTER

ORDER NO. 5264

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	PRINCIPAL	INTEREST	COMMISSION		PROCEEDS
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SETTLEMENT DATE 3/13

WE SHALL REMIT TO YOU
SECS WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM YOUR ACCOUNT

UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED, YOUR ACCOUNT WILL BE CREDITED AND SECURITIES WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM YOUR ACCOUNT.
*—REGISTRATION FEE CHARGE REQUIRED BY NATIONAL SECURITIES EXCHANGES.

G

PROMPT DELIVERY OF SECURITIES IN PROPER FORM IS ESSENTIAL TO COMPLETE THE TRANSACTION, UNLESS THEY ARE ALREADY IN OUR POSSESSION. IN CASE OF FAILURE OF SUCH DELIVERY YOU SHALL BE LIABLE FOR ANY LOSS INCURRED THEREBY, OR, AT OUR OPTION, WE MAY CANCEL THIS TRANSACTION WITHOUT FURTHER NOTICE TO YOU. IT IS AGREED THAT ALL TRANSACTIONS ARE SUBJECT TO THE RULES AND REGULATIONS OF THE EXCHANGE OR MARKET (AND ITS CLEARING HOUSE, IF ANY) WHERE THEY ARE EXECUTED. UPON REQUEST, WE SHALL BE PLEASED TO FURNISH THE HOURS BETWEEN WHICH THIS TRANSACTION TOOK PLACE AND THE NAME OF THE PERSON WITH WHOM IT WAS CONSUMMATED BY US

⊕ PAT'D

RECEIVED OCT 3 1957

SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE
SWEET BRIAR, VIRGINIA

CARTER GLASS
CHAIR OF GOVERNMENT

Harold -

In case you didn't see this, it will be of interest to you.

Ralph Purcell

P.S. Getting kinda rough isn't it!
RP.

October 10, 1961

Mr. Paul M Gaston
Assistant Professor of History
University of Virginia
553 Cabell Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It is good to hear from you, and I thank you for your kind comments regarding my article.

I hope the next time you change planes in Atlanta you will take time to phone. Better still, lay over for a few hours and visit.

I have asked Paul Rilling to help me keep in mind your request for speakers.

Give my regards to Tom Hammond and to your good wife.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD: mbb

TRV
LD

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

CORCORAN DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
553 CABELL HALL

2 X 61

Dear Leslie:

I have just read your excellent piece in the VQR. Miss Kohler told me some time ago that it was coming and I have been eagerly awaiting publication. I certainly was not disappointed.

Your brief section on the "desertion" of the South's intellectuals is something I would like to see explored in detail. In fact, it is something I hope to do (as part of a study of Southern mavericks) when my present project is finished.

I changed planes in Atlanta a month ago and flew to Savannah with a young lady in the 10th grade who seemed extraordinarily proud of how smoothly the transition had taken place in the schools. She had never heard of the S.R.C., didn't know much about Mayor Hartsfield, and was convinced that the major share of the credit was due to the students themselves!

I'm on leave from teaching duties this year and am also playing a smaller role in the Council. I'm assisting the new program chairman. If you should know of any fine speakers who are likely to be in our area, I'd appreciate a postal card.

Best regards, as ever,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Asst. Prof. of History

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

October 23, 1961

Miss Charlotte Kohler, Editor
The Virginia Quarterly Review
#1 West Range
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Miss Kohler:

Enclosed are four copies of the reprint from the Virginia Quarterly Review. If you have need of other copies please let us know.

Thank you for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Asisstant

PA:mbb
Enc.

PA

THE VIRGINIA QUARTERLY REVIEW

A National Journal of Literature & Discussion

ONE WEST RANGE · CHARLOTTESVILLE · VIRGINIA

U. of Va.
22166

October 5, 1961

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I wish that you had indicated a little earlier that you would like reprints of your article. Our printer always is able to supply them, at a fairly moderate price, if we order them before the magazine is printed. They do not keep the type set up very long after the printing is completed and by this time it will be thrown down. I am very sorry indeed.

Very sincerely yours,

Charlotte Kohler

Charlotte Kohler
Editor

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
CK:m

Neland - DCA Pat -

LWD files

November 27, 1961

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of History
553 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Les Dunbar has asked me to respond to your letter of November 16. We are sending directly to Mr. Marmon the material requested on the Southern Regional Council. As to the existence of other student chapters of human relations councils in the South, I think you are probably technically correct in your suggestion that the Charlottesville group may be the only permanently organized, officially recognized campus group directly related to a human relations council. There is other student activity, however, that you should be aware of. I am not sure that it is still in existence, but as of a year or two ago, there was a "race relations study group" at VPI. This is or was an independent and officially recognized study group. Its members overlapped with the Blacksburg Council on Human Relations, but it was not organically related to the Council. Here in Atlanta there has recently been organized a Junior Council on Human Relations composed of college and high school students from the area, which includes representatives from all of the local colleges, as individuals. This group is directly related to the Atlanta Council on Human Relations. There is a high school youth council in Fairfax County, Virginia, which is directly related to the Fairfax County Council.

The Tennessee Council on Human Relations has a project in the mill which will involve statewide organizational work with students, but I think it has not yet gotten off the ground. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has organized a statewide Student Council on Human Relations consisting of students as individuals from a number of white and Negro colleges throughout the state. This group was organized last Spring and has held several conferences and workshops.

I note that you have recently been elected to the Virginia Council board. Congratulations, I guess.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

CORCORAN DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
553 CABELL HALL

November 16, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The enclosed clippings from today's Cavalier Daily give a tolerably good account of the efforts of the student chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations to win recognition from the Student Council. Those of us who take seriously the motto on the masthead of the editorial page are not happy that the struggle has been such a ridiculous one, but at least now we do have a student group that will bring speakers to the Grounds to discuss race relations. The chapter should also serve as a rallying point for all those whose views are not strictly for the Byrds (I'm sorry: that's a miserable pun!) and, I think, provide a fine club for the Negro students in the University.

Bill Marmon, the student who wrote the news article, is a fine Richmond boy and one of us. He wants to do a feature article later this month on the Human Relations councils and the SRC (to go along with a feature story on the Young Americans for Freedom, a student chapter of which will soon be recognized: the John Randolph chapter!). I've given Bill some material, but I want to ask if you will have your information services send him material on the origins, achievements &etc. of the SRC that he could use. If some of the material is not for free please bill me, but send it directly to him: William Marmon, 104 Echols House, Station 1, University of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Forwarded 11/27 MM
L-1 Newsclip Race

Do you know if there are any other student chapters of the Council in the South? (Marmon misquoted my remarks to him, I fear.) So far as I know, there are none in Virginia. Also, do you know of any other permanently organized race-relations groups at "white" Southern colleges and universities. Obviously there have been several ad hoc groups.

Many thanks and best regards, as always,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

HH
my file

July 2, 1962

Dr. Calvin M. Kunin
University of Virginia
School of Medicine
Department of Preventive Medicine
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Kunin:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to send you the addresses requested in your letter of June 29.

The lawyer is Wiley Branton; he is Director of the Voter Education Project, 5 Forsyth Street, Room 206, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Fred Routh is Executive Secretary of The National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; however, from June 28 until August 12 his address will be:

Frederick B. Routh, Director
The Encampment for Citizenship
Ridge House
2424 Ridge Road
Berkeley 9, California.

Harold Fleming is Executive Vice-President of the Potomac Institute, 1501 - 18th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C..

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Services

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

June 29, 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1962

~~PA~~ MM - pls reply

Replied July 2 - MM

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

At the last board meeting of the Charlottesville Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, the names of 3 outstanding individuals were mentioned as possibilities for future speaking programs here. They were Mr. Fred Routh, Harold Fleming and a lawyer who I believe is located near you in Atlanta who worked on the Little Rock Case. I wonder if it would be possible for you to send us the current addresses of these individuals and, perhaps, will recognize who the lawyer is and let us know.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin M. Kunin

Calvin M. Kunin, M. D.
President
Charlottesville Chapter

CMK:c

July 12, 1962

Professor Paul M. Gaston
University of Virginia — file
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Martin Luther King, Jr.'s address is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 334 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. He is a busy man and may have a hard time accepting the invitation. If you let me know before the invitation goes out, I will drop him a note recommending you to him.

Tom Hammond's comments were very helpful and I shall be writing my thanks to him very soon. I believe we may work it out with Blackford.

We get the Virginia Quarterly Review and I will be looking for Dillard's article.

I hear your book is probably going to be published by Knopf. When will it be out?

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

CORCORAN DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
B-20 CABELL HALL

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1962

July 11, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I hope that Tom Hammond's comments on Staige Blackford, in response to your letter to me, were helpful to you. I have had a little correspondence with him and I was very favorably impressed.

I write now, however, for an address. The student chapter of the Council is going to invite Martin Luther King to speak at the University in the fall. Would you be good enough to have your secretary send me the address at which he can be reached this summer (this month, if he is traveling about).

I have not seen it yet (do not know if it is out yet) but the summer issue of the Virginia Quarterly Review is to have an essay by Hardy Dillard, a distinguished professor of Law here, on the fallacies of "freedom of choice" in education.

Best regards, as ever,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

file

Universities - Va, Univ. of

12 2 3 30

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville

12 VII 65

file

Dear Les:

I arrive Atlanta 5 00 P Friday, July 16, Piedmont Flight #17.

I will leave it to you to arrange the time when we should get together.

I'll make no plans until I arrive. Will telephone you from the airport.

Yrs

Paul

(Gaston)

See Chuckerutes - Virginia Univ. of

July 20, 1965

Dr. Paul Gaston
Department of History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Gaston:

Before Mr. Dunbar left the city he asked that I send you the enclosed materials. None of these need be returned; they are reproductions of our file copies.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures:
1. Study design - STP
2. Evaluation - "
3. T. E. McKinney Report (Texas Southern)
4. Tilman Cothran Report (Philander Smith)

Universities — USA, Univ. of.

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

26 VII 65

Dear Les

Here the #30 — many thanks. I returned with #31 — but it was good to have the margin!

I enclose some addresses should you need to get in touch with me.

More later

Yrs

Paul (Gaston)

put in Gaston's file

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

28 August 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Many thanks for the expense sheet and the clipping on Bishop College. I had seen the latter, and I am investigating it by mail and phone. Too bad that sort of thing, which is hardly representative of the STP, had to get the national publicity.

The man who painted my house keeps coming by, hoping to be paid. Would it be possible for me to have an advance of $500 -- one-half of my remuneration for the study -- in the next few days? This would assure keeping the paint on the house.

I told Les, in an earlier letter, that I hoped to have my report finished by September 15. I am still aiming at this deadline, although investigation of the Bishop Affair may hold me up a few days.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

MS - pl

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

December 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I should have written to you sooner. Fred Schulze was here a couple of weeks ago to discuss my report with me. He told me he would write to you concerning his ideas about distribution and I leave that up to him.

For my own uses I would like to have twenty-five copies of the report.

Fred pointed out a few errors. If you have not already had the thing mimeographed, will you make the corrections indicated on the enclosed sheet. If all is done I don't suppose it is necessary to make the corrections.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

Paul - Just got a copy of your letter to Schulze. I have been reimbursed for all my expenses. On the corrections - I don't think they are absolutely vital - but it would be nice to make them, if possible.

P

Corrections for report on Southern Teaching Program

page 3: rewrite first four lines of paragraph under heading "Recruitment and Orientation" as follows:

Active recruitment of SI's was carried on at eight universities although applications came in from at least twenty-five. In some cases interviewing was extremely casual, requring the Executive Director of the STP to rely almost exclusively on .....

page 4: alter table:

second line: From Teaching Positions

change BA totals from 2 to 1 and Ph.D from 4 to 5
grand totals BA from 46 to 45; Ph.D from 5 to 6

page 14 seventh line from the bottom:

insert normally between and is and made, i.e. provision is normally made for summer instruction only

page 20-

last line, page 20. Instead of "Several" have in fact...
write: At least nine have in fact .....

See Universities, Va. Univ of

April 7, 1966

Dr. Paul Gaston
History Department
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It is getting late in the Spring to make our plans for summer and I am certain you have already made yours. However, this is just to inquire into the possibility of whether or not all or part of your summer might be available to do some work for us.

It would not only be surprising but most welcome news if you had any time available.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

MJ

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville

file

18 IV 66

Dear Paul

Profound apologies for delaying so long in replying to your letter.

I'm all tied up this summer — trying to finish my book. But ever so many thanks for keeping me in mind.

Best regards as ever,

Paul

File
Thesis -
Virginia, Univ. of.

July 27, 1966

Mr. William H. Leary — Univ. of Virginia Student Leader (Paul Gaston)
635 Booker Street
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Leary:

I have picked up the materials from Mrs. Phinazee at Atlanta University which you were good enough to leave with her. Thank you.

On your request concerning the Allred thesis. We would not be on safe groupd if we took the liberty of copying for you any portions of Mr. Allred's thesis, because he has given the University the right to regulate the use of this paper as it does other materials of this type in its possession. He states in a signed agreement with Emory that, "permission to copy from, ... may be granted by the professor under whose direction it was written, or, in his absence, by the Dean of the Graduate School." Therefore, I suggest that you write to Mr. Allred's thesis director, Professor J. Harvey Young, History Department, Emory University, Atlanta.

Since the thesis has not yet had time to reach the Library shelves there, you might explain to Professor Young that we here at SRC are in possession of a copy from which the sections you need can be reproduced -- with his permission, of course.

If it turns out that you may also need to be in touch with Mr. Allred, you may write to him as follows:

Mr. William Allred
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

When you have taken care of the essentials, I will be glad to copy Chapters 1 and 2 at a cost of .10 a sheet.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

Mrs. Johnson,

Thank you again for everything. I wonder if it would be possible for me to get a copy of Mr. Allred's thesis. I need only the first two chapters on the background. I would of course

be willing to pay
for whatever cost
involved. If
this is possible,
and I will under-
stand if it isn't
please send ~~to~~ CAP
William H. Leary
635 Booker St.
Charlottesville, Va.

October 27, 1967

Miss Carolyn Yandle
1401 Cindarella Road
Lookout Mountain, Tennessee

Dear Miss Yandle:

Dr. Paul Gaston has written us concerning your interest in the records of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. We are more than pleased to give you our permission to have access to these records. You might wish to contact Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames (The Wren's Nest, P. O. Box 626, Tryon, N. C. 28782) who was very active in that group, as you no doubt know, and still has at her home a number of valuable documents about this work.

If we can be of any assistance to you please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Free. Board of Dir.

October 27, 1967

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor
and Director of Graduate Studies
Corcoran Department of History
University of Virginia
B-20 Cabell Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Paul:

Miss Yandle has been written as you requested.

I will be in New York on November 8 and hope to return that evening. I will be bere November 9 and would like very much to get with you either here or at the Biltmore. Very likely I will be out of town again on November 10. However, I very much appreciate the invitation to the Virginia Party and shall certainly attend if I am here.

Whatever schedule, let's plan to meet on the 9th.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
22901

October 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Miss Carolyn Yandle, one of my graduate students, is working on the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching and she would like to examine materials on and by the organization at Atlanta University. According to the enclosed memorandum she needs your written permission to do so. She will be in Atlanta November 6 and would like to start work. I would be grateful if you would send a letter of permission to her: Miss Carolyn Yandle, 1401 Cindarella Rd., Lookout Mountain, Tenn.

The Southern Historical Association meets in Atlanta November 8-11, at the Biltmore. I will be there and want to discuss with you a proposal.

On Friday night, the 10th, we will give our annual Virginia Party. I don't know in which room it will be, but I will call you to let you know and hope that you will be able to join us. A sizeable number of the historians of the South will be there, drinking our "Virginia Gentleman."

Best regards, as always,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor
and Director of Graduate Studies

PMG:vgh

Letter referred to this Dept. 10/5/67

LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 9, 1967

To ~~the Librarian~~
Miss Carolyn Yandle
University of Virginia

Dear Sir:

We regret that it is not possible to furnish the material you requested for the reasons checked below.

1. In use by our borrowers.
2. Available later. Reorder if desired.
* 3. Not loaned. May be used in library.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs) E.B. Hawkins
Interlibrary Loans

* Association of Southern Women for the prevention Lynching.

Note

Please see note attached from the Librarian of Special collections.

INTERLIBRARY LOANS

10/6/67

memo from . . .

LILLIAN MILES

Mrs. Hawkins,

The "numerous pamphlets" issued by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching are here, however they are not cataloged.

If the student wants to consult these files, I would suggest she,

(1) receive written permission from Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

(2) sign and return the enclosed form

× (3) plan a trip to Trevor Arnett Library, Special Collections to consult the files.

Jill: Visit. Va.

file

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
22901

11 December 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

My delay in replying to your letter of November 21 is no reflection on my appreciation of the very generous terms on which you make the offer to come to SRC as Director of Research.

There are many things which I must sort out, including the Chapel Hill possibility, before I can make a definite response.

By mid-January I will have heard from Chapel Hill; and by then, too, I will have had the chance to take into account other matters which I must consider before making application for a leave.

In any case, I'll be writing to you by January 15, if not before.

Best regards, as ever.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor

File ~~Gaston, Dr. Paul~~
Personnel
Gaston, Dr. Paul

November 21, 1967

Dr. Paul Gaston
Professor of History
University of Virginia
B-20 Cabell Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

This is merely to repeat some of our conversation while you were in Atlanta.

Should you get the North Carolina appointment and choose to do that, we will likely be able to be of modest financial assistance and would like to assist with the book. And, we would be grateful for an opportunity to publish some of it. This is an important subject which badly needs doing.

Incidentally, Vera Roney, a very competent writer generally in the field of labor, has approached us about doing a history of southern poor since 1900. Along the way you two should get together.

Much more importantly, however, I am pleased and excited that you are willing to

consider an appointment as Director of Research here at SRC. We want you and we need you badly.

We can offer you a minimum starting salary of $15,000 per year, and I would hope it would be $16,000. The job would be available at your convenience and we would be delighted to have you on a two-year leave of absence from the University.

Should you accept the position, you will be completely free to develop the priorities, responsibilities and interests of the job with the understanding that you would be devoting a significant amount of time to the writing of your book. In this regard, we would also seriously explore the possibility of your getting some research assistance on the book from the research staff here and we would try to make available modest amounts of money to pay for summer salaries of one or more graduate students to assist you should you want this arrangement.

As one final lure, I hold out the idea which I honestly believe you would enjoy. That is, your being in the midst of this mess of events as they are now unfolding, and the opportunity to travel throughout the region observing and talking.

Enough said, except again we need you and I very much hope you will decide to come.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Colonial of Va.

February 12, 1968

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor
Corcoran Department of History
University of Virginia
B-20 Cabell Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Paul:

While your letter has no surprises, your decision is nevertheless a very real disappointment to me. My only consolation is that you will be devoting full time to some much needed work.

Our facilities and materials are, of course, available to you and I hope the year will give us an opportunity to work together quite a bit.

As for getting you on the payroll, perhaps later....

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
22901

February 3, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am sorry that I have gone beyond the mid-January deadline I set for responding to your attractive offer. I learned over a week ago of my appointment to the Cooperative Program in the Humanities, at Chapel Hill, but I gave myself a week to think once I had the two options open to me.

After a lot of weighing and balancing I have decided that I should go to Chapel Hill for the year. You were terribly persuasive in your letter and I was mightily tempted by the challenges, opportunities, and associations that I would have had. In the final analysis, though, I felt that a two-year wrench was more than I could undertake at this stage of my career.

The University will pay the balance of my salary, so I need not appeal to you for funds. You were very good to hold that possibility open and I would like to approach you about it later for the summer of 1969. In the meantime, I am anxious to get started on my study of interracial movements in the twentieth century South and pleased that my research will bring me to Atlanta for a good spell sometime next year. And if I write anything during the next year that would be suitable for New South I will certainly send it along for your consideration.

Many thanks for your confidence -- and patience!

Cordially,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor

November 19, 1968

Professor Paul M. Gaston
1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Paul:

It is almost certain now that the Ford Foundation has blessed us to the extent that we will be able to support your work during 1969 in the amount of $2,000. If so, our rationale will be that we will commission from you several articles or permission to print one or more chapters of your work.

I would appreciate a very, very brief description of what you plan to do and which portion or portions of it you might consider making available to us. Thereafter, we will confirm the grant.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514
14 November 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

About a year ago, you indicated that there might be a chance for me to receive support from SRC for my work on the history of southern liberalism and the interracial movement, 1900-1954. I write now to ask if the chance has vanished or, hopefully, is still there.

As you know, I received a research appointment at Chapel Hill for the period September 1 - May 31. I'm working on my subject now and am being adequately, though not lavishly, supported. I had expected to receive a grant from the University of Virginia Research Fund to permit me to continue working in the summer, after my appointment here has expired. Unfortunately, I learned a week ago that the money I had counted on will not be available. I then got out my Social Science Research Council brochure, only to learn that summer stipends have been discontinued by that organization.

Without support from some quarter I will have to go to the classroom during the summer and abandon the project just at the point when I expect some fruits might begin to ripen. It is not a prospect that I cherish.

So -- my entreaty: may I make application to you for a grant of approximately $2,000 (somewhat less than the salary I would earn in summer school, but enough to keep us going)? If you are receptive I would submit whatever supporting documents you would like, including a full description of my research objectives and, if you wish, letters of recommendation from historians who know my work. (Incidentally, I have finished my book on the New South Creed. It is with Knopf now and the signs are all good, but I do not expect to hear definitely about publication for a while yet.)

I will, of course, spend a good period of time with the archives of the Interracial Commission and the Southern Regional Council (down to 1954, my cut-off date) and my present intention is to come to Atlanta in the early spring.

I await your reply anxiously.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

December 2, 1968

Professor Paul Gaston
1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Paul:

The ideas and tentative suggestions for articles are excellent. I will be delighted if we can publish both during the year, though we do not expect a commitment from you. And, by chance, should they go beyond articleslength, we would seriously consider publishing one or both of them as pamphlets.

This, therefore, will confirm our commitment of $2,000 in support of your work during 1969. It can be made available any time after January 1, at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514
23 November 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your encouraging letter of the 19th.

The plan of my study may alter as I get farther along with the research, but the broad outlines should stay put. Briefly — I aim to write a history of southern liberalism in race relations from the early twentieth century, when the Jim Crow system was institutionalized, to 1954, when the Brown decision signaled the era of its dismantling. I am concerned with both the institutional and the intellectual dynamics of the story. The study will include a reasonably comprehensive account of the organizations involved, such as the Montgomery Race Conference, the University Commission, the Southern Sociological Congress, the Southern Publicity Committee, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the Southern Regional Council, and several others. I want it to be a book to which one can turn to find out what groups and what men and women were involved in interracial work and when they were involved and what they and their groups were doing. Second (and this part will be harder), I will study the intellectual dynamics of the movement, tracing--and attempting to account for--the remarkable shifts in thought over the years; shifts in thought about the Negro, about the relationships between whites and Negroes, and about the techniques most suitable to reform work.

Should you award me a $2,000 grant for the summer of 1969 I would, of course, be happy to submit for consideration for publication in New South appropriate articles. I cannot commit myself to topics now, for I am just beginning to get into the primary materials, but two likely ones are these:

1) A study of Howard W. Odum's changing thoughts on the racial problem. (As you know, the voluminous Odum papers are here at U.N.C.) In this article, which would lay out some of the broad themes of the book, I would be able to explore one prominent leader's intellectual odyssey; and perhaps such a study--by revealing the mixture of blind spots and prophetic insights--would have relevance to the judgments we make of today's analysts.

2) I think it would also be worthwhile to do a period (or mood) piece on 1919 as a pivotal year in southern thought and action. The background would be the war experience and the disturbing questions and fears (and hopes) it raised. The focus would be on the creation of the Interracial Commission with an account of the founders, their fundamental assumptions, their conception of the racial problem, and their hopes for the Commission. The basic research for this paper could be completed in the spring, after I have been to Atlanta and gone through the archives of the Interracial Commission.

As for chapters of the book -- well, I would be happy for you to see them. But they will not come rolling out of my typewriter very soon. If, through your support, I am able to continue research through the summer I think it ought to be possible to examine most of the basic material by next September. Further research would have to be carried on after I returned to teaching, and in the summers. I would need a year's leave-of-absence, in about three years, to complete the manuscript.

I hope that this brief description of the project is satisfactory and that the possible article topics are within the bounds of what you consider useful (please suggest alternatives, if you like).

Needless to say, I am deeply grateful for your encouragement.

Best regards, as always.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

file

1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514
December 4, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter of December 2 confirming your commitment of $2,000 in support of my work during 1969. I shall want the money during the summer and will write to you later about that.

Your suggestion of pamphlet publications is a very interesting one. I had not thought of the possibility. I will keep it in mind. I am going to begin going through the Odum papers next week.

I expect to be in Atlanta sometime in the spring, for several weeks. I will let you know when my plans are firm.

Best regards, as always.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill,N.C. 27514
24 May 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have moved along as rapidly as I could toward a decision on your generous offer. As you could tell when I left your office I was very eager to be able to accept it. You could not have been more persuasive and the position could not have been more attractive.

But, as I told you I would, I met strong opposition from my Department. For one thing, if I were to leave now the Department would have a difficult if not impossible time finding a suitable replacement. Under AAUP regulations offers to professors who are already employed are not meant to be made by a university after May 15. But there was more to it than this. I agreed earlier to organize and direct an interdisciplinary course that will be the focal point for a new black studies program, several of my graduate students are counting heavily on my return, and I have agreed to resume my job as Director of Graduate Studies in History--an onerous but important task that I should only reluctantly require my chairman to force on someone else at this late stage, when assignments for next year have already been made.

I knew all of this before I asked my Department for a leave, but somehow I hoped that they would see the importance of your offer and that, taking the long view, we might together make adjustments. I guess there were simply too many adjustments. In any case, the reaction from Charlottesville is such that I feel that I must, out of respect to my colleagues and my students, return in September.

I wanted very badly to be able to accept your offer. The future is always full of change and uncertainty, but I would like it if you felt able to raise the question again, in the autumn, looking toward an appointment in the summer of 1970. On the other hand, I will quite understand if you want to forget the whole thing.

But, for now, I'm back to where I was before. I'm working on the 1919 article. When it is finished (which will be in August, after I've been to Tuskegee) should I send it to you or to Mr. Anderson?

I assume you would like my $2,000 grant to be payable in one installment. It would suit me best to have it on our about July 1. I will be at this address.

Thank you, Paul, for your confidence in me; it is very good to have. And enjoy yourself in Moscow. Best, as ever,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

FUNDS RECEIVED BY Paul M. Gaston

DATE May 29, 1969

May 27, 1969

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
1030 Highland Woods
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

Dear Paul:

While your answer does not surprise me, and, indeed, I can well understand the situation I, nevertheless, am disappointed.

Later, and at your convenience, by all means let's plan to explore this again.

Send your article along to me when it's ready and I will see that it gets to Bob Anderson.

Since it might get lost in the shuffle, enclosed is our check for $2,000 representing a grant in support of your historical studies. At your convenience, please acknowledge receipt of these funds on the enclosed copy of this letter.

I am still determined that one of these days we are going to get into trouble together, but you damned historians sure move slowly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check:$2,000)

September 15, 1969

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Department of History
University of Virginia
B-20 Cabell Hall
Charlottesville, Virginia 22901

Dear Paul:

The Senate Finance Committee and the proposed actions against foundations have us in a state of serious uncertainty. However, I am very anxious to talk with you.

What about giving me a collect call to discuss a date of mutual convenience.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE
22901

September 10, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I've returned to the real world here with more obligations to meet than I can reasonably expect to cope with. And I have not finished the paper on the foundation of the Interracial Commission in 1919. I got hung up on a research problem and am reluctant to write the paper until I have had the chance to go thoroughly through the Moton Papers at Tuskegee. What I have seen so far persuades me that the story as it has generally been told is wrong in important particulars--but I can't be sure until I have had more time in Tuskegee. Which, obviously, will not be right away. But I will get the paper to you in due course; and others as well. I've made good progress, but it has been scattered.

My book-- The New South Creed: A Study of Southern Mythmaking --will be published by Knopf early in the next year. I've asked that a copy be sent to you.

Should we talk again about the position you offered me last May but which I was unable to accept then? If I am to be away from here next year I should begin fairly early to make plans. The earlier my plans are made the easier it will be for the people here to find a suitable replacement. As you know, I was quite taken by your offer--indeed, wanted very much to be able to accept it--and if you are still interested I would like to reopen the discussion. Would it be a good idea for me to come down to Atlanta to talk to you?

I hope Moscow was fun. Best, as ever.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

WOODROW WILSON DEPARTMENT
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Friday

Clip to file

Dear Harold -

This item records a small bit of progress that will be of interest if you have not seen it. I had rather expected the decision to go the other way. This lawyer Stone is a good one to know if he is not already active. I met him on the train going to NYC one time. He's a Quaker who lives in ~~Bat~~ Alexandria, Va.

Regards
Ralph Purcell

P.S. That locality is not my ancestral home!!
R.P.

October 28, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Benjamin D. Segal
Educational Director, IUE
1126 16th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

I would like to put down a few ideas regarding ways in which I think SRC will continue to serve the labor movement even after my departure. Also, I think that I should note some of the things that I do not feel that the Council will be able to do.

First of all, I do not believe that SRC should attempt to develop any special labor-oriented project and request continuing funds from you for it, and I do not feel that the money you have should be earmarked for SRC solely because what we do for a democratic settlement in the South necessarily is in the interest of labor in the long run. Harold shares this view. What this leaves is that middle ground of special activities carried on by SRC which might merit some special support from your funds. Some of these activities will be carried on in any case; however, even these, in the aggregate, constitute a drain on the Council's financial resources. The kinds of activities which I have in mind are listed below:

1) Filling labor conference and other union speaking engagements. For an example, Fred Routh will probably cover the Virginia educational conferences next year in Roanoke and Old Point. Fred also will participate in the Michigan UAWeducational conference. In general, SRC would fill any such spot as it felt could be programatically justified. This would include some of the summer schools, but not on a week long basis, but rather as special programs. Certainly, SRC would attempt to service the Southern Labor School.

2) Involve union personnel in human relations and interagency activities. This is done in part through the Southern interagency group, partly through

our cooperating state organizations and other contacts. For instance, such activity with individual unionists (usually top leaders) will take place in Alabama, Virginia, and Texas without my assistance. And special programs such as the Fellowship of the Concerned (Mrs. Tilly's women's work) will have labor participation without my further help. I have indications from Tennessee of really strategic use of SRC personnel (in all likelihood, Harold) in a project aided, if not initiated, by the officers of the state labor council. I think other states would make use of SRC as well.

SRC will continue to perform a spotty but constructive role in putting certain local leaders in touch with human relations moves. This takes place in a small way in Atlanta at this point without my help.

3) Keeping a clip service on a cross section of the labor press of that news which relates specifically to Southern developments and race relations.

4) Briefing, entertaining, and scheduling foreign and other visitors who are either from their own labor movements or who have some labor interest. Seeing that these visitors are brought into appropriate contact with Southern unionists - both liberal and conservative since we have found this interplay generally to be helpful.

5) Continuing and increasing New South subscriptions to Southern and national union leadership. Many of these subscriptions are complimentary when the position of the unionist involved seems to warrant it.

6) Special mailings of relevant materials to our labor list. This would include pieces with a specific labor slant, any good interpretive material showing developments in the South, and the major pronouncements and reports of activities which would furnish leads to the labor movement as to what it can do, that there are constructive forces at work, or that other important groups or status persons are willing to accept or work for change.

7) A source of consultation, to union program people and human relations officials working with unions, on Southern developments and possible implications for the labor movement.

8) Notifying national labor civil rights leadership of happenings involving their membership or in which they should have some interest when these incidents come to SRC's attention.

Let me amplify my statement in the first paragraph regarding things SRC could not do. It would be unrealistic to expect a steady on-going labor program or the ability to make a special extensive labor program push. This limitation is for two main reasons: a) there is not sufficient staff, or specialized staff, and b) SRC must keep its focus on a broad range of

developments and determine for itself what activities are meaningful, which are relatively better, and those which it can competently undertake. This would preclude advance commitment on priorities or response to any given emergency that might arise involving the labor movement.

However, the eight points above are activities which can be on-going in nature, which I think it is safe to assume SRC will perform, which will continue to keep SRC close to the labor movement, and for which it now receives no special support.

Certainly I cannot determine the worth of these activities relative to other uses that you see for the resources at your disposal. I do present them, however, as functions which I feel are deserving of support. I would not think two thousand dollars too much to put in this effort, but the equities will have to be decided by you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

To: ~~Memo to~~ The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, c/o Harold C. Fleming, Director.

From: Emory F. Via, former Labor Consultant to SRC.

Re: The termination of the labor program at the end of 1958 and some evaluative comments.

Date: January 2, 1959

~~Some~~ Questions ~~was~~ were raised during the annual meeting in November regarding the termination of the labor program which indicated the possibility of confusion. The meeting requested that ~~some~~ a report be made to the January meeting of the Executive Committee. This memo will ~~briefly~~ put forth some of my ~~own~~ views on ~~this~~ these matters.

First, let me say that I am sorry to not be in attendance at your meeting. I greatly appreciate the opportunity which I have had during the last two years to work under your general supervision and under the immediate direction of Harold Fleming. The experience was of immense value to me personally and professionally, and it gave me a much desired opportunity to work actively on those serious concerns which all of us share ~~in common~~.

Secondly, in the arrangemants which were made at the time of termination, the understandings regarding what SRC could do as labor program without ~~a really~~ specialized effort, and as to a very general evaluation of the labor program there was no disagreement between ~~me,~~ Harold Fleming, ~~and~~ Ben Segal and me. I think that this point is abundantly clear, but I well know that any leaving, especially on ~~relative~~ short notice, is likely to leave questions unanswered and to raise others. ~~if not raise speculations.~~

You will recall that provision was made for the position of labor consultant in the Council's program when it was learned that through Ben Segal, then Trade Union Consultant to the Fund for the Republic, funds could be supplied for salary for nine months. SRC was to be responsible for overhead ~~expn~~ costs and the expenses of travel, etc. ~~and other functions of the~~ This arrangement was extended beyond the original nine month period; in the meantime Segal's program had become known as the Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights. He received part support from the Fund for the Republic and other support from contributing unions. During 1958 we knew

~~that~~

that the salary would continue through that year and for the ~~cl~~ calendar year 1959. ~~In the meantime~~ However, the money ~~that was~~ was available ~~was clearly earmarked~~ with the understanding that the person involved would be Emory Via and the organizational tie-in would be with the Southern Regional Council. This ~~was the understanding of the~~ is how the arrangement was understood by the Council's staff, Ben Segal and the union staffers responsible for the donation of the money ~~in the first place~~. This was no more than a "down the line" safeguard of the kind of program and personnel originally envisioned. ~~And this~~ It seems a small price to pay ~~when one considers~~ considering the uniqueness of the set-up and the ~~fact that there was never and occasion of friction nor was there ever any~~ lack of friction or interference with the day-to-day direction of the labor program ~~of the SRC~~ which was in the hands of the ~~SRC~~ SRC staff.

The decision to leave the Council was mine. It was ~~motivated~~ caused by pressing practical considerations, personal and family in nature, accompanied by an outstanding job offer. It was a decision which had the personal concurrence of Harold Fleming and Ben Segal, in spite of the inconveneince ~~which~~ incurred by breaking our arrangements ~~would incur~~. I am sure that each of us has had occassion to regret that we could not continue the program as it was. As for me, I am writing ~~this with the~~ as the thermometer plummeting to ten below zero -- cause suffienct unto itself for second thoughts.

I think it clear and fair that the money earmarked for my salary be returned to the donor. From Ben Segal's point of view it was necessary. It reflects ~~not one bit of~~ no disatisfaction with the Council; ~~the contrary is continuously attested to~~ indeed, the contrary is attested to continuously. Segal, because he felt the circumstances and SRC's potential for continuing labor program justified it, ~~did~~ released two thousand dollars of the earmarked funds to ~~remain with~~ the Council. Please see my proposal, by letter to him, justifying this move.

The Executive Committee may wish to recall that at one time it ~~did vote~~ voted to continue the labor program in case the salary support ~~of the~~ was ~~withdrawn~~ terminated. No specifications as to salary, job description, etc., were given, I believe. Also, I feel sure that this

~~was action~~

was action taken when It was thought that the arrangement might be terminated, or that there might be a lag, at the end of the original nine months. Whether ~~or not~~ a particular person was thought ~~of~~ as filling the position is a matter that rests with you. ~~only you can say.~~

Let me say two things regarding continuing the program at this time. First, ~~there have been some rather~~ fairly extensive searches have been made for persons to do race relations work with unions in the South. ~~There has been ////// no success in these~~ There have been efforts with no success. ~~thus far~~. As of now, I know ~~one or two~~ of persons ~~that I beleive would be most~~ quite worthy of consideration but they are not actually available. ~~avialble for the job~~. Secondly, I would raise the question of the ~~is the~~ role of labor consultant being somewhat ~~over-specialization~~ for the Council at this time in the light of ~~considering~~ ~~its other staff needs and its total program~~ total program and staff needs. Perhaps my opinion that it is too specialized ~~I beleive the answer to this is yes. It~~ is borne out in part by the ~~fairly heavy~~ frequent general responibilites and program activities which I assumed. ~~even while acting as a specialist~~. This was almost unavoidable. I do feel that the field services of the Council need to be strengthened in a number of ways, but I doubt that adding specialists to that portion of the staff is the remedy.

Now a few words as to evaluation. I am ~~still~~ now convinced that SRC provided the very best base from which a labor program could be conducted. It ~~is~~ was the only program in the region working with labor across the board on racial problems, ~~and~~ not limited to any one union nor spread so thin as to be responsible for territory outside of the South. The need was there and no official union or private channel other than the combination that led to the SRC program was able to start any sizeable activity. From the start the labor program consisted of ~~////~~ four main efforts: 1) educational activites directed towards union groups for their increased understanding of how race relations affect them, the background of Southern problems, ~~development~~, the need for equality in job opportunity, the fundamentals in all aspects of desegrgation, and the development of a positive attitude and role for Southern unions and unionists; 2) fact-finding relative to the patterns in racial relations in

Southern unions, the trouble spots, the areas of progress, the use of racial issues against unions, and related matters; 3) liason between unions and those agencies and persons working in the field of race relations — most importantly SRC and the State groups, but this function extended to many others; and 4) consulatation with unions or their leaders in formal and informal ways to aid them in meeting both general and specific problems arising because of racial relations in union or community.

A good bit of the above was aimed at opening up the forum for discussion of these problems in appropriate union circles and under proper circumstances. The two years of operation of the labor program saw the atmosphere change in official labor circles in the South from one where racial issues were to be dodged at all costs to one where frequent program efforts are aimed directly at these problems. The change can not be all creditied to SRC's labor program, but this was a major theme in public and private appearances, and we were able to demonstrate to union groups in most of the Southern states and to special groups of a number of international union heads these problems could be approached successfully. During the two years a heavy emphasis was put on the need to solve the fundamental problem of equality of employment; such an emphasis has not been known since the earlier union days in the South when there was a widespread preaching of the doctrine of "equal pay for equal work"; on this round, the emphasis has come down hard on providing, allowing, and working for equal work. A union-type rationale was presented which now has had a wide hearing. There is no way to evaluate its effect, but if prior preparation can contribute anything, then I think that the Council can take some pride in the fact that it has helped bring this message in detail to some two thousand primary and secondary leaders of the labor movement in the South. Of course many more persons in student groups, church groups, and other groups heard a good bit of this same line of reasoning plus interpretations of labor's role in race relations and in the South as part of a general view of the Southern scene. One specific may show what from my point of view indicates the success of the labor program. This past November, the labor consultant after two years of contact with the S.C. state labor leadership was invited in to their official(and 2nd annual) educational institute. There were two

main courses, one of which was Southern Social Problems which was handled by the ~~the~~ labor consultant; the other , Southern Economic problems, also contained a great deal ~~good bit~~ of information directly pertinent to the area of race relations which had been developed in cooperation with the labor consultant. ~~//~~ In the matter of fact finding, information on union practices and problems of employment have been supplied to unions themselves, concerned union leaders, some segments of the press, to responsible writers ~~authors~~, and to foreign visitors. One fairly extensive survey was done in the area of federal government employment practices in Southern cities ~~states~~; much of this information should appear soon in a book ~~in the near in book form~~ by an author with whom SRC has had other occasions to cooperate.

Consultations have varied from quite informal interviews to advice to a state body on the establishment ~~setup~~ and operation of a civil rights committee -- a new animal to Southern Labor -- to advice on the integregation of separate locals, and the problem of disciplining or taking other action where ~~against~~ locals have ~~which~~ failed to comply with national standards in the matter of open membership. Liason work has extended to such good freinds of the council as the AFSC, ADL, Urban League and the NAACP. About ~~Actually nearly~~ forty organizations or their represntatives have been worked with in this function of the labor program.

* Reference to my first annual report, which was not distributed to ~~the~~ you, will give a ~~some~~ clearer idea of the extent of the labor program and some ~~quantitative~~ quantification ~~the kinds of statistics that~~ of the effort ~~might be drawn from it~~. Attached, also, is ~~are~~ a sampling of letters that ~~would either~~ indicate ~~some of the kinds of~~ the kinds of activities performed or the responses received. ~~from actual labor programs.~~ I would welcome an even closer look at into various phases of the program; ~~some of the at the things done; I think~~ It might be of ~~a~~ some value in understanding what staff activity is like into ongoing program even to SRC's committee, which is keyed to better than most, ~~but I think it behooves me to raise a cautionary note, which is that other programs of the Council do not get an opportunity to "make their case" or to report in detail, so do not let your exposure to one program color your judgment or awareness of other programs which have had no occasion for review.~~

Again my appreciation for the opportunity to work. Please call on me for any clarifications that may ~~might~~ be needed, and for any further service which I can render to you. ~~I wish for you personally, // as a Council , and for our South that the coming year will be one of peace and of democratic progress. // Margerets and my hearts are still filled with // sadness at leaving you and our beloved region; the time never seemed less ripe. We continue to wish you~~

~~and democratic progress~~s. Margaret's and my hearts are still filled with sadness from leaving you and our beloved region; the time never seemed less ripe. We wish for you the richly deserved blessings of peace and democratic progress for the coming year. Our sense of personal frustration over our leaving is greatly eased because you and the Council's staff are there and at work. May God bless you.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

RECEIVED JAN 6 1958

January 4, 1959

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the "report" to the Executive Committee. Sorry it is so rough. If you feel greatly grieved by anything therein, exercise your editorial rights. When respectable copies are made, would you send one to me and to Ben. The sooner the better.

If this does not fill the ticket, let me know. I can't say for sure if I will get any supplementary materials to you for the benefit of anyone who feels the urge to look further into labor program affairs. Some items should be available, just to be referred to as a part of the report, not to actually be read in detail. These include: a copy of my first annual report, especially the two last pages of "statistics"; my letter to Ben setting out what we thought SRC would continue to do in a labor program; my last informal report to Ben evaluating race relations in unions in a general way. I may also send along copies of commendatory letters which I intend for scrap book and would like to have returned.

The V-W's engine turned over this morning but the car wouldn't budge; brakes frozen, steering geer, gearshift, etc. all locked with stiffened warm weather lubricants.

"Honorable Remington" is behaving miserably. My first class Tuesday night is 200 miles North.

Please give my regards around the office; I came back in on Christmas eve and on the day after, but at times when no one else was around. Christmas went real well for us even though I ended up on the bushed side.

Let me know if I left problems in my wake about which I can do anything.

I had New Years eve at Senator Proxmire's withabout a dozen others including Demo. party bigs. Still need that personal intorduction to the Governor. Tell FBR that the familiar form of address for the Senator is "Prox" -- wouldn't want him to goof by going around talking about "Bill". On the whole things look good here but I'm still more downcast than inspired. Plainly miss you, shop, et al.

Best regards in current struggles,

Tony

March 11, 1960

Mr. Victor I. Howery
Mr. L. K. Northwood
University of Washington
School of Social Work
Seattle 5, Washington

Dear Messrs. Howery and Northwood:

I should have written you before now regarding your questionnaires on intergroup aspects of housing in Atlanta.

Regrettably, I am neither enough of a specialist in this field, nor deeply enough involved in Atlanta's housing activities to complete the questionnaires properly. Reading them over, it did occur to me that many of the questions concern matters of record or established fact that need be answered only once for a given community. For information and assessment of this kind in Atlanta, we rely mainly on Robert A. Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League, with whom I am sure you are in touch. Under the circumstances, I am afraid I can do no more than let Mr. Thompson have my proxy.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Robert A. Thompson

LWD + PA - What do you suggest we do with this? (Easy, easy.)
HCF

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
SEATTLE 5

February 17, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This letter accompanies a two-part questionnaire which we are asking you to fill out and return by March 15. As you will see, it will require two hours or more of your time. However, we feel that you will agree with us that this task should be accomplished in order to gain knowledge which will be of great use to those interested in the housing of minorities.

We have sent this questionnaire to about 175 human relations researchers and experts in twenty large cities throughout the nation, or to other persons with special interest and knowledge of the subject. The survey is one technique by which we are collecting information about programs to promote residential desegregation, including an assessment of urban redevelopment activity and the programs of intergroup, housing and social work agencies.

The information returned by the survey will be digested and published in a brief report, prepared by the School of Social Work and the Seattle Urban League. We will be happy to send you a copy of the report if you would like one.

Later the findings will become part of a book co-authored by sociologists, social workers and human relations experts. Among the co-authors are: Helen Amerman, Dan Anthony, Herbert Aurbach, Tom Blair, Leonard Blumberg, Butler Jones, Rose Hum Lee, Robert O'Brien, Ed Shaffer, Marvin Sussman.

We will greatly appreciate your help in this worthwhile enterprise. At the same time, we want to assure you that your name will not be identified with the information which you provide in the questionnaire.

We are planning to begin the analysis of the returns from the questionnaire by March 15. We hope you will be able to help us to keep this date.

Cordially yours,

Victor I. Howery
Victor I. Howery
Dean

L. K. Northwood
L. K. Northwood
Study Director

Enclosure

February 16, 1965

Mr. Donald R. Ellegood
Director
University of Washington Press
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Mr. Ellegood:

I have read thoroughly the page proofs of Urban Desegregation--Negro Pioneers and Their White Neighbors, by Lawrence K. Northwood and Ernest A. T. Barth. It was of special interest to me, since I am working currently on a survey of housing patterns in Atlanta.

Professors Northwood and Barth have studied a vital, topical problem, and have handled it commendably. However, I feel that this particular study is too limited in scope to be of general interest and utility within the South. In our region, where the Negro portion of our larger central cities usually exceeds one-third and is rapidly on the way to becoming one-half, token integration of formerly all-white middle-class and upper-class neighborhoods by single non-white families is not a crucial facet of "the housing problem."

Although the Southern Regional Council will not distribute this book in quantity, we shall certainly add one or more final copies to our reference library,

and we shall, where it is appropriate, recommend it to persons and organizations who request bibliographical information on housing.

Incidentally, I found several "typos" in the course of my reviewing. I realize that I was reading Uncorrected page proofs, and that all of these must have been found and corrected by your staff. Nonetheless, I'll attach a list of these errors for your use--just in case.

Thank you for letting us review the book prior to publication.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm
Enclosure

University of Washington Press, Seattle, Washington 98105

BOOKS

January 28, 1965

VF - please reply

AIR MAIL

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are publishing in May an important study of URBAN DESEGREGATION--NEGRO PIONEERS AND THEIR WHITE NEIGHBORS, by Lawrence K. Northwood and Ernest A. T. Barth. I am sending you herewith an advance set of uncorrected page proofs of the book.

Because we think this book will have a considerable impact on the national civil rights scene, particularly in the most crucial area of equal opportunity in housing, we are most desirous in gaining for the book the widest possible distribution. If the Southern Regional Council would buy the book in a large quantity, before it goes on press, for complimentary distribution throughout the South, we could offer it to you at a 50 per cent discount off the list price of $3.95. We would also be most grateful for any comments on the book which might be used for promotional purposes, and for any help you can give us in publicizing the book on publication.

I look forward to hearing from you as soon as you have had a chance to review the book.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

D R Ellegood

Donald R. Ellegood
Director

DRE/baa

Enclosure

P.S. One of the readers of the manuscript was Staige D. Blackford. Another enthusiastic reader was James McBride Dabbs.

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

RECEIVED
SEP 2
Southern Regional Council

August 27, 1953

George Mitchell and Harold Fleming
Southern Reginal Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George and Harold:

You will note from various newspaper sources that the American Federation of Teachers - AF of L has at last decided not to tolerate segregated locals any longer. In case the Atlanta papers did not carry a full story, I might refer you to the August 19th issue of the New York Times, page 31. This is a long over due rule, and I personally feel that it is one of great importance to precede the intergration of southern schools themselves.

Unfortunately there is some indication that the Atlanta Local being one of the strongest in the south, and one of the strong locals nationally, may not see fit to go along with the ruling of the convention body. In such a case they would be eventually dropped from the AFT. However, there are those of us who hope that the Atlanta people can see their way to taking an immediate step to gain an intergrated local.

It would seem to me that two steps would be advisable. One would be to reach Negro teachers who would apply for membership at this time and into the Atlanta Local, and the other is to contact members of the Atlanta Local to see that they will properly accept the idea and practice of intergration at this time.

One of the persons that certainly should be contacted is Emery Lunsford who is something of a wheel in the Atlanta Local and although a conservative person himself, he has at least rubbed up against some of the liberal element in the Teachers Union and is certainly quite familiar with the federation of teachers procedure history and present ruling- It would seem to me also that some of the high school teachers who worked quietly with the Urban League to see that interested students had an opportunity to participate in inter-racial activities, might be good persons to contact.

I believe Harold will recall at least visiting one or two schools and talking on the subject of Human Relations in the south. You will perhaps want to judge what the roll of Mr. Harper and his organization would be in any moves that you made.

Please pardon this "trans-plant" putting his nose into your affairs, but I have a great interest in seeing something constructive and worth while come out of the Atlanta Teachers Local if it is at all possible. I feel that there must be enough good elements in that local to see that the National Unions Convention's action is put into practice if they are properly encouraged and supported.

Best wishes to all and if there is any way that you feel that contact with the National Offices will be helpful it may be that I can give you some aid in that regard since the National headquarters are here in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Field Program Leader

Copy sent to:

Mrs. Grace Hamilton &
Mr. Bob Tompson
Atlanta Urban League

EFV:ac
rcoeu

October 29, 1953

Mr Emory F Via
Field Program Leader
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College of Chicago
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr Via:

Dr George Mitchell is out of the city for a few days. When he returns your letter of October 23, 1953 will have his attention.

Sincerely yours

Secretary to Dr Mitchell

t

October 30, 1953

Mr Emory F Via
Field Program Leader
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College of Chicago
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Emory:

I know slightly Mr Robert Blakely who is next to the last man on your list. I have written him privately about what a good egg you are.

I think your application is good and I think you will get the award.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 30, 1953

Mr Robert J Blakely
Program Director
The Fund for Adult Education
The Ford Foundation
655 Madison Avenue
New York, N Y

Dear Mr Blakely:

A young man named Emory Via at Roosevelt College of Chicago has applied to your group for a study grant. He has sent my name in as a reference and I daresay in due time I will be asked to say what I think.

About as able and promising young man as appears. Son of a Methodist minister in the western part of Virginia. Nowadays a Quaker. Married to a Quaker girl who is an artist. Ran by main strength a workers' education program in Atlanta for a couple of years and when the money gave out went up to Roosevelt College where he does still a workers' education job.

No fanaticism except sincerity. Pleasant personality, determination, business-like qualities, competence.

You will hardly find anyone who will reflect more credit on your purposes than Emory Via.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

October 29, 1953

Mr Emory F Via
Field Program Leader
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College of Chicago
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Mr Via:

Dr George Mitchell is out of the city for a few days. When he returns your letter of October 23, 1953 will have his attention.

Sincerely yours

Secretary to Dr Mitchell

t

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

October 23, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 29
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have submitted your name to the Fund for Adult Education's Committee on Awards as a reference. I am enclosing several statements indicating the nature of the award I am interested in, my reasons for wanting the award, the Committee's basis for selection and a list of the members of the Committee.

Although the formalities of the Committee's procedure do not require a response from you until (and if) it is solicited, I would welcome your suggestions as to the most effective way to back my application. If you feel personally that a letter to the Committee or to any of its members would be helpful it would meet with my approval.

I do feel strongly that this award is one which I would like to have and one that would be helpful to me and my work.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Field Program Leader

In the future, I will either lend my interest in grants or else get a new list of references. This is a tentative though not firm proposal. The best to you and family,

Emory

EFV:ac
rcoeu
enc.

Excerpt from:

ANNOUNCEMENT OF PROGRAM OF STUDY GRANTS IN ADULT EDUCATION

Selection

Selection of candidates for awards in the responsibility of the National Committe on Study Grants.

The following criteria will guide in the selection of candidates. Choice among applicants will be made in terms of their rating on all three of the criteria.

1. His or her motivation for seeking the training grant should be, chiefly, to promote the ideals of a free society and, more specifically, to advance liberal adult education.
2. He or she should be, or show the potentiality for becoming, a good example of the liberally educated person.
3. He or she should have, or have the potentiality of acquiring, the skills in personal and group relationships essential for leadership in adult education.

In addition, the Committee will consider the individual's possibilities of putting his training to use.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON STUDY GRANTS

Chairman, Ralph N. Campbell
Director of Extension, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University

Leland P. Bradford
Director, Division of Adult Education Services, National Education Association

Paul L. Essert
Executive Officer, Institue of Adult Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Cyril O. Houle
Professor of Education, The University of Chicago

Joseph L. Matthews
In Charge, Educational Research Section, Extension Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Wilbur C. Munnecke
Vice President and Business Manager,
The Chicago Sun-Times

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON STUDY GRANTS (con't)

John B. Schwertman
Director, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults

Paul H. Sheats
Associate Director, University Extension, University of California at Los Angeles

Everett J. Soop
Director, Extension Service, University of Michigan

Mrs. Grace T. Stevenson
Associate Executive Secretary, American Library Association

Program Director, Robert J. Blakely
Manager, Central Region Office, The Fund for Adult Education

- - - - - - - -

Executive Secretary, Ronald Shilen
The Fund for Adult Education

#10 Prospect:

It has long been my concern that more effective political education is not carried on for adults in the United States. In some special ways this lack is particularly apparent in labor education. Political education in its broadest sense needs to be astute in terms of practical politics, but also concerned with basic principles and with the practical and academic side of the structure and function of government. We at times get an imbalance of "pressure" political education as against broad understanding of the function of government, the ways of making structure work, and the adherence to principles.

It seems to me that a deeper level of instruction in "political science" can be achieved, and that this is a legitimate and necessary function of adult education in its attempt to educate for a better society - and this last is interpreted broadly. This is one of the content areas in which adult education must get increasingly involved.

Six years of work in nearly all aspects of labor education ~~have~~ has given me some grasp on the techniques, methods, and problems of labor education and of adult education in general. My greatest need is to deepen my own knowledge, and in some sense, to specialize. Beyond a certain elementary point, even labor education demands specialized knowledge. Such knowledge at this time can most effectively be put to use by persons who know the field of labor education, who understand and have a real sympathy for the union movement, and who can not only relate their knowledge to the union movement and other groups and disciplines but who can effectively teach adults.

Although I have been doing administrative work for the past year, I prefer the teaching situation. I feel that I have already demonstrated certain skills in teaching. It seems certain that the significant gains to be made in broader and more liberalized labor education will come from persons who are equipped to do the job both substantively and in their relationship to this growing movement.

The proposed study program will equip me to function more adequately in the areas outlined above, make me better prepared to teach and more acceptable as a teacher, and put me in a position to encourage and develop meaningful programs in political science, the social sciences generally, and even into broader fields. There is a certain "natural" interest in political science in the labor movement. As it is taught more adequately doors will be opened not only in this field but in others. It is at this point and for these reasons that I would like to better prepare myself.

I believe that my past work experience fully identifies me with the labor education movement. The opportunities offered me even during my last two jobs would lead me to believe that I will continue to have a place to work in this field when my study period is over.

THE FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION
ESTABLISHED BY THE FORD FOUNDATION
141 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD
CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS

HEADQUARTERS
914 EAST GREEN STREET
PASADENA 1, CALIFORNIA

December 3, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 4
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter concerning Emory Via. Mr. Via's application is for a grant which would begin after March 1. Consequently he would be considered by our national committee during the February meeting. Your letter will be available for the committee at that time.

Your letter gives me a phrase which I shall remember -- "No fanaticism except sincerity."

Cordially,

R. J. Blakely mh.
R. J. Blakely, Manager
Central Region Office

RJB:ma

April 19, 1954

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Emory:

T'other day at Macon I had the pleasure of sitting by Margaret's Mother at a supper meeting for the Georgia Interracial Committee, and heard also some conversation from her Father. I did my best to raise to new heights the esteem in which thee is held as a son-in-law.

Mrs. Johnson said your fellowship came through for which I am glad. I must get to Chicago, or you two here, to catch up.

Sincerely, and thanks for letter,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

April 16, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George, et. al.:

Congratulations many times over and best wishes for a successful, expanded Council program. Margaret joins me in wishing you our sincerest best in the big task of organizing a new and larger program.

The South and the nation will surely benefit.

I am glad the Fund for the Republic finally showed such good sense and hope that they will again show some good money.

Sincerely yours,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Field Program Leader
Labor Education Division

EFV:sm
rcoeu

RECEIVED
APR 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

May 19, 1954

Dear Harold,

Its amazing how in the light of rapidly changing and dramatic events that the line can remain so stalid, so stable, so much the same.

With the expanded budget, does Popham begin to get a cut?

For all the shouting, there has been many a moment of quiet reflection in the Via household as to the work that still needs to be done.

In many ways we regret not being below the line to not just taste, but to bear some of the brunt of this particular victory.

I hope that from somewhere you and the Council can find not just the ability for the job but new joy in your work.

Sincerely,

Emory Via

228

July 8, 1954

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Emory:

Many thanks for the clippings you have been sending us. They are most helpful since otherwise we would not see them. We are not faring too well at the hands of the Georgia press — or Georgia politicians!

Glad to know about Mike Stuart. We will look forward to meeting him and will ply him with all the information we can.

All best wishes to you and Margaret.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/eab

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

7/2/54

Harold:

Sure hope Southern press coverage is also on the increase.

Sometime soon, our Mike Stuart, M.P., Labor Party Whip (one of about 12), and past Asst. Sect. of War will be in Atlanta. He is a friend of Ben Segal. He has George's name and yours. His interests are educational and governmental structure. He particularly looks for help in Atlanta on the effects of de-segregation.

Best wishes to all there.

Emory

September 9, 1954

Mr. Emory Via
Labor Education Division
Roosevelt College
430 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 5, Illinois

Dear Emory:

I ask a kind service of you and Margaret. Though Margaret these days must be staying close to home!

This new little pamphlet, Answers for Action, you doubtless have seen. It is going great guns in Church groups. I have never been able to get the new Chairman of the National Baptist Convention to come to life on the subject. He doesn't answer my letters and nothing happens. I have written him as enclosed.

Nothing succeeds like a personal visit.

Would you be so very kind as to go and see him and tell him about the Council and get him to work out a way to get it circulated within his Church? Truth is, he ought to buy a thousand or three thousand copies, and mail it out at least to all his Southern Church officials. It has been shown that one of the very best ways to get these discussion groups going is for some leading Negro people to approach the white people and ask for them. Of course I don't care to say this to Mr. Jackson.

I know that you are very busy, but do try to get to see Jackson and put something of the Via energy into it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls:
cc: ltr to Mr. Jackson
Answers for Action

Ack 6-3-55

1221 E. 58th St.
Chicago 37, Ill.

May 28, 1955

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Margaret, David, and I hope to be in Atlanta about June 14th (Flag Day). Although we will spend some time in Macon, I plan to have about five or six days in Atlanta.

I will be attending to a piece of academic business necessary to the process of acquiring a Master's degree. Inasmuch as my thesis will center around that infamous case of South vs Peters, I hope to get a certain amount of direct and indirect help from you. In general my thesis will be a case study illuminating the doctrine of judicial review regarding political questions.

There are several specific ways in which you can be of help to me.

1) If it violates no organizational rules, I would like to have a look-see at the SRC clip files.
2) If you or George, and I will write him separately, could ~~get~~ make the Mackey-Kytle report available, it would be a help.
3) I would like to have about an hour's conference with you at the beginning and end of my week of nosying around Atlanta.
4) Any suggestions of persons to see, documents to read, or ideas to be considered would be much appreciated.

All of this is predicated on the expectation that you will be in Atlanta when I am there and will not dodge this measure of friendly assistance.

Margaret joins me in wishing you, Jane, and Gary the best and request that you give other friends on the staff fair warning of our arrival. It will be good to see you.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV:sm

October 21, 1955

Mr. Emory Via
1221 East Fifty-Eighth Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Emory:

Ben Segal is promoting an idea to crack loose enough money for SRC to have on its staff a labor education guy who could educate the labor unions in the South on civil rights. I have been doing the job left-handedly, and I cut my left hand.

I told Ben that if he would crack loose some money, you were the guy to do the job.

What are your circumstances, and how long are you tied up on your fellowship deal.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

January 28, 1956

Mr. Emory F. Via
1221 E. 58th Street
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Emory:

A hasty note to let you know that both George Mitchell and Josephine Wilkins give their approval for the use of the proposed exeerpts from the Kytle-Mackay report.

Your citation is approved with the addition of the phrase "... auspices of a Committee of Georgia Citizens, Atlanta."

Note the correct spelling of Blanton Fortson.

In ~~an~~ the interview with Ira Butt, George suggests that you use a blank in place of the key word of the epithet beginning "Lyin'"

The postcard duly signed will be mailed to you Monday.

Congratulations on ~~lining~~ winding up the job and best regards to you and Margaret.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mef

Harold Fleming
S R C — Atlanta

3/6/57

Dear Harold:

At long last the return of the material; thanks for them and again for the very great help which you and S.R.C. made available to me in my work on the thesis. That much is all done now.

Our best regards to staff and to Jane & Gary. We are forced to think of you often, but do so at many other times as well. Our best wishes in all personal & professional matters.

We expect to be at the University of Chicago until September; plans beyond that point are uncertain.

Sincerely,

Emory

EMORY VIA

November 26, 1956
Durham, North Carolin
Malbourne Hotel

To: Harold Fleming and Ben Segal

Re: Emory Via's ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ travel schedule and return to Atlanta

Frankly there is too much playing by ear to tell where I will be day by day. Thus far I have hit only Charlotte, Greensboro, and Durham -- a few other cities have been "covered" by persons in one of the three mentioned. I still plan to go to Columbia, Rock Hill, Spartanburg, and perhaps to Charelston. In all probability I will also stop in Charlotte again.

In any event I will be in Atlanta on Sunday, December 2nd. And I expect that I will arrive in Atlanta on Saturday.

Perhaps I s hould call Harold on Thursday to see if there is anything I need to know in advance; in any case I would like to talk with one of you before seeing Jerry Ziegler of the American Foundation for Political Education on Sunday.

Tartt Bell did not really have the kind of short run iopening that would suit my condition. The civil liberties conference would take about three months and he is looking for "volunteers" to get it going. His other civil liberties plan would be a conference and follow up with high school age group, but this would take about six months, exclusively in N.C. and working out of Greensboro. I think that they have a good idea, but that I should not attempt to take it on.

The survey is going slowly; union situation here, as you know, is some kinna tough. Race situation in unions is , as usual, mixed. By which one means mixed and unmixed. Community attitudes in Charlotte and Greensboro stuck me as good.

Emory

December 7, 1956

Mr. Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Consultant
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Ben:

This is to summarize the mutual understanding arrived at in the conversations between you and Emory Via and myself.

We agreed that Emory will assume duties as a liaison person with organized labor in the South about the first of the year, and that he will serve in that capacity until about September 1, 1957. His salary, at the annual rate of $6,500, will be paid by you through some direct arrangement to be devised by the two of you, in which the Southern Regional Council will not figure. The Council will be responsible for the contingency of travel expenses up to $2,000; if it develops that more funds are needed for travel, that matter will be worked out among us when the time comes.

Emory will be based at the Council's office in Atlanta and will look to the Council for day to day direction and decisions pertaining to his work. His employee status will be governed by the rules in force for Southern Regional Council staff. His duties may be generally defined as follows:

1) Through field work, interviews, and correspondence, to further cooperative relationships between organized labor in the South and other agencies, religious and professional, concerned with human relations in the region.

2) To serve as a resource person to labor groups in conferences, workshops, institutes, and the like, concerned with human relations matters.

3) To keep the Southern Regional Council, the Trade Union Consultant to the Fund for the Republic, and appropriate labor leadership informed of significant race relations developments within the Southern labor movement.

Mr. Benjamin Segal December 7, 1956

Emory would like to assume his duties on the first of January, subject to your approval.

This letter expresses Emory's understanding of our agreement as well as my own. Please let me know if you feel that there are things we should amend or add.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Emory Via

EFV

May 29, 1957

The U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Please send me one copy of The Federal Budget in Brief - Fiscal Year, 1957, published by the Bureau of the Budget. I am enclosing .25¢ in stamps to cover the cost of this item. I would also like to obtain a copy of The American Workers Fact Book, 1956, published by the Department of Labor. If there is a charge for the Fact Book please bill me, or if this is not possible, please let me know the amount per single copy.

Please send both publications to me in care of the following address:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Yours truly,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:mm
Enclosure

June 6, 1957

HCF
RA
CJ

A more complete schedule for Emory:

Thursday, June 6 - Charlotte & Greensboro, N. C.

Friday - Sunday - Washington, D. C.

Monday - Richmond, Virginia

Tuesday,-Charlottesville, Va.

Wednesday - North Carolina

Thursday -

Friday, June 14 - Return to Atlanta

June 5, 1957

HCF ✓
RA
CJ

Emory's schedule for the next week is indefinite; he'll be in various cities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, and also in Washington, D.C.

He can be contacted on Friday morning, June 7th, c/o Ben Segal at the Fund for the Republic in Washington. He should be there over the week-end, through Monday. If it's necessary to reach him before that time, you might try the office of Tartt Bell, American Friends Service Committee, High Point, North Carolina; or, if an extreme emergency arises, he does plan to visit ~~a~~ the state affiliates in each of the above states (I believe), and perhaps calls to them might help in tracking him down.

MM

EFV

Expenses for Emory F. Via, Southern Regional Council,

in connection with ICWU Labor School at Lake Junaluska,

May 19th through May 24th.

Transportation @ .08¢ per mile
for roundtrip of 420 miles - - - - - - - $33.60

Meals - 3 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 3.50
Total of Expenses - - - - - - - - - $37.10

Honorarium - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - $100.00

_____
(signed)

_____
(date)

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
FLORENCE B. IRVING, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAdson 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

For Ltr.
See Labor
Geo. Meany

July 26, 1957

Memorandum

To: Emory Via

From: Harold C. Fleming HCF

:

Here's a fine letter from George Meany. I have sent thermofax copies to the following:

1. Marion A. Wright
2. Rufus E. Clement
3. Paul Christopher
4. Josephine Wilkins
5. Paul Williams
6. Ben Segal
7. Dave Freeman
8. Dean Brazeal
9. John Hope
10. Max Delson

Do you have suggestions about further use?

When you have finished with the letter, pass it on to Paul so that he can note it for our commendation file before it is regularly filed.

:

January 17, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Mrs. Ruth House Alexander

From: Emory F. Via

Re: Office Equipment

Required, for the more efficient operation of the Labor Consultant's "department," the following items, PLEASE

Two 5' x 3' card files (approx. each 1 ft. long)

250 tabs for index cards - as attached sample, but white preferred to red.

EFV - FILE COPY

January 17, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Emory F. Via

Re: Negro Teachers and Desegregation

This memo is in answer to your request for ideas relative to the problems of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. I am not conversant with the existing studies in this field, but I would guess that there are problems which have not received satisfactory attention. Some of these problems are matters of attitude, others are more in the nature of relating more readily obtainable factual information to this specific problem. Here are a few categorized comments which are meant to be suggestive:

I School Administrators.

a) To what do they respond in making their decisions regarding problems of teacher integration: their own personal prejudices, community fears, supervisors, policy boards, regard for their professional standing, some particular group affiliation, or a particular set of values (e.g. strong adherence to democratic ideals, or to the "mandates" of the education profession)?

b) Administrative dodges to the proper use of Negro teachers.

c) Relate points (a) and (b) to the policy or political bodies responsible for the educational system.

II Negro Teacher Problems.

a) A report of the activities, materials, or personal contacts, that aided in the positive adjustment to a desegregated situation.

b) Teacher age, recency of training, and type of training, relative to the kind of adaptation to the desegregated situation.

c) Character of contacts with whites prior to desegregation as a key to successful participation in an integrated system.

d) The status of the Negro teacher in the Negro community once she is not identified with an all-Negro school. This assumes that Negro teachers generally occupy a high status position in their own communities and that white teachers generally occupy a much lower status in their communities.

e) How do the provisions for teacher tenure affect the placement of teachers in a desegregated system? Is tenure provided by law, contract, administrative decision, and is it guaranteed in part by a professional

association or union? If problems of tenure are to be considered I would urge that contact be made with the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and especially with their counsel, to get as broad an understanding as possible of the difficulties inherent in tenure problems even without the additional factor of desegregation.

III <u>White Teacher Problems</u>.

a) A report of the activities, materials, or personal contacts, that aided in the positive adjustment to a desegregated situation.

b) Teacher age, recency of training, and type of training, relative to the kind of adaptation to the desegregated situation.

c) Character of contacts with Negroes prior to desegregation as a key to successful participation in an integrated system.

d) The status of the white teacher in the white community once she is not identified with an all-white school. This assumes that white teachers generally occupy a much lower status position in their own communities than Negro teachers do in the Negro community.

e) How do the provisions for teacher tenure affect the placement of teachers in a desegregated system? Is tenure provided by law, contract, administrative decision, and is it guaranteed in part by a professional association or union?

IV <u>Problems with Parents</u>.

a) Attitudes of parents of white students under the Negro teacher, and vice versa.

b) The impact of scholastic competition when it becomes bi-racial. This might well be a point for some student attitude research.

V <u>Miscellaneous</u>.

a) Information on the "how" of desegregating faculties; relatively little attention, for instance, has been given to the problem of sending white faculty members to previously all-Negro schools.

b) Are there any indications toward possible federal or state programs or grants to subsidise the money loss or training needs during the transition period.

c) What information lacks, adherence to myths, etc. complicate the teacher's dealing with students of the other race? Is this reflected in such matters as compensatory behaviour, undue leniency and/or severity relative to the necessity for showing impartiality, for example?

"Kentucky is Successfully Integrating its Teachers" Report prepared by Kentucky Council on Human Relations.	New South April 1957
"Teacher Integration in St. Louis" By Margaret Dagen.	New South December 1955
"What of the Negro Teacher?"	The Harvard Crimson Special Supplement June 14, 1956
"Some Negro Teachers Favor School Segregation" Chapter 4 of "Jim Crow Schools on Trial" By Carl Rowan.	Reprinted from December 1953 Minneapolis Morning Tribune
"Desegregation at Work: Progress and Problems" By Henry Lee Moon.	The Nation December 18, 1954
"Balm for a Troubled Conscience" By Algo D. Henderson.	The Educational Record July 1954
"What Happens when Segregation Ends" By Cabell Phillips.	New York Times Magazine May 30, 1954
"Negro Teachers in 'Integrated' School Systems" By Paul Cooke and Inez Imogene Hairston.	The Delta Journal 1954
"Consider the Negro Teacher" By Nick Aaron Ford.	The New Republic April 15, 1957
"Let's Integrate Our Teachers" By Paul Simon.	The Christian Century February 20, 1957
"462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs"	Southern School News November 1956

It is my understanding that there is a report of some New Jersey experience following the adoption of their new constitution in 1950. I believe that this is the Thoms Rivers report.

It might be useful to refer to "Schools in Transition", "Citizens Guide to Desegregation", the annual ACLU report, AJC's most recent "The People Take the Lead", and "A Miracle of Social Adjustment."

Possible other sources for leads, unevaluated by me, are the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, 123 South Queen Street, Dover, Maryland, and Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary, Virginia Teachers' Association, Clay Street at 4th, Richmond 19, Virginia, whom I understand is also the national head of the Negro teachers' associations.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

Sat.
2/22/58

Dear Emory,

Here's a draft of the letter I propose to send to Meany, Reuther, and Dubinsky; also the reading file copy of my letter to Kehrer, mailed today. Typing as well as snow job by the exec director's own hand -- and on Washington's birthday, too, when one is supposed to be extra truthful.

If you feel up to any flyspecking, it will be welcome. In that case, suggest you call me at the office Monday. The audit won't be ready for a day or two, so any changes can be incorporated.

Special blessings on the Via household in a time of trouble.

Harold

ROUGH DRAFT

Dear Mr. (A) Meany, (B) Reuther, (C) Dubinsky:

In sending you the enclosed Annual Report and Audit of the Southern Regional Council, we want to express our warm thanks for the (A) AFL-CIO's (B) UAW's (C) ILGWU's important part in making these activities possible. We are also hopeful that you will feel the Council's performance merits your continued confidence and support in 1958.

This year we should like to ask the (A) AFL-CIO (B) UAW (C) ILGWU to consider increasing its contribution, which was (A) $3,000 (B) $1,000 (C) $500 in 1957, to (A) $5,000 (B) $2,000 (C) $1,000 in the current year. We are well aware that these are unusually demanding times for the cause of organized labor. But we believe that our common stake in the bitterly contested advancement of democracy in the South may justify this request for increased assistance.

The organized forces of bigotry, which oppose both the achievement of equal rights and the progress of the unions in the South, have at their disposal large sums of public as well as private funds. The Council, as a body of enlightened Southerners of both races, has a unique opportunity -- and responsibility -- to give voice and action to more constructive opinion in the region.

Despite the discouraging developments of the past year in race relations, desegregation has gained new footholds in the South. And the Council, we feel, has grown in outreach and effectiveness as the one Southwide organization working specifically for equal rights for all.

The enclosed reports on program and finances speak for themselves, and I will not prolong this letter unduly by a review of the year's activities. But we are particularly pleased that the year has strengthened our ties with labor and given us the means and opportunity to be of service to union leadership at various levels.

May I also take this occasion to express our appreciation for the personal leadership which you have given to the ideal of democracy (A only - at home and abroad)? It may be years before the full effect of this firm stand by the leadership of organized labor is generally recognized, but to some of us the meaning is already clear and heartening.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

(Make five extra blind copies of each.)

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

FBR ✓ (see attached) 3/11/58
HZF ✓
JZ ✓

What do we know about the "the world renowned" Los Angeles County Sheriff Training Center and their human relations courses?

They train their own (2,000 member force) and other municipalities of California and ~~other~~ foreign countries.

They will use Steelworkers film, The Burden of Truth — approved by Peter J. Pitchess, under-sheriff in charge of the sheriff force.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

EFV -

The Sheriffs office and the police force of L.A. are indeed well known. They published a good manual on handling mobs in interracial situations.

I made use of it in my memo to our state groups which covered use of police forces in tense situations.

FR.

EFV -

Don't know much about it MM is checking files.

JC.

TRADE UNION PROGRAM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS

1244 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director

STERLING 3-2194

June 18, 1958

Harold Fleming and Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold and Emory:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $11,520.92 to cover Emory's salary for 1958 and 1959. According to my figures, the check should cover his 1958 salary at the bi-monthly rate of $270.84, and also $8,000.00 for the year 1959.

Ck rha 6/19/58

I understand that this money will be earmarked specifically for Emory Via's work with the trade unions in the South.

Best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Ben Segal
Director

BS:ej
Check encl.

Supported by funds from Trade Unions and Foundations

MEMORANDUM June 27, 1958

TO: HCF
PA
RHA
B.COOK

Emory and Luleen will be at Fisk Institute on Race Relations from June 30 - July 5.

PA please open first class mail; call if anything important. Otherwise, I will check by phone with the office a couple of times during the week.

Signed: EMORY F. VIA

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

~~Hold for EFV~~

THE Daytona Plaza A CRAIG HOTEL
DAYTONA BEACH • FLORIDA

DIRECTLY ON THE WORLD'S MOST FAMOUS BEACH

9/15/58

Dear HTF:

Little notes along the way:

1) Senator Albert Gore is contemplating a major address making with positive noises regarding the question. This would be non-partisan endeavor, and since he is without opposition, it would be a conscious attempt to start political leadership on a more positive bent. He needs an opportunity to discuss the whole problem of approaches, etc. with a knowledgable type. I'm assured it can be arranged. I think it would be good program, but feel you are the guy to do it. More later if it gets tied down.

2) Viz Bassil, Pres. of La. Labor Council was offered Advisory Committee job. Shine was contact - mentioned that we suggested him. Viz gave very serious consideration, wanted it, but turned down because he felt he had his hands

fell in interpreting hot issues to labor as it is. He said that he would have accepted if he could have had a few months to prepare the way with La. Labor.

3) La. Labor Council is slated to get the Lane Bryant award for community service, for its work in Cameron following hurricane Audrey.

4) 5 State-presidents
5 Secty-treas
Several V. Pres.
3 top officers of local councils
1 asst. regional director
1 regional director

} are among those in attendance at Southern Labor School.

5) The water looks fine. Will try this afternoon if the rain holds up.

Love to all concerned professionals

Gene

P.S. The evaluation of Tri-State Labor School showed that for evening programs Southern Labor Problems rated higher than 1) Picnics 2) movies 3) Free Time. Whatayahadew.

Save this note for EV reference

Typed for EFV 11/18/58

Mr. and Mrs. Morris Abram

Mr. and Mrs. Harold C. Fleming

Mr. Ed Driscoll

Mr. Lamar Clements

Mr. Harrison McMains

Mr. and Mrs. Phil Shulhafer

Miss Rebecca Gershan

Mr. Art Levin

Mr. John Griffin

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Foster

Mr. and Mrs. Phil Hammer

Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick

Mr. Ed Cahill

Mrs. Luesta Knox

Mr. Cliff Hoffman

Miss Helen Bulland

Mr. Cullen Gosnell

Mr. and Mrs. Johnny Glustrom

Miss Margaret McDougell

Mr. and Mrs. I. E. Saporta

Miss Helen Coulborn

Mr. Richard Hocking

Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Mr. and Mrs. Richard Naimon

Mr. James Mackay

Mr. and Mrs. Ed Vinson

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December, 1958

The enclosed greeting also brings this announcement of my leaving the Southern Regional Council to accept a position with the School for Workers at the University of Wisconsin. It is with a real sense of sadness that I leave the South, its labor movement, and the Southern Regional Council - especially at this time. A number of practical reasons plus the unusually good opportunity at Wisconsin have caused me to make the change.

In the future please call on the Southern Regional Council for any information or service which they can supply you. Their interest in the welfare of labor as it faces both internal and community problems in attaining equality of opportunity for all Southerners is undiminished. And of course they continue to make an unparalleled contribution to the South during this time of facing anew the practices of democracy.

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

January 16, 1959

HCF
SRC
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atalanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Enclosed are three items. The first about Mrs. Nelson. I understand that Carrie Lee carried the day at a hen party she threw with the chief topic being the move to the mansion and her views thereon.

On the matter of Donald Houston , I have no comment but my enclosed note to him.

Trust all is going well. What happnend to the money from Adam's tie-in?

Things are buzzing here, but I'm not in full swing yet. I have a lot of digging to do. My areas of epertise, are not impressive in these environs. My guess is that there will be "race relations" work to be done and I will be involved. Certainly there is no lack of problems.

Thank whoever for sending my mail on to me. A couple of petes were "congratulatory on my promotion" and commendatory about past efforts; but nothing of any special use to the Council. Lorne Nelles overflowed in his letter and then had it signed by rubber stamp. But keep him in mind in the pitch to Steel. If it hasn't already gone in you might sound him out along the line of doing something really big in the South, that after all the union does spend big money including hetman relations stuff, and his backing could mean that they would really put some of it in the South, but still assure him of confidenatial handling. I believe if you could give him the idea that he was pulling it off and really give him a pitch of why the gene general program is importnat to labor in the long run -- appeal to his historical sense(maybe send Freddy). I ~~cpuldn't~~ couldn't do it ; but a not dishonest combo of soft soap and and real program might well get him to support a pitch for five thousand or more(I'd try ten). Also wrap up what Bob and I did or wanted to do in B'ham and relate it to labor without attacking there guy Farr over there, but this is the kind of thing that can loosen a tight situation where labor itself is in a bind; a move to give decent labor leadership some elbow room. All by way of suggestion in case you want to give one union a really big pitch. I would still aim it at Shane, ~~but~~ even with his help, but give him the big vision too.

Don't cuss. You're lucky your aren't getting a memo a day. Besides you don't have to have me walking in on you every time an idea hits.

Best wishes to Jane. Miss you folks a great deal and steadily. Trust that the painting s are wearing well. Good regards to all the staff. Margaret arrives in Chicago on ~~June~~ (you dreamer, about the weather that is) January 29th and we will come into our house here on Feb. 1st (1st this typewritter has a "one" and exclamation ! key up where the (or close) back space is to be found -- so some different typos even for me.

Gene

January 16, 1959

Mr. Donald Houston
546 - A Elm Street
El Cerrito, California

Dear Donald Houston:

Your letter regarding the possible opening at the Southern Regional Council has come to me here in Madison.

I have sent your background sheet to the Council for their information. However, it is ~~still~~ my understanding that there will be no continuation of the position of labor consultant and that the special funds which had been available for the support of that project are no longer available.

If the above situation changes, I'm sure that the Council will be interested in your experience, and that you might well hear from them requesting further information. But I would not hold out any hope whatsoever that a job opening will actually occur. This is in no way a reflection on the Council or my relations with them but is related to the kind of staff needs and programming that the Council most needs to undertake to best utilize their resources in the current situation.
Harold C. Fleming is director of SRC, and would be an appropriate person to contact in the event of any future interest on your part.

Sorry that there is no more to report. Incidentally, though it is not a fixed rule, all SRC professional staffers have extensive southern experience as well as having their origins in the South.

Please give my regards to Pickus when you see him again, and look me up if you find your way as far east as Madison.

Sincerely,

E.F.V.

Emory F. Via

546-A Elm Street
El Cerrito, California
January 12, 1959

Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Bob Pickus told me that your job as labor representative would be open because you were taking a position at the University of Wisconsin. If this is so, I would like to get some information about the job. I have a background of work in both inter-group relations and in organized labor. I am enclosing a summary of my experiences.

Donald Houston

Donald Houston

State's First Lady In Official Home

Carrie Lee Nelson, Wisconsin's First Lady, was photographed in the Executive Residence at 101 Cambridge Rd., for the first time today. Faced with the problem of transforming the wide halls and spacious rooms of the mansion into "The Nelson" home, she is shown in the drawing room about to place favorite books where they would be available for reading during the infrequent moments she finds for relaxation. The busy mother of two lively children, "Happy" (Gaylord A. Jr.), who is 5½, and Tia, a 2½-year-old daughter, she is already scheduling social functions for later this month that will commence her duties as the wife of Gov. Gaylord A. Nelson. (Photo by Tom Barlet).

January 27, 1959

Mr. Emory F. Via
465 Orchard Drive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Herewith the letters you wanted back.

Executive Committee meeting yesterday was quite good. No knot-headedness in evidence; good attendance, including even Joseph Haas; and constructive discussion and decisions on the many fiscal, procedural, and administrative matters that were up.

As to the labor program, your ears might well have glowed with something more than Wisconsin cold. Paul Christopher criticized your memorandum as being far too modest about the results of your efforts, spoke of the new esteem your work had conferred on SRC in the labor movement, and said you had whetted the appetite of union leadership for more such services. He said he would like to see this service continued, but recognized that the happy combination of circumstances that made it possible initially would be hard to duplicate. He feels the key to it would be AFL-CIO's willingness to request the service, put up dough, and if necessary shake a suitable person loose to work under SRC's banner. He isn't very optimistic, and needless to say I'm even less so.

The official action of the Executive Committee was to instruct the staff to explore this possibility and take any steps we could to work out a proper resumption of the program. I think it unlikely that anything will come of this, and there is no onerous pressure to continue the program willy nilly.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

File under EFV

Hotel WAUSAU

WAUSAU, WISCONSIN

WALTER SCHROEDER, PRESIDENT

3/19/59

Dear Howard:

Re: Peters survey on Fed. Employment in South — I think you will find info in tab file that was ~~on~~ by my desk with some cross references either to correspondence files or to other info folders, e.g. "Merit Employment" or "Pres. Committee on Plant Contracts".

Hope its all there; the only thing I brought with me — and not leave copies at SRT — was J.L.C. Survey materials plus some of the race-baiting materials used against Unions.

HOTEL ASTOR MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL RETLAW FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL LORAINE MADISON, WIS. HOTEL VINCENT BENTON HARBOR, MICH. HOTEL SCHROEDER MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL NORTHLAND GREEN BAY, WIS. HOTEL CALUMET FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL DULUTH DULUTH, MINN. HOTEL WAUSAU WAUSAU, WIS.

Needless to say Margaret and I miss Atlanta, Sarah, friends and professional relations very much. I've been extremely busy — giving frenetic proof of my worth at the contract figure. The director here has much more to him than my first impressions led me to believe, the work offers some real opportunities to kick over peoples minds. Aside from regular extension classes, I've participated in a couple of institutes coordinated a week-long pol. ed. institute for Machinists Staff, set up pol. ed weekend conferences (8) for Steelworkers local leadership, and am now working on someone else's dropped stitch — a conference on Berlin. I called you while waiting to get through to George Kennan.

(3)

Hotel WAUSAU

WAUSAU, WISCONSIN

WALTER SCHROEDER, PRESIDENT

Tell Paul that I met 8:30 AM classes every morning one week while spending some evenings in Ukes and on road to as late as 3:30 a.m. It was miserable but the I.A.M. institute was an unqualified success (ha!) and perhaps did most towards convincing the local boys that I may not be a lemman.

Your help in shaping a few ideas on the proposed Unions and Race program would be most welcome as well as essential. I think they can overcome the other obstacles if I get a go

HOTEL ASTOR MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL RETLAW FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL LORAINE MADISON, WIS. HOTEL VINCENT BENTON HARBOR, MICH. HOTEL SCHROEDER MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL NORTHLAND GREEN BAY, WIS. HOTEL CALUMET FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL DULUTH DULUTH, MINN. HOTEL WAUSAU WAUSAU, WIS.

ahead on what I'm willing to do. The summer schedule here is tough, and I could be released only during the weeks of our smaller institutes.

Possible dates if we can work that fast:

June 14-20; 21-27;
28-July 2; July 5-11th

Otherwise: August 22—

I'm inclined towards high-powered conference with the whole program being made for this group, that we try for 40-50 solid types, and let the labor movement decide if, when, and what kind of publicity it wants. If we get quality speakers — you, Hamner, Heard, etc then we should get some accurate notes or full texts for future use either by the labor movement or others.

(All the "we's" does not mean SRC sponsorship)

Hotel WAUSAU
WAUSAU, WISCONSIN
WALTER SCHROEDER, PRESIDENT

Because of the desire to "hand pick" participants, and internal policies of IUD, and because of relations with other AFL-CIO Depts., the IUD is moving cautiously — it is not instigator, but at request of affiliate unions is offering to serve secretariat function.

Does anyone know Don Simon (?) from Michigan St. C. on Housing and now with AFL-CIO Civil Rts. Dept.? Would like a report.

Please get me on your infamous mailing list for all worthy materials.

HOTEL ASTOR MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL RETLAW FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL LORAINE MADISON, WIS. HOTEL VINCENT BENTON HARBOR, MICH. HOTEL SCHROEDER MILWAUKEE, WIS. HOTEL NORTHLAND GREEN BAY, WIS. HOTEL CALUMET FOND DU LAC, WIS. HOTEL DULUTH DULUTH, MINN. HOTEL WAUSAU WAUSAU, WIS.

Thanks so much for your last letter.

Good regards to all — especially to you. A certain amount of heart-ache continues. And I'm impatient when asked "How can you explain a Southerner — people acting like that?" And in Chicago of all places!

I was led to believe that FFR was going to take me on as consultant — but it decidedly flunked out.

What happened from Carrier? Understand Friends Center got 10 G's — real good if they keep the fire going and thanks to you. I can think of worthy projects (already have some) up this way but would not touch money dedicated to the South — what sort of policy has been set?

Sincerely,
Gary

April 15, 1959

Mr. Emory F. Via
465 Orchard Drive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

I know you will not misinterpret my unduly long silence but will understand it for what it is -- namely, silence.

I really have nothing to add to our telephone conversation about the possibility of a labor institute this summer. Your ideas for the program are first-rate, and, assuming full acceptances, I have no better suggestions to make. If the plan goes forward and it becomes necessary to dredge up additional program possibilities, we can kick it around some more. Meanwhile, I will await further word from you on the progress toward decision by the I.U.D. and others.

You will be interested to know that I was roused out of a sound sleep last night by a telephone call from your governor and his lady. It would seem that the new burdens of office haven't wholly suppressed their natural exuberance. Have you gotten acquainted yet? I would have asked Nelson but had neither the opportunity nor the capacity at that point for coherent conversation.

I also report, sadly, that Freddie has at last succumbed to Northern blandishments. Effective June 1 he will become the director of the Michigan Fair Employment Commission. Detroit and Soapy won out. He is even more wistful and reluctant about it than you were. But it's truly a handsome opportunity, which, by professional standards, he would

be foolish to pass up. Replacement undetermined yet. More later.

The best to you and Margaret and the Boy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

P. S. Ben Muse is doing a 6-month experimental stint for us on the RBF Project. At last.

H.C.F.

May 11, 1959

Mr. Emory F. Via
465 Orchard Drive
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Raise the Confederate banner, son, and strike up "Marching through Georgia" -- I'm a-coming to Madison. For reasons best known to themselves -- I think it was Wilton Dillon's kind if misguided intervention -- I've been invited to participate in a panel this coming Saturday morning at the meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, presumably at the University of Wisconsin. C. H. may have written you that he'll be there too.

Needless to say, I have advised my ol' buddy the Governor that I'm coming. He and Carrie Lee insist that I put up at the Executive Residence and claim they are going to invite you and Margaret over one evening while I'm there. I'm arriving late Thursday night and probably leaving Sunday.

I trust we can get together for appropriate sentimentalizing, both at the Nelsons and otherwise.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

May 12, 1959

HCF, SRC, ATL.,GA.

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letters. Gaylord mentionedd his call to you the other day. Another conference, another speech. He's pushing it pretty hard at this point. The pressures of office are real, the minor political demands unrelenting.

I fear that the summer institute idea is really past salvaging. I understand from the IUD that the JLC has indicated an interest and feel that there upcoming program in the South is best served by them and that maybe they will get something going. I don't think that they will for this summer. It seems to me the wrong time to let up on either the Southern of national end of the labor movement. Also, JLC would avoid Fisk; personally I think for the wrong reasons. It sounds like the usually agency footwork, and little more. My good disposition towards their efforts in the South not exactly curbed, but I felt on the sick side for a day after finding out what was holding up the proceedings. Still reacting unprofessionally.

It would be good to know what the possibilities of housing a conference in Atlanta would be ; we could control the number . But soundings of accomadations of up to fifty would be helpful. Perhaps for no fewer than 20. Herman is now anxious to have us but it looks like the last minute effort to pull the Institute together so that it will hang together one more year.

The Southern Labor School has invited me down for their basic school, June 21-27, in Mobile. Three states only: Ala., Miss., and Ga. What's known in the moralistic end of the trade as a challenge. I hope I can make it, but am having schedule difficulties. If at all possible I would like to squeeze in a side trip to Atlanta. This would probably come before the school if at all. Who will be on hand?

Give my fond regards to"the shop". You will never know how long the missing continues. Glad to hear that Muse is on the RBF bit and also that Boyte is HOPing.

I know that FBR's replacement will probably be tough. Doubtlessly will raise a number of policy questions as well as "routine" personnel ones. I miss not being around tp harrass and harangue; but guess I should let distance substitue for wisdom and keep the ole yap shut.

You, the Council, and its work are still much closer to us and more real to us than anything else. The South is slow getting out of the boy this time. Well, better not dwell too long on this theme.

Best wishes to all again. I'll try to enclose a few items that I thought might have missed the South's most sensitive ears(an organizational reference).

Sincerely,

Gary

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 26, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

I am sorry to be so slow in answering your letter of September 18. Since the two issues of New South were not available, I am happy that you went ahead with the L-8 Report. If you have not sent other pieces to the mailing list to make up for the two missed issues, then I think that it would be good to go ahead and send two other issues of the New South. Perhaps it would be best to send current issues.

Thanks for taking care of this matter. Please give my best regards around the office.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Lecturer, School for Workers

EFV:av

September 28, 1959

Mr. Emory Via
465 Orchard
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

The mail addressed to Mr. Don Ellinger, Director C.O.P.E. (S. W. Region) Austin, Texas, is being returned because of insufficient address. Will you please send us a more exact address.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

/lec

September 18, 1959

Mr. Emory Via
465 Orchard
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

We have discovered that the two issues of NEW SOUTH which you requested we send to the labor organizations are out of stock. We have only a few issues of both the December 1958 and the February 1959.

Since these are the second and third items on the list, I will go ahead and send the fourth item which is L-8. If you have other suggestions for NEW SOUTH, let me know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

August 3, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Enclosed is a list of names of persons who would like to receive the indicated pamphlets handled by SRC. Each of these people is a teacher and a member of the American Federation of Teachers.

If you do not still have copies of "Why Have Public Schools" by John Connors, it would be good for SRC relations to forward the enclosed names to John Connors, Director of the Education Department, AFL-CIO in Washington D. C. and ask that the pamphlets be sent. Be sure to indicate that these people are AFT members.

It would have done your heart good to see the stack of material which we had on display for the AFT summer school program. Best personal wishes to you and to all other good friends around the shop.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV:gp

Encl.

Dear Mr. Connors:
We have been requested to supply copies of "Why Have Public Schools" to — — —
Since we do not have copies of the pamphlet could your office fill the order. The three are teachers and members of American Federation of Teachers

Jeraldine Marchant
8324 W. Dana Ct.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

"Desegregation in the Baltimore Schools,"
Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems

"What the Supreme Court Really Said,"
Southern Regional Council

"Accent on the South", Labor's Daily

"Intimidation Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis", South-eastern Office,
American Friends Service Committee

"Southerners and Schools",
New Republic reprint

Henry E. Bennett
2404 Massachusetts Street
Gary, Indiana

"Southerners and Schools"

"Intimidation Reprisal and Violence"

"What the Court Really Said"

"A First Step Toward School Integration"

Sy Schesta
3427 Grove Avenue
Berwyn, Illinois

"A First Step Toward School Integration"

"What the Supreme Court Said"

"Intimidation, Reprisal & Violence in the South's Educational Crisis"

"Why Have Public Schools"

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

November 4, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a copy of the final program for our 35th anniversary week. This includes the NILE conference as well, of course. Did Joe Mire write you? If so, I hope you can come up. He is out of town today so I am unable to check with him. I did want you to see the final program, however.

Thanks for the various communiques.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Lecturer, School for Workers

EFV:av
Enclosure

AFL-CIO EDUCATIONAL DIRECTORS

FALL CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 16-17

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

NOVEMBER 17-20

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

35th ANNIVERSARY

CONFERENCE AND COMMEMORATION
NOVEMBER 20-21

MADISON, WISCONSIN 1959

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: The NILE Conference on Education for Public Responsibility was made possible by the financial support of the Fund for Adult Education.

LOCATION: Sessions of each of the conferences will be held in the Wisconsin Center Building of the University of Wisconsin, except where another place is designated.

REGISTRATION: Registration should be made in advance of the conference dates. Registrations for the NILE and School for Workers conferences may be made with Emory Via, NILE conference director, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, Madison. Register for the AFL-CIO education directors conference directly with the Education Department of the AFL-CIO; this conference is open only to those who qualify as education directors of national unions or of state labor bodies.

FEES: A registration fee of five dollars ($5) is charged for the NILE conference; this fee includes the cost of dinner on Tuesday, November 17, copies of the papers, and the final report of the conference.

Lunch tickets for Friday and Saturday, November 20 and 21, are available for $1.50 each.

Tickets for Friday's dinner are available in advance for $3.

AFL-CIO DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION FALL CONFERENCE

AFL-CIO EDUCATION DIRECTORS
of NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL UNIONS and
STATE CENTRAL BODIES

November 16-17, 1959

Monday, November 16

2:00 p.m.	Meeting of Education Directors of State Central Bodies	Room 226
	Meeting of Education Directors of National and International Unions	Room 109
7:30 p.m.	Showing of Recent Films	Auditorium (1st floor)

Tuesday, November 17

9:00 a.m.	LABOR'S RELATIONS WITH THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS	Auditorium
	Brief Reports	
	Discussion from the floor	
10:00-10:20 a.m.	Coffee	Dining Room (Basement)
10:20-12:00	RESIDENT SUMMER SCHOOLS	Auditorium
	Reports on Experimental Programs Undertaken in Summer Schools	
	Discussion from the floor	
12:00	Lunch	Exhibit Hall
	ANALYSIS OF THE 86TH CONGRESS AND THE FORCES BEHIND IT	
2:00- 3:30 p.m.	HOW TO EDUCATE FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION	Auditorium
	Panel Discussion	
3:30- 3:45 p.m.	Recess	
3:45- 5:00 p.m.	THE THEME FOR 1960 LABOR EDUCATION: HOW CAN LABOR EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT POLITICAL EDUCATION WORK?	Auditorium
	Panel Discussion	
	Discussion from the floor	
5:30- 6:30 p.m.	SOCIAL HOUR Open to education directors and all others attending NILE dinner	Troia's Steak House, 661 State St. (upstairs)

All sessions of the AFL-CIO Education Directors Conference, except the Social Hour, are open only to those eligible as staff members of education departments of national unions or state labor bodies.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE of LABOR EDUCATION

Conference on

EDUCATION FOR PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

November 17-20, 1959

Tuesday, November 17

7:00 p.m.	Dinner		Dining Room, Basement
	Chairman:	RALPH CAMPBELL, *Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University*	
	Introduction:	ROBERT OZANNE, *Director, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin*	
	Welcome:	FRED H. HARRINGTON, *Vice President for Academic Affairs University of Wisconsin*	
	Address:	**"Education for Public Responsibility"** WAYNE A. R. LEYS, *Dean of the Graduate Division, Roosevelt University*	

Wednesday, November 18

9:00 a.m.	LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING		Auditorium
	Chairman:	CLINTON GOLDEN, *former Director, Harvard Trade Union Program.*	
	Papers:	GEORGE W. TAYLOR, *Professor of Industry, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.* JACK CONWAY, *Administrative Assistant to the President United Automobile Workers*	
	General Discussion		
	Coffee		Dining Room
12:00	Luncheon. (Use the Cafeteria Line)		Dining Room

1:30 p.m. LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS — Auditorium

Chairman: ROBERT J. BLAKELY, *Vice President, Fund for Adult Education*

Papers: GUS TYLER, *Director, I.L.G.W.U. Training Institute and Director, I.L.G.W.U. Political Department*
DAVID B. TRUMAN, *Professor of Government, Columbia University*

General Discussion

4:30 p.m. Adjourn

8:30 p.m. SMOKER — Park Hotel, Lakes Room

Songs: JOE GLAZER, *Education Director, United Rubber Workers of America.*

"Labor History in Fact and Song"
ARCHIE GREEN, *Graduate Fellow, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois*

Thursday, November 19

9:00 a.m. LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN INTERNAL UNION AFFAIRS — Auditorium

Chairman: JOHN D. CONNORS, *Director, Department of Education, AFL-CIO*

Papers: CLYDE SUMMERS, *Professor of Law, Yale University*
MITCHELL SVIRIDOFF, *President Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO*

General Discussion

Coffee — Dining Room

12:00 Lunch (Use the Cafeteria Line) — Dining Room

1:30 p.m. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN INTERNAL UNION AFFAIRS — Auditorium

Chairman: BRENDAN SEXTON, *Director of Education United Automobile Workers*

Paper: JACK BARBASH, *Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin*

General Discussion

3:00 p.m. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING — Auditorium

Chairman: JOHN BRUMM, *Director of Education, International Association of Machinists*

Paper: RUSSELL ALLEN, *Education Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO*

General Discussion

4:30 p.m. ADJOURN

7:30 p.m. NILE PROGRAMS AND PROSPECTS — Exhibit Hall

Chairman: L. H. ADOLFSON, *Dean of the Extension Division, University of Wisconsin*

Reports: JOSEPH MIRE, *Executive Director, National Institute of Labor Education*
ROBERT REIFF, *Chief Psychologist Jewish Board of Guardians*
LEONARD BREEN, *Associate Professor of Sociology, Purdue University*

General Discussion

9:30 p.m. ADJOURN

Friday, November 20

9:00 a.m. THE EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF LABOR'S PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS — Auditorium

Chairman: JULES PAGANO, *Education Director, Communications Workers of America*

Papers: ALICE HANSON COOK, *Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University*
BEN D. SEGAL, *Education Director, IUE, President, Local 189, AFT*

General Discussion

11:00 a.m. CONFERENCE SUMMARY Auditorium

Chairman: M. T. VAN HECKE, *Professor of Law, University of North Carolina*

Summaries: SIG MOODY, *Educational Field Representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen*
BERNARD KARSH, *Associate Professor of Sociology; Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois*
MARC KARSON, *Associate Professor of Government and Assistant Director, Labor Institute, Southern Illinois University*

12:00 noon ADJOURN

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

Board of Directors
LORENTZ H. ADOLFSON
RALPH N. CAMPBELL
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". . . At the collective bargaining table, in the community, in the exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship, we shall responsibly serve the interests of all the American people. . . ."

—AFL-CIO CONSTITUTION

35th ANNIVERSARY
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

Extension Division
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

November 20-21, 1959

Friday, November 20

12:15 p.m. Luncheon — Dining Room

"The Wisconsin Idea in Workers Education"

Chairman: NATHAN FEINSINGER, *Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin*

Address: ROBERT OZANNE, *Director, School for Workers*

1:30 p.m. **"Recent Trends in Labor Education"** — Auditorium

Chairman: FRANK MCCALLISTER, *Director, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University*

Speaker: JOSEPH MIRE, *Executive Director, National Institute of Labor Education*

2:30 p.m. The following three sessions run concurrently:

"Achieving Excellence in Labor Education" — Room 109

High standards for performance in program planning, instruction, and in the development and use of materials.

Chairman: FRED HOEHLER, *Associate Director, Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University*

Speakers: EMERY BACON, *Director of Education, United Steelworkers of America*
BRENDAN SEXTON, *Director, of Education, United Automobile Workers of America*

Discussants: S. C. KELLEY, *Director, Labor Education and Research Service, Ohio State University*
HELMUT GOLATZ, *Department of Labor Education, Pennsylvania State University*

"Goals for Labor Education" — Room 212

The philosophy of workers education programs, realistic program aims, problems of evaluation.

Chairman: ANTHONY LUCHEK, *Professor of Labor Education, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin*

Speaker: JACK LONDON, *Associate Professor of Adult Education, University of California*

Discussant: ROBERT SENSER, *Editor,* Work

"The Status of Labor Education Within Universities"

Room 226

How programs are viewed by their institutions, administrative relations, relations with academic departments and committees.

Chairman: IRVINE KERRISON, *Director of Development, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University*

Speaker: PHILLIPS GARMAN, *Coordinator of Extension, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois*

Discussant: JOHN GLYNN, *Coordinator of Labor Program, Labor-Management Instiute, University of Connecticut*

6:30 p.m. Dinner — Tripp Commons, Wisconsin Memorial Union

Program honoring the life and work of SELIG PERLMAN, sponsored jointly by the Department of Economics and the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin.

Introduction: ROBERT OZANNE, *Director, School for Workers*

Chairman: H. EDWIN YOUNG, *Chairman, Department of Economics*

Remarks: FRED H. HARRINGTON, *Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Wisconsin*

Papers: DAVID J. SAPOSS, *distinguished historian and labor economist, retired, U.S. Department of Labor*
PHILIP TAFT, *Professor of Economics, Brown University*

Guests of Honor: MRS. SELIG PERLMAN; MARK PERLMAN, *Department of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University*

8:30 p.m. Reception for those attending the dinner. — Blue Room, Wisconsin Center Building (1st floor)

Saturday, November 21

9:00 a.m. **"Origins of Workers Education in Wisconsin—the 1920's"** Auditorium

Chairman: J. F. FRIEDRICK, *President, Milwaukee County Labor Council, AFL-CIO*

Speakers: ALICE SHOEMAKER, *former Executive Secretary, School for Workers (1928)*
HENRY RUTZ, *International Representative, AFL-CIO*

9:45 a.m. **"Expansion into the Statewide class Program—the 1930's"** Auditorium

Chairman: WALTER UPHOFF, *Head of Workers Education Department, Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota*

Speakers: CHRIS JORGENSON, *Field Representative, McGowen and Johnson, Architects*
FRANK FERNBACH, *Economist, Department of Research, AFL-CIO*

10:30 a.m. **"The Summer Schools"** Auditorium

Chairman: HARVEY KITZMAN, *Director, Region 10, United Automobile Workers*

Speaker: MARK STARR, *Director of Education ILGWU*

11:15 a.m. **"Present Program and Looking Ahead"** Auditorium

Chairman: ROBERT OZANNE, *Director, School for Workers*

Panel Discussion: Staff of the School for Workers
JACK BARBASH ANTHONY LUCHEK
WILLIAM KUHL NORRIS TIBBETTS
EMORY VIA

12:00 Lunch Dining Room

Chairman: ROBERT OZANNE

Comments: GEORGE A. HABERMAN, *President Wisconsin State AFL-CIO*

"Labor Education and the Changing Labor Movement"

Speaker: EDWIN E. WITTE, *Professor Emeritus, Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin*

NATIONAL
INSTITUTE
OF LABOR
EDUCATION

LABOR'S PUBLIC

RESPONSIBILITY

Labor's Public Responsibility

"[illegible] table, [illegible] ercise of [illegible] ibilities of [illegible] sponsibly [illegible] all the [illegible]

—AFL-CIO [illegible]

In Collective Bargaining

LOCATION

The Conference will be held in the Wisconsin Center Building on the campus of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

DATE: November 17-20, 1959

In Internal Union Affairs

REGISTRATION

Fill in the enclosed card and return with the registration fee ($5) to Emory Via, N.I.L.E. Conference Director, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Payment of the fee will include ticket for banquet Tuesday, Nov. 17, and entitles you to receive copies of the papers prior to the conference, as well as a copy of the final conference report.

Labor's Public Responsibility

SPECIAL EVENTS
DURING THE N.I.L.E. PROGRAM

TUESDAY EVENING: Banquet and Keynote Address

WEDNESDAY EVENING: Smoker

THURSDAY EVENING: Discussion of N.I.L.E.: Programs & Prospects

FRIDAY MORNING: Summary Session

Other Programs During The Same Week

AFL-CIO EDUCATION DIRECTORS
NOVEMBER 16-17

This is the official meeting of the education directors for national unions and for state labor bodies arranged by the Education Department of AFL-CIO. Persons eligible for this meeting should consult the Department's announcement.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

In Collective Bargaining

WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 18

Papers:

GEORGE W. TAYLOR, Professor of Industry
Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania

JACK CONWAY, Administrative Assistant to the President, U.A.W., AFL-CIO

Discussion

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 19

"The Educational Implications of Labor's Public Responsibility In Collective Bargaining"

Paper

RUSSEL ALLEN, Education Director
Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

Discussion

SELIG PERLMAN MEMORIAL
NOVEMBER 20

Honoring the life & work of Selig Perlman

Papers:

DAVID J. SAPOSS, distinguished historian and labor economist retired from the Department of Labor

PHILIP TAFT, Professor of Economics, Brown University

In Internal Union Affairs

THURSDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 19

Paper:

CLYDE SUMMERS, Professor of Law, Yale University

Discussion

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, NOVEMBER 19

"The Educational Implications of Labor's Public Responsibility for Internal Union Affairs"

Paper:

JACK BARBASH, Professor of Labor Education, University of Wisconsin

Discussion

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
35th ANNIVERSARY NOVEMBER 20-21

The University of Wisconsin's School for Workers will sponsor a conference which will survey workers' education programs and their status within universities. The achieving of excellence and determining of goals in labor education programs will be discussed. There will be a commemoration of the 35th Anniversary. These programs are open to all participants in the week's activities.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF LABOR EDUCATION

BOX 2215, MADISON 5, WISCONSIN

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National Institute of Labor Education

NOVEMBER 17-20, 1959

I WISH TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE ON

labor's public responsibilities

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

ORGANIZATION.....

POSITION.....

☐ $5 Fee enclosed for registration and Tuesday evening banquet. (This fee will assure your receiving copies of the papers prior to the conference and a copy of the conference report).

☐ Please make room reservation for night of 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 (Encircle the nights you wish a room.)

☐ Single ☐ Double ☐ Other .....

1st Choice for Accommodations.....

2nd Choice for Accommodations.....

(See Enclosed List)

Make checks payable to National Institute for Labor Education, or NILE

Material sent
10/26/59
JC

October 21, 1959

Mr. Emory F. Via
Lecturer, School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Your letter about the November conferences has arrived just as I am about to emplane for Williamsburg. So I am passing it along to John Constable for appropriate action.

We're glad to have a chance to put our stuff before the august companies you will be assembling. Sorry as I am not to have another boondoggling trip to Wisconsin, it's just as well. The Fall fund-raising spree, on top of normal activity, has me fed up with travel, words, and most people other than easy familiars.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

October 15, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This letter is to let you know of three conferences scheduled for the week of November 16-21, and to urge you to consider which materials of your organization would be suitable for display during this week. The three programs are the fall meeting of the AFL-CIO education directors, a conference on Labor's Public Responsibilities sponsored by the National Institute of Labor Education, and a conference on some aspects of labor education sponsored by the School for Workers as a part of its 35th anniversary commemoration. Please note the enclosed materials for the specific subjects to be covered and some of the resource people involved.

If you have materials -- pamphlets, books, study guides, etc. -- which you feel fit the purposes of these conferences and you would like displayed would you send them to me. We have a special room in the conference building for a materials display. We are not suggesting that you send large quantities of individual pieces, but you may indicate how your materials may be procurred; provide order blanks if you like.

In most cases we would prefer not to be obligated to return anything, and the materials would become a part of the library of the School for Workers. I can not guarantee that every piece submitted will be displayed, but we are attempting to get as broad and as representative a selection as possible.

Anything which you send should get to me by November 9th, one week before the conference sessions begin.

If you have any questions regarding this proposal or the programs involved please be in touch with me.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
NILE Conference Director
Lecturer, School for Workers

EFV:ck

Harold: Excuse the formality. There is probably no way to get you here. Southern program has fallen through for time being.
Suggest you send Voting studies, Private School plans, Selected L-Reports, An issue of New South and Anything else that you all feel will fit in.

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS 35th ANNIVERSARY

EXTENSION DIVISION UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

NOVEMBER 20-21, 1959

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20

12:15 p.m. Luncheon — Dining Room

"The Wisconsin Idea in Workers Education"

Chairman: Nathan Feinsinger, Professor of Law, University of Wisconsin.

Address: Robert Ozanne, Director, School for Workers

1:30 p.m. "Recent Trends in Labor Education" — Auditorium

Chairman: Frank McCallister, Director, Labor Education Division, Roosevelt University.

Speaker: Joseph Mire, Executive Director, National Institute of Labor Education.

2:30 p.m. The following three sessions run concurrently:

"Achieving Excellence in Labor Education" — Room 109

High standards for performance in program planning, instruction, and in the development and use of materials.

Chairman: Fred Hoehler, Associate Director, Labor and Industrial Relations Center, Michigan State University.

Speakers: Emery Bacon, Director of Education, United Steelworkers of America.

Brendan Sexton, Director of Education, United Automobile Workers of America.

Discussants: S. C. Kelly, Director, Labor Education and Research Service, Ohio State University.

Helmut Golatz, Department of Labor Education, Pennsylvania State University

"Goals for Labor Education" Room 212

The philosophy of workers education programs, realistic program aims, problems of evaluation.

Chairman: Anthony Luchek, Professor of Labor Education, School for Workers, University of Wisconsin.

Speaker: Jack London, Associate Professor of Adult Education, University of California.

Discussant: Robert Senser, Editor, Work.

"The Status of Labor Education Programs Within Universities" Room 226

How programs are viewed by their institutions, administrative relations, relations with academic departments and committees.

Chairman: Irvine Kerrison, Director of Development, Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University.

Speaker: Phillips Garman, Coordinator of Extension, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations University of Illinois.

Discussant: John Glynn, Coordinator of Labor Program, Labor-Management Institute, University of Connecticut.

6:30 p.m. Dinner Tripp Commons Wisconsin Memorial Union

Program honoring the Life and Work of Selig Perlman sponsored jointly by the Department of Economics and the School for Workers of the University of Wisconsin.

Introduction: Robert Ozanne, Director, the School for Workers.

Chairman: Edwin H. Young, Chairman, Department of Economics

Remarks: Fred H. Harrington, Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Wisconsin.

Papers: David J. Saposs, distinguished historian and labor economist, retired from the U. S. Department of Labor.

Philip Taft, Professor of Economics, Brown University.

Guests of Honor: Mrs. Selig Perlman.

Mark Perlman, Department of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University.

FRIDAY EVENING

8:30 p.m. Reception for those attending the dinner. Blue Room, Wisconsin Center Building (1st floor)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21

9:00 a.m. "Origins of Workers Education in Wisconsin -- the 1920's" Auditorium

Chairman: J. F. Friedrick, President, Milwaukee County Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Speakers: Alice Shoemaker, formerly Executive Secretary, School for Workers (1928).

Henry Rutz, International Representative, AFL-CIO.

9:45 a.m. "Expansion into the Statewide Class Program -- the 1930's" Auditorium

Chairman: Walter Uphoff, Head of Workers Education Department, Industrial Relations Center, University of Minnesota.

Speakers: Chris Jorgenson, Field Representative, McGowen and Johnson Architechs.

Frank Fernbach, Economist, Department of Research, AFL-CIO.

10:30 a.m. "The Summer Schools" Auditorium

Chairman: Harvey Kitzman, Director, Region 10, United Automobile Workers.

Speaker: Mark Starr, Director of Education, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

11:15 a.m. "Present Program and Looking Ahead" Auditorium

Chairman: Robert Ozanne, Director, School for Workers.

Panel Discussion: Staff of the School for Workers

Jack Barbash Anthony Luchek

William Kuhl Norris Tibbetts

Emory Via

12:00 noon Lunch Dining Room

Chairman: Robert Ozanne

Comments: George A. Haberman, President,
Wisconsin State AFL-CIO.

"Labor Education and the Changing Labor Movement"

Speaker: Edwin E. Witte, Professor Emeritus,
Department of Economics, University of Wisconsin.

4/14/60

Harold:

Pardon a quickie.

1st – Thought you might like to see the enclosed clip from Mike Journal on your D.C. Foray for Youth. Remember the editors recently voted Journal one of top papers in country.

2nd Congrats on getting Stanton Smith, but now congrat him, if you haven't, on appointment by Meany to be AFL-CIO Coordinator of State and local central bodies. A new post, potentially very important, and Stanton well suited for it. However, I understand it is full time and that he goes to Washington.

3rd Cheers for the N.C. State AFL-CIO – see the endorsed clip and bless their hearts!

4th Clip not endorsed announces that the Nixons (1st page) are expecting! Saw Hayland in Atlanta the other day. The grind continues and he looks tired.

5th Freddy B. was this way a couple of weeks ago following Pres. Conf. on Civil Rights. Of course he flew down with Gaylord in Nat'l Guard plane. Somewhat subdued, probably has felt his responsibility, has put out big brochure with clip montage and his pics and front — under pix: "Dr. Beulah"

6th The last of the interpretive pieces on the sit-ins (the one M. & I read most carefully) was excellent — just excellent. We'd called it to attention of progressive and would push elsewhere — daily papers if had more. The papers up here need this kind of relase, did it go out that way. They have given big coverage to sit-ins themselves.

7th Have not got to your N.Y.T mag. article. Neighbor says good & that you write well — Carrie Lee has asked (of neighbor) that copy be saved for her.

8th Vias fair well, a bit harassed, nice new unsettled house, still identify with SRC and South. Good regards to all and thanks to all who continue. Gary

N. Carolina Labor Votes Backing for Negro 'Sit-In'

RALEIGH, N.C.—Organized labor in North Carolina has given a strong endorsement to the "sit-in" strikes being staged by Southern Negroes in protest against segregation in public eating places.

The North Carolina State AFL-CIO convention, meeting here, unanimously expressed its "approval of the efforts of these Negro student groups and disapproval of the unwarranted police actions now being carried out in many of these demonstrations as violations of rights of Americans to free speech and free assembly."

In one of the strongest civil rights resolutions ever adopted by a labor organization in the South, the convention declared:

"The American labor movement has always stood for rights of all human beings regardless of race, color or creed.

"American labor recognizes that the rights of minority groups are now being denied in a variety of areas such as the various public facilities, in employment opportunities and in equal availability of good housing.

"There are now Negro student groups throughout the South who are demonstrating through the use of peaceful labor techniques such as the picket line, the sit-down and the consumer boycott for equal rights in public facilities."

April 1960

Allied Industrial Worker (AFL-CIO)

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Southerner Hits Dixie on School Integration

Politicians Blamed for Ignoring Plight of Children in Talk at Youth Parley

By LAURENCE C. EKLUND
Of The Journal Staff

Washington, D. C.—Southern politicians were blasted Tuesday by a fellow southerner for their attitude on the problem of school integration.

The attack was made by Harold C. Flemming of Atlanta, Ga., executive director of the Southern Regional Council, at a session of the White House conference on children and youth.

Flemming charged the southern politicians with forgetting that the United States supreme court's school decision was about children, not just state rights versus federal authority or laws regulating the sale of dynamite or the use of troops to put down mob violence.

The hearts and minds of children, which Chief Justice Warren cited as the crux of the matter, have rarely been referred to since in the clamor over the legality or illegality of interposition and state supported private schools, Flemming protested.

Complains of Abstractions

The segregation controversy, the outspoken southerner said, has been mainly a battle of abstractions.

He insisted that the objective should be to deliver the problems of school desegregation from the exclusive control of lawyers and politicians and to bring into play the knowledge and skill of education, psychology and other applied social sciences.

"In most cases, desegregation plans have been created not by educators but by lawyers," said Flemming. "To the extent that the children and youth involved can speak for themselves, we will do well to listen. To the extent that they cannot, let those who specialize in their development and education be heard."

Meany Gives Ideas

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, could not refrain, at this nonpolitical gathering, from attacking the Eisenhower administration, at least by inference, for not providing more federal aid to education. The states can no longer carry the burden, he contended.

Meany put the responsibility on the federal government for the current "chilling" status of education in this country.

Cites Lacks in Schools

He told the delegates that we had fallen far behind in scientific research and discovery, that our educational plant was fast deteriorating and that we were suffering from an acute shortage of skilled engineers.

While our government has shown a shortsighted reluctance to undertake its responsibilities to restore the vitality of our educational system, said Meany, the Russians have had the foresight to realize that education is the key to power.

"We in the AFL-CIO look to this conference to sound the trumpet for fulfillment of the American ideal," said Meany. "Here, at least, there can be no corruption of purpose, no compromise with political expediency."

Educators, child guidance people and parents were urged by Ewan Clague, commissioner of labor statistics, to find a flexible school program that would provide general education and job preparation for American youths of varying capacity.

Doubts Future in Farming

Clague, who got his Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin in 1929, warned that the unskilled would find the going tougher and tougher and that industrial laborers, in spite of the great expansion of the labor force, would barely hold their own in numbers in the next decade.

Agriculture, he predicted, will offer the least opportunity for jobs. The small farmer, he said bluntly, is becoming "the vanishing American." He warned that the proportion of farmers and farm laborers will have dropped from 12½ to 6% of the entire labor force by 1970.

The white collar group (professional, technical, managerial and clerical) will constitute 45% of the labor force as compared to 37½% in 1950, he said. Clague was emphasizing that young people should continue their education as long as they can.

Peiping Session Near

© New York Times News Service

Hong Kong—The national people's congress, communist China's government controlled parliament, will hold its regular annual session for 1960 in Peiping starting Wednesday.

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University Extension Division
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

1/19/60

P. Anthony
SRC

Dear Paul:

Two favors. One old and one new.

Mailed 1/27/60 MS.

Old: What happened to the box (file) of addresses and books left ~~at~~ in your office from late summer to be forwarded to me? Please send. One of Books was "Southern Jumper"

Mailed 1/27/60 MS

New: I need, quickly, not for publication, a copy of the mimeographed statement that came out of the annual meeting.

Best wishes to you and to all. Come on up for winter sports. Thanks.

Fran

If not delivered, return to
WISCONSIN STATE BROADCASTING SERVICE
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A Thought For Christmas . . .

"When thou makest presents, let them be of such things as will last long; to the end that they may be in some sort immortal, and may frequently refresh the memory of the receiver."

— *Thomas Fuller*

What gift is so fine as an FM receiver for family appreciation and lasting usefulness? Give FM.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1960

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Paul Pi

E. F. Vila
Extension

Sch. for Worker
12

UNIVERSITY COURSES BROADCAST FROM CAMPUS CLASSROOMS

Suggest Home Listening for Self-Improvement

Freshman Forum

11:00 A.M. Tuesday and Thursday

(Rebroadcast at 8:00 p.m. Thursday and Friday of the following week)

These lectures and discussions are broadcast live from the classroom at the University of Wisconsin. The theme for the semester is *The Humanist's Manifesto*. For the remainder of the course, the general topics *Mass Communications and Modern Society* and *A Better Society Through Better Communication* will be considered. Lectures to be broadcast during November and December are:

November 1
Censorship, David Fellman, Professor of Political Science.

November 3
Class Discussion with Professor Fellman.

November 8
The Significance of Political Oratory Today, Frederick W. Haberman, Professor and Chairman, Department of Speech.

November 10
Class Discussion with Professor Haberman.

November 15
God and Man Today, Robert R. Ammerman, Assistant Professor of Philosophy.

November 17
Class Discussion with Professor Ammerman.

November 22
Society, the Writer, and Rhetoric in 1960, John J. Enck, Associate Professor of English.

November 29
Is Poetry Obsolete? Carl R. Woodring, Professor of English.

December 1
Class Discussion with Professors Enck and Woodring.

December 6
Political Communication, Leon D. Epstein, Professor of Political Science.

December 8
Class Discussion with Professor Epstein.

December 13
Can We Talk to Each Other? Robert C. Pooley, Professor of English and Chairman of Integrated Liberal Studies.

December 15
Class Discussion with Professor Pooley.

History of Religions

11:00 A.M. Monday and Wednesday

This is a new course beginning its third year at the University of Wisconsin. The course is offered in the belief that an educated person in today's world should have an elementary acquaintance with the major religious traditions of the world. Professor Eugene Boardman of the Department of History is the course chairman. He is joined by Professor Menahem Mansoor of the Department of Hebrew Studies, Professor Charles Edson of the Department of History, Professor Herbert Howe of the Department of Classics, and Dr. Prabhakar Machwe of the Department of Indian Studies.

November 2
Early Hinduism, Professor Boardman

November 7, 9
Buddhism: First Phase, Professor Boardman

November 14, 16
The Religious Development of Buddhism: Mahayana, China, Japan, Korea, Professor Boardman

November 21, 23
Buddhism: Tibet, Mongolia, Southeast Asia, Professor Boardman

November 28, 30
Major Directions of Hindu Religious Development, Dr. Machwe

December 5, 7
Chinese Religious Traditions: Religious Beginnings, Taoism, Professor Boardman

December 12, 14
Confucius, Confucianism, the Confucian Cult, Professor Boardman

December 19, 21
Shinto, the Religion of Japanese Patriotism, Professor Boardman

The Greek and Roman World

7:30 P.M. Friday

Dr. W. G. Hardy, Professor of Classics at the University of Alberta, Canada, presents this series. In these programs, Dr. Hardy invites the listener to see the Greeks and Romans not as figures in books, but as living men and women. The remaining programs in the series are:

November 4
The Greeks as Writers and Athletes.

November 11
The Torch of Greek Thought, a lecture on Plato and Aristotle followed by a brief summary of the philosophical systems which made a strong impact on the Romans.

November 18
The Roman World, a description of the Empire, its roads, seaways, trade, and methods of travel. The lecture will consider recent discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum which throw light on Roman housing, plumbing, and general living conditions.

November 25
The Romans at Work and at Play, a lecture on the classes of society, occupations, status of women, and a brief view of government and courts.

December 2
Roman Luxury and Poverty, a consideration of the living conditions among those "on the dole" as compared to the almost unbelievable luxury of the wealthy.

December 9
Why Rome Fell, a summary of the various factors which appear to have contributed to the collapse of the seemingly impregnable Roman Empire.

30-Year Broadcaster

"THIRTY" means more than a mathematical term! In newspaper parlance "30" means the end of a column! In radio terminology—"30"—means the beginning of a record unequalled in educational radio broadcasting. Mrs. Fannie Steve (l) on September 23, 1960 at 9:30 A.M., started her thirtieth year of consecutive broadcasting "Rhythm and Games" for the Wisconsin School of the Air. Miss Arlene McKellar (r) associate director of the Wisconsin School of the Air commemorated the occasion by presenting a corsage to Mrs. Steve.

On Friday, October 9th, 1931, Mrs. Fannie Steve, then City Director of Health in Madison, broadcast her first program at 9:35 A.M. under the topic heading "Health and Safety." Her first broadcast dealt with "Some Safety Firsts." How many hundreds of thousands of kindergarteners and primary graders throughout Wisconsin had their first introduction to school broadcasting through "Rhythm and Games" will never be known.

The Homemakers Program

10:00 A.M. Daily — **Aline W. Hazard, Director**

NOVEMBER

1 *Store Away The Fruits And Nuts,* G. C. Klingbeil; *The Selection Of Windows,* Mrs. Marion Longbotham.

2 *The Nutritional Ages Of Man,* Maxine McDivitt; *Responsibility In An Election Year,* Mrs. Annie Lee Stewart

3 *Industrial Education For Foreign Students,* A. Roger Hook; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

4 *To the Dairy Museum,* Remote Broadcast, Walter Dunn, William Schereck, John Weber, Emil Mader.

5 *Fruits And Vegetables On Parade,* Marlon Schwier; *What About Teen Age Credit,* Louise Young.

7 *A Main Dish Dairy Bake-Off,* Remote Broadcast, Marathon, Price, Taylor, Wood and Clark Counties.

8 *Cold Frames: How To Make And Use Them,* Mrs. Vernon Madson; *Be Individual In Dress,* Helen Pearson

9 *The Nutritional Ages Of Man—The Young Child,* Arla Wangsgard; *Made For A Craft Shop,* Mrs. George Murphy

10 *To West Berlin's Industry Fair,* Violet Schmidt, Ronald Kuehle; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

11 *Invitation To Reading: "You Learn By Living"* by Eleanor Roosevelt and "Times Three" by Phyllis McGinley, Hazel Straight Stafford.

12 *The Growing Need For Nursery Homes,* Mrs. J. B. Castle, Mrs. Ralph Campbell; *Cheese For The Holidays,* Jane Comings.

14 *The Trends In Shoes,* Lenore Landry; *All Aboard For Christmas!*

15 *Choose Quality Potatoes,* J. A. Schoenemann; *What Is Good Value,* Jane Graff.

16 *The Nutritional Ages Of Man: Youth,* Beatrice Donaldson; *Working With Wax,* Charlotte Dunn.

17 *Motives For A Special Diet,* Gwendolyn Owen, Mary Denny; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

18 *To A Cooperative County Library,* Remote Broadcast, Mrs. K. Biwar, Marathon County.

19 *Handicapped Girl Scouts Help Others,* Mrs. Esther Kurtz.

21 *Equipped To Dry Laundry,* Mrs. Katherine Bailey; *Alaska's Ways With Bear And Moose,* Mrs. Barbara Matthews.

22 *Planting For Indoor Bloom,* Ira L. Baldwin; *Room Accessories For Gifts,* Gertrude Hoffmann.

23 *The Nutritional Ages Of Man: The Young Adult,* Mrs. Iva Mortimer; *For Holiday Entertaining,* Ellen Edwards.

24 *Thanksgiving 1960*

25 *Invitation To Reading: "Indian Life In The Upper Great Lakes"* by George Irving Quimby, Hazel Straight Stafford.

26 *Kringle Making Is An Art,* William Ostergaard.

28 *With Your Apron On Or Off,* Charlotte Dunn; *Dieting Through The Holidays,* Mrs. Lora Schlaefer.

29 *Watching For Winter Birds,* Robert A. McCabe; *The Lighting In Your Home,* Mrs. Marion Longbotham.

30 *The Nutritional Ages Of Man: The Older Adult,* Mrs. May Reynolds.

DECEMBER

1 *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

2 *Invitation To Reading: Oberammergau 1960,* Rachel Schenk.

3 *Heritage Foods Through The Years,* Mrs. C. Howard King; *Personalize Your Packages.*

5 *Safety, First, Last, and Always,* Remote Broadcast, Jackson County.

6 *Evergreens For Christmas Decorations,* George Ziegler; *What's Ahead For 1961,* Louise Young.

7 *Set The Scene For Christmas,* Mrs. Mathilda Schwalbach; *For The Christmas Cooky Tray,* Mrs. Lora Schlaefer.

8 *Our IFYE To The Netherlands,* Joan Reid, Verne Varney; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

9 *Invitation To Reading: "Now I Remember"* by Thornton Burgess, Hazel Straight Stafford.

10 *Easy To Serve Christmas Refreshments,* Jane Comings; *Questions In The Mail.*

12 *Be Good To Your Furs,* Helen Pearson; *Candy For Christmas, Of Course,* Mrs. John Rossmiller.

13 *Christmas Lights, All Through The House,* Elinor Brechler; *Good Grooming For Clothes,* Lenore Landry.

14 *Needlework Returns,* Helen Allen; *Utensils Make Good Gifts,* Mrs. Joan Hood.

15 *Nutrition Research For The Space Traveler,* Norma Bevic; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

16 *Invitation To Reading: Books, The Best Of Gifts,* Mrs. Orrilla Blackshear.

17 *Make A Christmas Pudding,* Mrs. Gertrude Anderson.

19 *Small Equipment For Christmas Gifts,* Mrs. Katherine Bailey; *Specialties For The Feast,* Mrs. Lynndon Brooks.

20 *Selecting Christmas Plants,* L. M. Berninger; *Christmas Wrappings, A Part Of The Gift,* Jane Graff.

21 *Final Touches To The Bird,* Mrs. Lora Schlaefer; *Check On The Slighted Meals.*

22 *Your Home At Holiday Time,* Gertrude Hoffmann; *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

23 *Invitation To Reading: Jane Addams, A Centennial Reader,* Hazel Straight Stafford.

24 *The Wonder Of Christmas!*

26 *May The Joys Of Christmas Be With You Today And Through The New Year!*

27 *Gloxinias For Winter Bloom,* Stanley Dulin; *Housing The Family,* Mrs. Marion Longbotham.

28 *Color, The Coordinator,* Mrs. Agnes Leindorff; *Look To The New Year.*

29 *What's In The Market,* Doris Staidl.

30 *There's Therapy In Music,* Leo Muskatevc.

31 *A Visitor From The Philippines,* Lourdes Garabato.

The Week At A Glance---November-December, 1960 Programs

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY*	
7:15	(The State FM Network	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Report	7:15
7:22	and WLBL sign on at	Motor Safety	Farm Feature	Farm Feature	Farm Feature	Farm Feature	Social Security Report	7:22
7:30	noon on Sunday. Pro-	Band Wagon	Pops Concert	Band Wagon	Pops Concert	Band Wagon	Pops Concert	7:30
7:45	grams before noon are	News, Weather	News, Weather	News, Weather	News, Weather	News, Weather	News and Weather	7:45
8:00	on WHA and WHA-FM only)	Morning Concert	Morning Concert	Morning Concert	Morning Concert	Morning Concert	Morning Concert	8:00
9:00	Music for Sunday	London Forum	Quiz The Professor	B'cast on B'cast	Con. Comment	Radio Journal	Wis. Outdoors	9:00
9:15	Music for Sunday	London Forum	Quiz The Professor	March of Medicine	Con. Comment	Radio Journal	Date Line London	9:15
9:30	Music for Sunday	World of Nature	Experimenters	Let's Write	Exploring News	Rhythm and Games	Music for Piano	9:30
9:50	Music for Sunday	Market Report	Market Report	Market Report	Market Report	Market Report	Music for Piano	9:50
9:55	News	News	News	News	News	News	News	9:55
10:00	Chamber Music	Homemakers	Homemakers	Homemakers	Homemakers	Homemakers	Homemakers	10:00
10:30	Stereo Concert	Musical Moments	Musical Moments	Voters Forum	PTA Program	Dear Sirs	Musical Moments	10:30
10:45	Stereo Concert	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News	From Sweden	10:45
11:00	Stereo Concert	History of Religions	Freshman Forum	History of Religions	Freshman Forum	Special Lectures	Dear Sirs	11:00
11:15	Stereo Concert	History of Religions	Freshman Forum	History of Religions	Freshman Forum	Special Lectures	Call from London	11:15
11:50	Stereo Concert	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale (11:30)	11:50
12:00	Sunday Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	Noon Musicale	12:00
12:20	Sunday Musicale	News	News	News	News	News	News	12:20
12:30	Sunday Musicale	Farm Program	Farm Program	Farm Program	Farm Program	Farm Program	Farm Program	12:30
1:00	Books of Today	Chapter A Day	Chapter A Day	Chapter A Day	Chapter A Day	Chapter A Day	Listen to the Land	1:00
1:30	News in America	Lives of Man	Let's Draw	Let's Sing	Music Time	Book Trails	Poet's World	1:30
1:45	News in America	From Sweden	Let's Draw	Let's Sing	Music Time	Book Trails	Poet's World	1:45
2:00	Encore	Russian Literature	Let's Find Out I	Let's Find Out II	Wisconsin Series	Russian Literature	Saturday Concert	2:00
2:15	Encore	Russian Literature	Georgetown Forum	Continents in Motion	Yale Reports	Russian Literature	Saturday Concert	2:15
2:45	Encore	Russian Literature	French Press	Germany Today	Over Back Fence	Russian Literature	Saturday Concert	2:45
2:55	Encore	News	News	News	News	News	Saturday Concert	2:55
3:00	French Masterworks	Music of the Masters	Music of Our Times	Music of the Masters	Scenes from Operas	Music of the Masters	Saturday Concert	3:00
3:30	BBC Theater	Music of the Masters	Music of Our Times	Music of the Masters	Scenes from Operas	Music of the Masters	Saturday Concert	3:30
4:00	BBC Theater	Etc. . . .	Teacher Time	Etc. . . .	Reading the Writer	Etc. . . .	Alpine Melodies	4:00
4:15	BBC Theater	Etc. . . .	Teacher Time	Etc. . . .	French Program	Etc. . . .	Alpine Melodies	4:15
4:30	BBC Theater	Jazz Impressions	Folk Songs	Jazz Impressions	At Your Request	Jazz Impressions	WHA Sign Off	4:30
5:00	Organ Music	Just for Fun	Just for Fun	Just for Fun	Just for Fun	Just for Fun		5:00
5:15	Organ Music	Story Time	Story Time	Story Time	Story Time	Story Time		5:15
5:30	Music from Lawrence	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News	Views of the News		5:30
5:45	News	News	News	News	News	News		5:45
5:55	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up	Weather Round-up		5:55
6:00	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale		6:00
6:30	Special Lectures	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale	Dinner Musicale		6:30
7:00	Special Lectures	Chapter a Day	Chapter a Day	Chapter a Day	Chapter a Day	Chapter a Day		7:00
7:30	Music from Germany	Everybody's Mount.	Comment on Minority	Teacher Time	Poet's World	Greek and Roman		
8:00	Drugs and You	Milwaukee Forum	Milwaukee Forum	Features	Freshman Forum	Freshman Forum		
8:30	FM Concert	Milwaukee Forum	Milwaukee Forum	FM Concert	Freshman Forum	Freshman Forum		
8:50	FM Concert	FM Concert	FM Concert	FM Concert	FM Concert	FM Concert		
10:50	Sign Off	News	News	News	News	News		
11:00		Sign Off	Sign Off	Sign Off	Sign Off	Sign Off		11:00

*With the exception of U.W. Football broadcasts Saturday programs are broadcast on WHA only.

WHA and WLBL Sign Off at 4:30 p.m. in November. In December, WHA Signs Off at 4:30 p.m. and WLBL at 4:15 p.m.

The WISCONSIN STATE BROADCASTING SERVICE

FM CONCERT

8:50 P.M. Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday

8:30 P.M. Sunday, Wednesday

NOVEMBER

1 MOZART: Concerto in C, Koechel 503
HAYDN: Symphony No. 91 in E-Flat
BACH: Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G

2 VERDI: Il Trovatore

3 HANDEL: Flute Sonata in B minor
VIVALDI: Two Concertos from The Seasons
CIMAROSA: Flute Concerto

4 FALLA: El Amor Brujo
DEBUSSY: Three Nocturnes
WALTON: Symphony 1935

6 SCHOENBERG: Gurrelieder
BLOCH: Concerto Grosso No. 2

7 MOZART: Symphony No. 36 in C, K. 425
Concerto in C minor, K. 491
Quartet for Flute and Strings in G

8 SIBELIUS: Violin Concerto in D minor
BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 5 in C minor
BORODIN: Quartet No. 2 in D

9 BRITTEN: The Little Sweep

10 TCHAIKOVSKY: Symphony No. 6 in B minor
PROKOFIEV: Classical Symphony
BALAKIREV: Thamar

11 SCHUBERT: Schwanengesang
BEETHOVEN: Concerto No. 1 in C, piano
GOUNOD: Symphony No. 2 in E-Flat

13 RACHMANINOFF: The Bells, opus 35
LISZT: Prometheus
CHOPIN: Polonaise No. 5 in F-sharp

14 BRAHMS: Concerto in B-Flat, piano
MOZART: Horn Concerto No. 3 in E-Flat
KHACHATURIAN: Violin Concerto

15 BACH: Brandenburg Concerto No. 6 in B-Flat
Italian Concerto
ALBINONI: Concerto for Oboe, Strings, Continuo

16 MOZART: Magic Flute

17 BEETHOVEN: Triple Concerto
Symphony No. 1
Octet in E-Flat

18 BERLIOZ: Songs
Royal Hunt and Storm
BRUCKNER: Symphony No. 7

20 FACULTY RECITAL
Donald Whittaker, trumpet
Dale Gilbert, baritone

21 HAYDN: Symphony No. 104 in D
SCHUBERT: Introduction and Variation in E minor
MENDELSSOHN: Andante, Scherzo, Capriccio and Fugue

22 BEETHOVEN: Quartet in B-Flat, opus 130
BARTOK: Concerto for Orchestra
NIELSEN: Little Suite for Strings

23 MUSSORGSKY: Boris Godounov (part 1)

24 BACH: Suite for Orchestra No. 4
SCHUTZ: Sacred Concerti
ROSETTI: Horn Concerto

25 FAURE: Songs
FRANCK: Quartet in D
LULLY: Ballet Suite

27 FACULTY RECITAL: Gunnar Johansen (8:00 P.M.)

28 RESPIGHI: Suite No. 1 on Ancient Airs
MOZART: Concerto in D minor, K. 466
DVORAK: Symphony No. 5 in E minor

29 BRAHMS: Clarinet Quintet in B minor
LALO: Cello Concerto
SIBELIUS: Symphony No. 1

30 MUSSORGSKY: Boris Godounov (part 2)

DECEMBER

1 The Play of Daniel, a 12th century drama
PEZEL: Tower and Festive Music
BEETHOVEN: Concerto No. 2, piano

2 TCHAIKOVSKY: Suite No. 3
SAINT-SAENS: Concerto No. 2, piano
HAYDN: Symphony No. 102 in B-Flat

4 LUTHERAN A CAPPELLA CHOIR

5 BRAHMS: Liebeslieder Waltzes
LISZT: Hungarian Fantasy
SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 2 in C

6 BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 9 in D minor
BACH: Orchestral Suite No. 2
HANDEL: Concerto Grosso in F major, opus 9

7 CIMAROSA: Il Matrimonio Segreto

8 TANEIEV: Concert Suite
MUSSORGSKY: Pictures at an Exhibition
RACHMANINOFF: Symphony No. 1 in D minor

9 RAVEL: Daphnis and Chloe
BRITTEN: Sinfonia da Requiem
SCHUBERT: Symphony No. 4 in C minor

11 UNIVERSITY CHORUS (8:00 P.M.)

12 MOZART: Concerto in D, K. 537
HAYDN: Symphony No. 44 in E minor
BEETHOVEN: Quintet in C major, opus 29

13 BRITTEN: Ceremony of Carols
SCHUBERT: Symphony No. 2 in B-Flat
BRAHMS: Quintet for Piano and Strings in F minor

14 DONIZETTI: Lucia di Lammermoor

15 MANFREDINI: Christmas Concerto
BACH, C.P.E.: Sonata in F minor
BOCCHERINI: Quintet in C minor

16 BACH, J. S.: Double Concerto, violin
SOLER: Quintet for organ and strings
MENDELSSOHN: Symphony No. 4 in A

18 BOULANGER: Pie Jesu
LALANDE: Cantique Spirituel
MARCHAND: Cantique Spirituel

19 BACH: Musical Offering
TORELLI: Christmas Concerto
BEETHOVEN: Sonata in C major, opus 53

20 MUSIC FOR MEDIEVAL COURT AND COUNTRY-SIDE
HAYDN: Symphony No. 64
PERGOLESI: Concertino in B-Flat

21 BERLIOZ: L'Enfance du Christ

22 MOZART: Concerto in E-Flat, two pianos, K. 365
CORELLI: Christmas Concerto
SCARLATTI: Concerto No. 3 in F

23 DISTLER: Christmas Story
HONEGGER: Cantate de Noel
RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: Christmas Eve Suite

25 HANDEL: Messiah

26 SCHUBERT: Moments Musicaux
Trio in B-Flat
Symphony No. 9 in C

27 BRAHMS: Piano Quartet in A
PAGANINI: Violin Concerto in D major
CHOPIN: Sonata in B minor

28 PUCCINI: Madame Butterfly

29 SCHUBERT: Trout Quintet
SCHUMANN: Piano Concerto A minor
TCHAIKOVSKY: Manfred

30 STRAUSS: Songs
GRIEG: Piano Concerto
MOZART: Symphony No. 38

BBC Theater

3:30 P.M. Sunday in November
(3:00 P.M. in December)

A great variety of dramatic programs will be presented on the BBC Theater during November and December ranging from modern radio drama to adaptations from the ancient Greek theater.

November 6
Lenz, a dramatic monologue by Georg Buchner translated by Goronwy Rees and performed by Paul Scofield with music composed by Humphrey Searle. Reinhold Lenz (1751-1792) was a friend of Goethe who temporarily lost his sanity. In this monologue, Buchner draws a gripping portrait of Lenz as he descends into the vortex of schizophrenia.

November 13
No Program. (Live concert by the University A Cappella Choir.)

November 20
A Dialogue on Liberty, by Maurice Cranston. John Stuart Mill is played by *Felix Aylmer* and *Richard Hurndall* portrays James Fitzjames Stephen.

November 27
The Countess Cathleen, by W. B. Yeats. First produced in 1899, the play is set in Ireland in ancient times. Into the land of famine two merchants come to buy people's souls for money.

December 4
Menander's "Misanthrope." Until 50 years ago, the works of the Greek dramatist Menander were only known through his adapter, Terence and through fragments quoted in other writers. Then a papyrus containing an almost complete play was discovered in Egypt in 1957. The play was *Dyscolos or Misanthrope*. The translation is by Philip Vellacott and it was adapted and produced for the BBC by Raymond Raikes.

December 11
The Guilt of King Polycrates. A verse play for radio by Peter Gurney. The play is based on Herodotus.

December 18
A Glimpse of the Sea, by Willis Hall. The setting of this play is a seedy private hotel in a seaside town in the North of England; the problem is the age-old one of the relationship between a man and a woman, or rather, two women.

December 25
The Ox and the Ass, by Jules Supervielle. The tale of the Child born at Bethlehem, told from the point of view of the Ox and the Ass. Andre Almuro one of France's most distinguished practitioners in the field of *musique concrete* has provided the incidental music.

MUSIC OF THE MASTERS

3:00 P.M. Monday, Wednesday, Friday

NOVEMBER

2 BUSONI: Sonata No. 2 in E Minor, Violin and Piano
4 MOZART: Quintet in G Minor, K. 516
7 STRAUSS: Dance Suite (based on music of Couperin)
9 MENDELSSOHN: Symphony No. 2
11 GORDELLI: Piano Concerto in C Minor
14 CHAUSSON: Symphony in B-Flat
16 BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 6 in F Major
18 ELGAR: Falstaff (Symphonic Study in C Minor)
21 RACHMANINOFF: Symphony No. 2 in E Minor
23 BACH: Concerto in D Minor, Harpsichord and Orch.
25 VIEUXTEMPS: Violin Concerto No. 4 in D Minor
28 TANEIEV: Trio in D Major, Op. 22
30 BRAHMS: Trio in B Major, Op. 8

DECEMBER

2 BEETHOVEN: Symphony No. 8 in F Major
5 HAYDN: Quartet in D Major, Op. 76, No. 5
7 DVORAK: Symphonic Variations, Op. 78
9 BOCCHERINI: Quintet in G Major, Op. 60, No. 5
12 BALAKIREV: Symphony No. 1 in C Major
14 FRANCK: Symphony in D Minor
16 SCHUMANN: Symphony No. 3 in E-Flat Major
19 TCHAIKOVSKY: Violin Concerto in D Major
21 HANDEL: Concerto Grosso No. 4 in F Major
23 BACH: Cantata No. 63 (Christmas)
26 BRAHMS: Concerto in A Minor, Cello and Violin and Orch.
28 STRAUSS: Metamorphosen
30 SCHUBERT: Symphony No. 6 in C Major

Chapter a Day Rebroadcasts

7:00 P.M. Monday through Friday

Fact, fiction, and assorted short stories will be presented in this popular series. The reader is Karl Schmidt, WHA Production Manager.

November 7-11
The Hands of Cormac Jones, by Leonard Wibberly

November 14-25
No Room in the Ark, by Alan Moorehead

November 28—December 2
Five Short Stories by George Vukelich

December 5-16
The Luck of Ginger Coffey, by Brian Moore

Programs from Other Schools

Sunday Evening Special Lectures

6:30 P.M. Sunday

(Repeated Friday at 11:00 A.M.)

1. WORLD PERSPECTIVES
A series of talks from New York's Cooper Union Forum, presented by the NAEB in cooperation with station WNYC.

November 6
Unfettering of Eve, Lena Levine, psychiatrist

November 13
Language and the Legacy of Babel, Mario Pei, Professor of Romance Languages, Columbia University

November 20
World Indivisible, Lionel Landry, Director, Northeast Region, Foreign Policy Association

2. ART IN EVOLUTION
Another series from the Cooper Union

November 27
Mood or Message: Why Art? Bernard S. Myers, Editor-in-Chief McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc.

December 4
New Meanings From New Materials, Jean Sandelin, interior designer

December 11
The Scope of Architecture, Louis I. Kahn, architect, FAIA

December 18
New Trends in Modern Literature, Marc Slonim, author and critic

December 25
Poetry, John Ciardi, Poetry Editor, *Saturday Review*

Milwaukee Forum

8:00 P.M. Monday and Tuesday

From the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee comes this series of lectures and discussions on *The City: Its Life, Its Business, Its Culture.*

November 7
The Corporation—Its Relationship to the Community and Its Government, John H. Smith, Professor of Commerce, UW-M.

November 8
Class Discussion with Professor Smith

November 14
Our Urban Plant, Herman G. Berkman, Associate Professor of Economics, UW-M

November 15
Class Discussion with Professor Berkman

November 21
The Role of the Business Executive in His Community, Robert S. Stevenson, President, Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company

November 22
Class Discussion with Mr. Stevenson

November 28
No broadcast because of Thanksgiving Vacation

November 29
The Advancement of the Arts in Milwaukee, William W. Cary, President, Wisconsin Arts Foundation and Council; Secretary, Board of Trustees, Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company

December 5
How Do Milwaukee's Art Activities Compare with Other Cities? Donald Key, Art Editor, *Milwaukee Journal*

December 6
Class Discussion with Mr. Cary and Mr. Key

December 12
Music—the Leaven of Culture, Lorenz W. Heise, Past President, Civic Music Association; Director, Material Process and Controls, A. O. Smith Corporation

December 13
Class Discussion with Mr. Heise

December 19
Are the Arts Part of Milwaukee's Life? Ruth Wilson, Assistant Professor of Music, UW-M

December 20
Class Discussion with Professor Wilson

Drugs and Your Nervous System

8:00 P.M. Sunday

Dr. Morton J. Rodman, Professor of Pharmacology at the Rutgers University College of Pharmacy examines the varied drugs available today and comments on how beneficial or detrimental they may be.

November 6
Drug Addiction, how people become addicted to drugs and what we can do about the problem

November 13
The Aspirin Age, the wonder drug and its relatives

November 20
Drugs for the Age of Anxiety, the new tranquilizer drugs for treating tension

November 27
No broadcast. (See FM Concert)

December 4
Nervous System Stimulants, "pep pills," stay awake drugs, and drug depression antidotes

December 11
No broadcast. (See FM Concert)

December 18
Drugs for the Depressed, the "psychic energizers."

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING SERVICE ON THESE STATIONS

AM STATIONS

WHA (Madison)	970 kc.
WLBL (Auburndale)	930 kc.

FM STATIONS

WHA-FM (Madison)	88.7 mc.
WHAD (Delafield)	90.7 mc.
WHKW (Chilton)	89.3 mc.
WHRM (Rib Mountain)	91.9 mc.
WHWC (Colfax)	88.3 mc.
WHLA (West Salem)	90.3 mc.
WHHI (Highland)	91.3 mc.
WHSA (Brule)	89.9 mc.

WISCONSIN STATE BROADCASTING SERVICE
Radio Hall, University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Comment on a Minority

7:30 P.M. Tuesday

A series from Purdue University on race relations. Thirteen individuals distinguished in this area are presented in discussions on the position of the Negro in the United States.

November 1
Miss Pauli Murray. A successful New York attorney and author of a comprehensive volume on legislation in the United States affecting the Negro.

November 8
Judge J. Waites Waring, Ret. Before his retirement, Judge Waring was United States District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina. While on the bench, he made a number of decisions relating to segregation practices.

November 15
Miss Lilian Smith. This widely read and often controversial author sets forth her opinions, and the background for these opinions, on race relations in the South.

November 22
Harold Fleming. who he?

November 29
Rev. William Borders. Pastor of the largest Negro congregation in the South, a position which has brought him into a role of leadership.

December 6
Dr. Benjamin E. Mays. President of Morehouse College in Atlanta, and a highly respected Negro leader, Dr. Mays discusses the forces operating both for and against segregation.

December 13
Dr. Omer Carmichael. The late superintendent of schools in Louisville discusses school integration procedures in that city.

December 20
Elmer Carter. A commissioner serving the New York State Commission Against Discrimination. He discusses the pioneer anti-discrimination legislation of the state of New York.

December 27
Dr. Arnold Rose. Dr. Rose collaborated with Gunnar Myrdal on *An American Dilemma.* He traces the changing position of the Negro in American society since 1940.

Everybody's Mountain

7:30 P.M. Monday

These programs were broadcast last year and are being repeated by request. The series was written, narrated and produced by Robert L. Shayon, who traveled throughout the United States for six months visiting schools, universities, and educational experiments. The broadcasts are designed to offer a fresh, entertaining and significant series of insights into American education in the 20th century.

November 7
Conversational Spanish and Portable Schools in Miami, Florida

November 14
SUPRAD (School and University Research and Development Program) at Harvard's Graduate School of Education

November 21
The Dunbar Vocational High School, in Chicago

November 28
Geometry in the First Grade at Stanford Elementary School, Palo Alto, California

December 5
The Community School Idea in Flint, Michigan

December 12
The Educational Television Experiment in the Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida

December 19
The Atlanta Program for the Education of the Blind

December 26
The Team-Teaching Experiment of Harvard University and Lexington, Massachusetts

10/26/60

Dear HCF:

Thought you might like to see this. I've called to let them know who you are - I'll call Purdue if you say.

Looks like a lot goes on. Why doesn't SRC do something? We greatly appreciate the regular materials and continuing insights. Heard Herman Long here the other night on NAACP "Freedom

Dinner "trail. Mostly pretty good — on the "sit-ins".

A little too pro-NAACP's role, and in "good-white" reaction, and also hurry along with Negro leadership to satisfy any high standards of objectivity.

How is the new office, Personnel relations, and the families of those who have came (or come)

Best wishes to all

P.S.
What about G.S.M.
Is he in Atlanta

Fran
David has the mumps.

via air mail

January 23, 1961

Mr. Emory F. Via
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

We have been having a pretty wild time down here, which is why I am so grievously long in writing my thanks for the various good offices that you have performed for SRC. It is comforting to know that we have a faithful agent who acts on his own initiative so generously and well.

Your letter to Mr. Wilson of AFSCME was handsomely done. I will let you know what results, if any, we perceive here. Just so you will be informed, I am enclosing a list of the unions to which Al Kehrer wrote on behalf of SRC. We have indicated which of them responded and how. Ben Segal writes me that the question of a $1,000 contribution form IUD is still a live possibility.

Do keep up the good job of posting me on developments in labor there in Wisconsin, including Gaylord's fortunes. I am still hoping he will end up in the U. S. Senate.

We think often of you and Margaret and miss you both. The very best from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo

University of Wisconsin Extension Division

FROM | **DATE**

TO

1/17/61

Harold:

Doubt anything will come of this. However, if there is further response from ~~the~~ AESCME and I can help, don't hesitate to call on me.

Just received Federal Exec. & Civil Rts — looks good and certainly a worthy topic. Take it that note requesting not to quote is partly a matter of political timing.

Best wishes, Ed

January 17, 1961

Mr. Henry T. Wilson,
Administrative Attorney
American Federation of State, County
and Municipal Employees
815 Mount Vernon Place, N.W.
Washington 1, D. C.

COPY

Dear Brother Wilson:

I have your letter of December 27 which refers to a request from the Southern Regional Council for a contribution. I am aware that the AFSCME is in a tight financial situation. Of course, I consider the work of the Council of crucial importance and deserving of support from all who are able; I think that this applies in a special way to organized labor. What the Council does today, and has been doing for years now, will make a great deal of difference in the kind of settlement that is finally reached in the South. This means that if we obtain an enlightened and democratic society that the work of all of us who share democratic aims will be aided.

Now, to your suggestion of a direct appeal to your southern locals. I doubt that you could expect much response from them. However, an attempt to reach a few selected locals would be worth the effort in terms of bringing them into contact with a reputable human relations agency that works for peaceful and democratic change. Although the amount of money received might not seem too significant, an organization such as the Southern Regional Council always profits from a broad base of support and from meaningful contacts within the region it serves.

I would suggest, then, that a letter be sent from the national office to W.A. Rowe and Don McCullar (Texas) requesting that they name two or three locals that might be receptive to an appeal and explanation regarding the work of the Council. I suggest Rowe because of his position and the fact that he has had at least casual contact with SRC and McCullar because he attended one of the week-long institutes for labor staff held at Fisk University under SRC auspices. Your office would be in a better position than I to determine if other staff persons would also have useful suggestions.

I do not want to get in the position of telling you how to do it, but a letter from the national office supporting the appeal would perhaps be most effective, and there should be no adverse effects if the locals

are carefully selected. You might consider a more general appeal or a "thought you would like to know" approach to all locals as one way of showing the national's continuing interest in human relations and that there are positive forces at work in the South which represent respectability as well as a facing of the Twentieth Century. This latter is mentioned only as a possibility and not as a strategy that has been thought through for your case. But such near-casual contacts in this field which serve as reminders of decency, change, and its acceptability, can have a worthwhile cumulative effect that may be more rewarding than more dramatic moves.

A list of locals potentially interested in consideration of southern problems could be used by the Council, I should think, to put the human relations councils with which it cooperates in each state on notice that there are locals that might welcome an approach that offers a speaker, consultation, or invitation to some other meeting. This would be a move to further education in human relations without financial support being the object in mind.

I hope that the AFSCME will find a way to aid and cooperate with the Southern Regional Council. I, and they, know of the practical problems that you must face, but their work is extremely important and offers one of the very best channels to an organization such as yours for cooperative action in the South.

Let me know if there is any way that I can be of further assistance. I have enjoyed my contact with AFSCME affiliates here in Wisconsin and the occasion to see President Zander from time to time. Currently, here, we are working on plans for an expanded summer institute program--one that originated on an annual basis with the Wisconsin Council of County and Municipal Employees about four years ago.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

EFV

Emory F. Via

EFV:jc

COPY

Harold:

The attached letter received today. My immediate response is that there is not much that can be done through the locals in the South. There is one of their staff men in the South who came to Fisk and would be responsive - he is in Texas. A letter to the regional director, Rowe might get some favorable response if he could think of a local that would not be offended by contributing to SRC. — I can check that through my files

The AFSCME is in a tight financial situation at present. They failed to get a much needed dues increase at their last convention, and the national's share of the dues is not very great. I'll write Wildon direct and send you a copy if I come up with a suggestion. It could not end up in much money but I think it a good idea to keep the contact live. Also, some of their people really know the ins and outs of local govenrmments and could be useful if they also happendd to be good eggs.

I am glad to know that some SRC appeals are going to unions. Would be happy to receive a report on who received and appeal, if any response, and if there is any way I can help back stop your efforts.

Understand you put the Kebosh on Fullbright in N.Y. Gaylord is going to be up against a couple of tough and unpleasant years I'm afraid.

Best wishes to all there. Margaret joins me in sending not only good wishes but our heartfelt appreciation to you and the Council and its staff for all that you continue to do and mean to the South.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory

12/29/60

American Federation of
STATE, COUNTY, and MUNICIPAL Employees
AFL - CIO

815 Mt. Vernon Place N.W.
Washington 1, D.C.

Arnold S. Zander
President
Gordon W. Chapman
International Secretary Treasurer

Tel. Executive 3-9430

27 Dec. 1960
dic 12/23

Mr. Emory Via
Wisconsin School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Sir and Brother:

Mr. Harold Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council has written President Zander for a contribution to support the Council's program. Because of the very tight financial picture in our union we have been forced to cut back on contributions of this type. The question was raised about the possibility of getting money directly from our local unions especially in the southern area where the Council is most active. It was suggested that I write you to get your feeling on such a proposal.

You have had some contact with our members in the South and know of our efforts to work in the field of civil rights. Some of our people would, no doubt, act negatively about such a proposal. Have you had any experience during your time with the Council which might be helpful in developing a program or working on attitudes in our locals with respect to the Council's program?

We would appreciate hearing from you and thank you for any aid you can give us.

Sincerely and fraternally

Henry T. Wilson
Administrative Attorney

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

February 6, 1961

Mr. Emory F. Via
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Thanks for your note of January 26. Any backstopping at all that you can give us will be helpful and appreciated. Among others, we are under consideration currently by WPWA!

At our Executive Committeeemeeting last week, there was general agreement that we should consider reinstituting the labor consultant project, applying to AFL-CIO for the funds, if a suitable person could be found. Raul Christopher spoke to the urgency of this, especially in view of the failure of AFL-CIO to crank up its own program, although funds have been appropriated for it for a year now. As evidence for the need, he said that even though Southern unionists were not particularly enthusiastic about your efforts at the time, are now wishing that you were on the job. Interested? Got any other ideas for personnel?

I got a long, sentimental call from Gaylord and Carrie Lee the other night, inspired by the brief notoriety I received in the New York Times last week. They're a lovely pair.

The best to you and Margaret from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MEMO

TO HTF & MF
FROM BFV
DATE 1/26/61

50 YEARS OF STATE WIDE SERVICE
THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION

RECEIVED
JAN 30 1961

Thanks for list of Unions affiliated by Kehrer. Good job. Impressed by power within IBEW — good gimmick and appropriate. I know you have been busy. Me — just itchy. I'm sorry for definite turndowns by Meatcutters and Machinists. Is it timely or appropriate for me to ~~[illegible]~~ backstop you with Communications Workers and Rubber ~~[illegible]~~ workers? Best to all. Gerry

March 28, 1961

Mr. Emory F. Via
5710 Anchorage Avenue
Madison 5, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

It was indeed good to get your letter -- albeit about "labor." As to the standing invitation, would very much like to visit but can't imagine that these people will allow me to get away from my eyeshade and standing Dickens accounting desk.

On the specific requests, these are the situations:

(1) Packinghouse Workers: Initial request sent over Al Kehrer's signature - July 22, 1960. Followup letterrsent by Fleming on October 17. Received reply from Helstein on November 8, requesting that we ask again in February 1961. Fleming wrote on February 6. No reply to date.

(2) Communication Workers: Initial request from Kehrer, July 22, 1960. Followup by Fleming, October 14, 1960. Response in its entirety: "This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 14. After discussing the matter with my associates, we are of the opinion that we do not want to authorize a contribution to the work of the Southern Regional Council at this time." J. A. Beirne, President.

(3) Rubber Workers: Letter from Kehrer, July 22; Followup October 14. No response.

The Kehrer efforts were successful however. Attached is a schedule of our labor contributions during 1960. In addition, we received in January 1961 a contribution of $500 from the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

These are, of course, changing times. Sometime later in the year we want to again launch a major fund drive. As you know, I have serious reservations about accepting labor money -- but we'll probably have no choice! In which case, we would like to call on you for substantial help. In the meantime, the three above don't look encouraging, but if you can do anything it would be nice.

My very best to Margaret and The Boy. You must come to see us soon. We have gone (almost) respectable here in the new location. Pleases me of course, except we still have too many people and too few machines. But, the matter is being corrected slowly.

Best, from all of us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF LEEN SAN DE FUR

MILDRED FLOWERS

RE: PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA

7/22

Initial request sent over Al Kehrer's signature. Follow-up ltr sent: Oct. 17, 1960.

Received reply from Mr. Helstein on Nov. 8, 1960 requesting that we follow-up again in February 1961.

HCF sent follow-up Feb. 6, 1961 to which we have received no reply. (SEE ATTACHED CORRESPONDENCE)

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF [redacted]
MILDRED FLOWERS

PA,

RE: Communications Workers of America

Initial request sent over Al Kehrer's signature July 22, 1960;

Followup ltr from ~~Kehrer~~ Nef sent Oct. 14, 1960.

For response: SEE ATTACHED LETTER FROM Mr. Beirne, the President.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF LEEN SAN & FUR

MILDRED FLOWERS

RE: RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA

Initial ltr sent over Al. Kehrer's signature: July 22, 1960

Follow-up ltr from ~~Kehrer~~ Hef sent: OCT. 14, 1960

So far no response at all

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

March 21, 1961

Mr. Paul AnthonY
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta

Dear Paul:

Out of the clear blue it comes to me now and then how nice it would be to see you. See, life still holds surprises. For the record you have a standing invitation to visit this northern clime at the time that most suits your tastes.

But that's not what I'm writing about. In late January I offered to backstop SRC appeals to several unions. Due to a number of circumstances it has not been done. I hesitate to write now because you may have already received a definite no, or yes, from them. So if you could scribble a note indicating if you have heard from 1) Communications Workers of America, 2) United Rubber Workers of America, and 3) United Packinghous Workers of America I would then know how to proceed. Also if there is any otheroutfit at this time which another prod would help, just say so.

Give best wishes to all there. Margaret and I still consider it a matter of special pride to have been associated with SRC. We know that hands continue to be full there. The whole crew has our best wishes in all good works.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

LWDV

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN MF
University Extension Division
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

March 31, 1961

RECEIVED
APR 3 1961

Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Slim Hal Legend:

Your last communique of so long ago deserved a quicker answer. Good on reconsidering labor job at SRC. I don't have many suggestions. But if the Council gets serious in this regard, I would love to hear more and do what I can to help out.

There are some things to keep in mind in re-establishing such a post. And were I you, I would do some consulting before making a definite move - or at least have your operational method in mind before proceeding. There have been some changes since I was in Atlanta.

The civil rights department of the AFL-CIO has established a southern committee largely through JLC interest and the need to do something. Candid conversations with Stanton Smith and Ben should help determine what is being done and if there would be any stickiness - partly depends on what you want from unions themselves. The Negro American Labor Council has been formed, its "program" not too clear, but it is as yet undigested by American labor. Phillip Randolph's renewed attacks on failures of AFL-CIO led to Zimmerman's resignation as chairman of Civil Rights Committee, the policy group. I don't know the ends and out on this, except when Z. went in the JLC considered this favorable to them; he is probably a good enough guy, but without the stature required to move much inside such an organization. Herb Hill is even more on the outs with labor leadership in what has become a kind of warfare; also many human relations types being critical of Hill. The JLC particularly critical of Herb. JLC plays a different role as the insider, organizationally, and comes close to being the apologists. If you get to see Fleischman, he could be helpful. His approach is closer to JLC, but you know him as a man of good balance. His basic position is more, not so much apologists as along the lines of accentuating the positive.

In sum: the tensions (inter-organizational) have perhaps increased. There is a renewed focus on the South. Negro actionists in this field probably feel an increased pressure to keep up with the militant sentiments engendered by other direct action approaches in the race relations field.

I have no doubt that there is still an abundance of useful work to be done and that SRC could do it better than anyone else in view; a concerted effort within labor to stop such a "competitive" effort might be disastrous. I think there are grounds for wanting to know in advance what the relations might be with such a group as the Southern C. R. Committee.

I would not know how to judge Paul C.'s opinion that the labor movement is more receptive now than formerly. I always felt that within the South there was more interest than I would have suspected and certainly more than most national union offices suspected. A number of the state bodies were quite friendly and even eager to find some way of expressing their concerns or of reaching their own members on problems they knew would have to be found.

(a) Ray Marshall, Economics Department, LSU, who did the Fund for the Republic (Center for Dem. Institutions) study, might be worth consulting. An outside possibility for the job. He did an extensive survey. He has made at least one summary report to labor education directors of unions. Again, Ben could help evaluate. I should think that Ray's judgments re: labor and race in South and receptivity to dealing with the problem on part of unions at all levels would be of some real use.

(b) Let me know if there is any way I can be of use. I'd be happy to function as explorer, sounder-outer, or liason in any way that seemed feasible to you.

(c) Well, you can see that in spite of the delay you got my glands activated. Man, there are days when readjustment comes as slow as reapportionment.

(d) Which reminds me: is there anything new or interesting on the county unit front and with whom should I be in touch re same?

To other matters. SRC national publicity greatly improved. Mainly due to Executive action proposals. Excellent job, publicity, and supporting stuff, e.g. "slim-legend" bit in NYT. It has also focused public opinion (to such extent as there is an interested public) on this problem in a way nothing else has done. To all concerned, my congratulations. I have some clips to send if they ever reach the surface again. I'm sure you saw references in the Reporter. Friends Committee on National Legislation also carried a supporting piece. I use your stuff in class. Would like to continue to use in more detail this summer as a slight

contribution to and molding supporting opinion. A recent exam given to Steelworkers had three related questions along these lines. On the whole the response was good, i.e., in terms of learning what can be done.

The Via's keep knocking along. Yesterday was the tenth anniversary of togetherness. Do you hear that Carolyn Becknell is tying up? Best wishes around the shop and at home.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV:je

July 11, 1961

Mr. and Mrs. Emory Via
5710 Anchorage Avenue
Madison 5, Wisconsin

Dear Margaret and Emory:

I don't know whether to thank you or reprimand you, but I feel like doing the former. You are very wonderful people to want to make a gift to the Council. Thank you and thank you.

We are slowly settling down so far as staff is concerned, and rapidly unsettling so far as program is concerned. It begins to seem that each week brings new propositions for a new sort of project that somebody wants us to do. I have thought more than once of writing to you, as a matter of fact, regarding one of them on the slight chance that it might interest you personally. To keep a long story very brief, we are being propositioned to set up and operate a center for foreign visitors to TVA in Knoxville: close collaboration with TVA, subsidy by the Stern Family Fund. If we do this, we have to have a program director. Would this titillate any unstilled yearnings to return to Dixie?

Jim Moss, our new research director, checked in yesterday; Margaret Boozer, our new research assistant, arrived last week. We shall have two junior research assistants handling materials and various research assignments: one of them, Dottie Miller, is already here and the other, Jane Bond (daughter of Horace Mann Bond) will report in August. These people plus Montez Albright ought to give us a crack research staff. Marge Manderson has moved up to work with Paul Rilling. John Constable has departed and been replaced, as of last week, by Margaret Long, whom I am sure you will remember. We are adding another part-time field consultant to Ben Muse's team, this one to reach industrialists on questions of employment discrimination. His name is Julian Longley, now in semi-retirement but formerly a manager of textile plants in West Point, Dalton, and Bristol, and for a while an owner of one, and by golly! a Believer.

Paul Christopher keeps urging that we re-establish the old labor program and iterates that AFL-CIO will support it. There is, however, no one on the horizon to do it.

When are you coming home for a visit?

Best wishes, and good luck,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure - official receipt

#50.00 CR
7/11/61
RHA

MARGARET VIA
5710 ANCHORAGE AVENUE
MADISON 5, WISCONSIN

7-7-61

Dear Les,

Just finished reading the latest New South and once again everything it contained was such worthwhile reading! I was particularly stimulated by the Alexandria Council story.

But I dare not show this issue to Emory until I've sent you this check — for he's sure to ask me if I've done so.

We'll tell you someday of how

we came to have $50 - that we are happy to be able to send on to you.

Give our fond regards to Peggy and to all the fine staff at SRC.

Sincerely,

Margaret

September 27, 1963

Mrs. Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant
Reference Loan Service
University Extension Division
Extension Library
The University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Trayser:

We have your letter of September 19 to Mr. Dunbar in which you requested eight (8) copies of his speech before the National Civil Liberties Clearing House Conference in March. I am sorry that it has taken this long to get copies of the speech to you, but the pressures of work has caused the delay. Enclosed you will find them, and we hope that this will be a valuable addition to your collection of materials for the Extension Centers.

I am also enclosing a publications list from which you might select some of our publications, if you so wish, which may be of some help to the Centers.

If we can be ~~66~~ further help to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ/
Enclosures - 9.

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

EXTENSION LIBRARY

September 17, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are collecting material on the subject of race relations for the use of the Extension Centers in this state in their discussion program this winter. In this connection we would greatly appreciate eight copies of your address before the Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House in March: The Impatient One-Tenth. We feel this would be a valuable addition to our collection of materials for the Centers.

Sincerely yours,

G. Trayser

Mrs. Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant
Reference Loan Service

GT:vmr

October 7, 1963

Mrs. Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant
Reference Loan Service
Extension Library
University of Wisconsin
Madison 6, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Trayser:

Under separate cover I am sending to you, as you requested in your letter of October 1, 1963, eight (8) copies each of the following:

L-Reports 22, 30, 35, 36, 41, and 44
Benjamin Muse's A Virginia View of Race and Reason

We are pleased that you feel these materials will be useful to your readers. Let us know if we can help further.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

stamps .25
10/4/63
LK

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN
EXTENSION LIBRARY

October 1, 1963

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

We appreciate greatly your kindness in providing us with eight copies of Mr. Dunbar's speech, The Impatient One-Tenth. From your publications list we have chosen eight Leadership Reports: 22, 29. 30, 35, 36, 41 and 44. Would it be possible for you to send us eight copies of each of these?

We also enclose twenty-five cents in stamps for eight copies of A Virginia View of Race and Reason, by Benjamin Muse.

Sincerely yours,

G. Trayser

Mrs. Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant
Reference Loan Service

GT:vmr

file

FEBRUARY 23, 1962

TELEGRAM:

EMORY VIA
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
MADISON, WISCONSIN

HOTEL RESERVATIONS AT GEORGIAN HOTEL FOR TUESDAY. NO

ADEQUATE SPACE AT ATLANTAN.

MILDRED FLOWERS
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

See Universities: Wisconsin

March 11, 1964

Mr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Enclosed is an article from the Atlanta Constitution about Chuck Morgan. He got considerable newspaper coverage for this speech, and this is a fair sample. His address is 5411 Sanger Avenue, Apartment 252, Alexandria, Virginia. His book will be out next month, published by Harper & Row.

Nat Welch's address is 342 Hare Avenue, Auburn, Alabama. I think he would probably be your best informant. Donald Strong is in the Political Science Department at the University. Paul Johnston's address is Cabaniss and Johnston Law Offices, First National Building, Birmingham, Alabama.

Barbara tells me that she has already sent off some stuff to you. Let us know if we can do anything else.

Don't get too worried. Remember what happened the last time we invaded the North?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Atl. Const. Clip of Sept. 18, 1963
"A Young Birmingham Atty. Speaks..."

File: Universities - Wisconsin, Univ. of

answered 6/15/64
BP Correspondence file

May 26, 1964

Mr. & Mrs. Emory Via
5710 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory and Margaret:

First of all, you should not have done it. We thank you, and I trust you know how sincerely that is said.

I have Emory's letter of May 15. Could you be a little more specific as to the kinds of materials? Also, do you want a reading list or do you want suggestions of things that might be available in quantity?

If we can help you in the NILE program, let me know. I happened to have talked this morning with Ray Marshall, and I gather that he will be working with you.

Some names you might consider, put down as they occur to me.

(1) Harry Holloway, Professor of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma. Harry formerly taught at the University of Texas, has done some good things on Negro voting in Texas, and is a very able guy.

(2) Sam Houston Clinton of Austin. Legal counsel, I believe, for the Texas AFL-CIO, and active with the ACLU. I have met him just once and he seemed all right.

(3) Ralph Dreger, Professor of Psychology, Louisiana State University. He is now at the University of Jacksonville, and may not be sufficiently settled in at Baton Rouge to be available for your program. A very good man on race relations.

(4) Douglas Jackson, Divinity School, Southern Methodist University. You probably knew Doug when he was at Emory.

(5) Larry Goodwin. A chief figure in the Democratic Coalition and Voters of Texas Enlist. Also a writer. Long exposure to Larry has given me a pause or two, but you are interested in a short exposure, and he can be scintillating. His address is Voters of Texas Enlist, 1317 S. Congress Street, Austin.

(6) Joe Earl Elmore, Assistant to the President at Richmond College, Richmond, Indiana. Joe is a Texan, and likes to get back whenever he can. There is no one better. He knows about race, politics, religion, and Texas.

(7) E. E. Liebhafsky, Professor, Department of Agricultural Economics, North Carolina State College, Raleigh. This man may be a real asset for you. He has been a member of the North Carolina State team of economists who, for the last couple years, have been producing their big study on the Negro and the economics of the South. This coming Fall he will move to the Department of Economics at the University of Houston.

(8) Kenneth Vines, Professor of Political Science, Tulane University. Ken, you may remember, has done work for us.

(9) James Youngdahl, Suite 1130, The Tower Building, Little Rock, Arkansas. Jim is regional attorney for several labor unions, and a top-grade man.

(10) Daniel Thompson. Dan is, I believe, (it's a long, complicated story) back at Dillard as Professor of Sociology. He is an excellent speaker and group leader.

(11) Rev. Charles Kelly, Executive Director, Houston Council on Human Relations, 5403 Austin Street, Houston. A good man.

(12) Karl Fleming, head of the News Week bureau in Houston, and a veteran of many desegregation crises.

Some other names may occur to me later.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

BP

Attached about all I've read
You would know better than I

LD

May 15, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

A belated but heartfelt thanks to you and Barbara Patterson for supplying the materials I requested on Wallace. It was speedy, inclusive, and useful. As I tell David, "help is when you need it." I was helped.

Les me pass on another problem on which your suggestions would be most appreciated. I will be directing the one month residential program for union staff at the University of Texas in September. It is sponsored by NILE, again, with the AFL-CIO cooperation.

Your suggestions for materials would be most helpful. Also your personal suggestions for possible instructors would be appreciated. The basic staffing will be done in the next few weeks. Who do you know -- the closer to Austin, the better -- who might handle Southern politics, race and politics, Southern state problems, apportionment and allied topics? The requirements: knowledgeableness, ability to communicate with adult union staff, and hopefully a sympathetic understanding of unions and the civil rights revolution.

I am sure we will want to involve S.R.C. further in the program, a little later on. My immediate job is to find instructors for larger blocks of teaching time (one or two weeks) in the "basic" courses.

Thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:je

Holloway
Dunca
Jackson
Goodwine
Clinton
Clune
Randall
Higgins
Pokodofsky
Kincer
Youngdall
Thompson
Dugger
Kelly

Negro Politics, James Q. Wilson, Glencoe, Ill. Free Press, 1960

"Negro Voter in Texas," Harry Holloway, 1963 Vol. II Phylon

"The Meaning of Negro Strategy," David Danzig, Commentary, Feb. 1964

"Georgia's Status 'Go'," Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine, Charlotte Hale Smith, Jan. 26, 1964
(James Mackay)

Southern Politics, V.O. Key (2nd half) (there is now a paperback edition)

Crisis in Black and White, Chas. E. Silberman, Random House, 1964, particularly Chap. VII "Power, Personality and Protest"

The Negro Leadership Class, Daniel C. Thompson, Prentice-Hall, 1963

"Two Party Voting in the South," James W. Prothro, American Political Science Review, March 1958
(older)

note: we have the Prothro & Matthews, State Political Systems and Negro Voter Registration in the South, mimeographed ?
has there been something published from that Univ. of N.C. study?

"Faubus and Segregation: An Analysis of Arkansas Voting," Pettigrew and Campbell, Public Opinion Quarterly, Fall 1960
(older)

LWD article in Journal of Politics

SRC executive studies?

two speaker suggestions: Prof. of Govt. at Univ. of Oklahoma, Harry Holloway (formerly of Tex.)
Sam Houston Clinton of Austin, counsel for Tex. AFL-CIO, on ACLU board

Q- Harvard Pol. Sci. reprint - Bus Next Target

Q- CR Com. Rept - '63

Q - Direct Action in the South.

Guzzardo review tog. & Harvard study

MARGARET VIA
5710 ANCHORAGE AVENUE
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53705

5-15-1964

Dear Les,

With our warm regards and appreciation.

Sincerely,

Emory and Margaret

H 25.00 CK
5/18/64
RHA

The University of Wisconsin
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706
SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

July 29, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

It is with real regret that the decision has been made to postpone the Southern Union Staff Training Institute which was to have been held in Austin during September and October of this year. It was the considered opinion of the participating unions, the AFL-CIO education department, and N.I.L.E. that the Institute be held at a later date. I fully concurred in the decision. The Institute is now being planned for either January or February -- long enough after the election to allow for its evaluation in the context of the interests of the Institute program. A final decision is dependent upon satisfactory physical arrangements in Austin. Firm dates should be set in the near future. I wanted you to know as soon as possible that we would not be using your time this fall.

It is our hope that we will be able to keep the same faculty intact for the rescheduled sessions. We feel that the program and faculty already arranged are excellent. I trust that you will do everything possible to make yourself available when the new schedule is announced. Someone will be in touch with you representing the National Institute of Labor Education regardin you participation. I feel you agree with me that the Institute is an important undertaking for the labor movement in the South.

I am very sorry for any personal inconvenience that this schedule change may have caused you. I was delighted to have had you agree to be with us in Austin and it is my sincere hope that nothing will now prevent your participating in the Institute.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via
Director for N.I.L.E. of the
Southern Union Staff Institute

EFV:skm
cc: George Guernsey
Joseph Mire
Emory Via

December 28, 1965

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law
Law School
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Bill:

Thanks for the further information about the Notre Dame conference.

SRC can get me there and back. I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See - University - Wisconsin, Univ. of.

May 9, 1967

Professor G. W. Foster
School of Law
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Bill:

I am delighted you are willing and have the time to do something for us relative to the courts and court decisions. By all means early June would be very good.

I would be honored to co-author a book with you, but when I leave the Council I am not sure I'll have the heart (or is it the stomach) to ever think about foundations again.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
LAW SCHOOL
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

May 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

If you can give me until early June to get something into your hands, I'll grind out something for you. May is an impossible month here and in three more weeks I'll have an avalanche of bluebooks to wade through as well. But after that I can put in a day or so sketching out some thoughts which occur to me.

Frankly, I've been shaping an article in my mind of late hoping I could get it spun off before we leave the States near the end of July. Probabilities are, though, that the commitments I must discharge before leaving will prevent me from getting something into publishable form. So I'll try to pass along in rough form the principal lines I would expect to develop. And even if I also write an article it won't hurt to have the same kinds of things said in different places.

So I'll assume you can use something I mail from here about the end of the first week in June. It was good seeing you, and thanks for the letter.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.
Professor of Law

P.S. When you leave the Council someday, how about co-authoring a book with me called "Bell-bottomed Trousers - or Never Trust a Foundation Man an Inch above your Knee"?

File
Univ. of Wisconsin

via air mail April 27, 1967

Dr. William G. Foster
School of Law
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I was very impressed by your analysis of what's happening with court decisions concerning school desegregation -- sufficiently so that I have just arranged with Emory Law School to have one of their senior students work for us this summer in an effort to do an analysis of these several decisions and how they are being implemented.

I know how busy you are and how much you must have to do before getting off to Europe (I hope you have not already gone).

Reluctantly, however, would it be possible for you to do for us even a brief memorandum as a sort of a guide which this student could use? What, for instance, are the most important decisions? Who among the judges in the Fifth Circuit would be willing to talk off-the-record

about the significance of these decisions? etc., etc. Any help you could give us would be a wonderful start, and we would be very grateful

If you can do this we will be able to provide you with a modest honorarium.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Jane
Thurs. Bruce

September 22, 1967

Mr. & Mrs. Emory F. Via
5710 Anchorage Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

Dear Emory and Margaret:

Margaret, enclosed, finally, are the checks for the drawings. I grow more attached to them everyday. They still are not framed, but, some day! The one afternoon I went out to have them framed, I discovered the shop closed on Wednesday afternoons. Maybe by the time I get the next moving bill for the Via's it will be done.

We miss you both very much.

Emory, your office is extremely neat and clean; almost efficient looking.

All our plans are being made on the basis of having you back next September.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures - 2. (Checks)

See Univ. of Wisc

October 18, 1967

Dr. Emory F. Via
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Just to put in writing and to give some sort of official standing to it, I would like to repeat a little of my statement to you at lunch on Monday.

At such time as you are available -- and the sooner the better -- please consider that you have an open and urgently felt offer to return to the Council on a permanent staff basis as director of our labor project. We would anticipate this project becoming a permanent part of the structure of SRC, and to the extent that anything is certain in money-raising, I am reasonably comfortable about funding this program indefinitely.

Salary would have to be open to negotiation, but I can assure you we would strain to make it as satisfactory and as competitive as possible.

We need you very badly.

Without Blarney there is a real gap here because of your absence and I am more than anxious to see it filled. SRC needs you and I hope for good and sound reasons you need SRC.

Come home.

Urgently yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

P. S. -- We are sending you and Mrs. Via a formal invitation to the Annual Dinner and would be delighted to have you both show up for it. And, as we discussed in Washington, we would also be delighted to have you here for the full Annual Meeting or such portions of it as you could attend.

PA

Give this to Musc.

file

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

October 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I mentioned two resources of possible interest to the Council. The first is the "CRS Media Relations" published by the Community Relations Service. It lists numerous articles, radio and television programs related to race relations. I saw nothing to indicate it was restricted to government agencies. Inquiries should be sent to Frank Chaney Community Relations Service, Justice Department, Washington, D. C.

The other resource is a collection of community profiles of communities of 50,000 or more prepared by the Civil Service Commission. I have not seen these but would think they might be useful whether available publicly for the asking, or privately by request for a specific city's report. Maybe SRC already knows of both items.

Thanks for your most appreciated recent letter.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV/njo

Janet Shortt
(Please send Emory a copy of the book and bill him with a 40% discount.)
mj

Done 11-10-67 PB

Return carbon to my files please

November 10, 1967

file
via

Dr. Emory F. Via
University Extension Division
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

We will check to see if we have a copy of "The Crisis in America's Cities..."

GB Do we have this in Research? mj

Climbing Jacob's Ladder has about a 40% discount, and we are sending one to you under separate cover.

no-ordered
PB

We all missed you and Margaret at the Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The University of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION
432 NORTH LAKE STREET
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

SCHOOL FOR WORKERS

November 8, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Does the Council have a copy of "The Crisis in America's Cities, A Report on Civil Disorder in 1967"? It was put out by the American Retail Federation, 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006.

I thought it might be of special interest because of its source.

Sincerely,

Emory

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

P.S. Is SRC pushing Sales of Climbing Jacob's Ladder? If the price is ~~more~~ less than 10% off list please send and bill.

Thanks,

E.

See Univ. of Wisc.

November 21, 1967

Dr. Emory F. Via
University Extension
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Emory:

In early January a review team from the Ford Foundation will be here to "review" SRC much as it did the North Carolina Fund early this year. The results of this review could have considerable bearing on our proposal for support after 1968. The first draft of it has to be before the staff of the Foundation by December 31st.

Since you directed the major Ford-funded labor project, continue to serve as a consultant, and, hopefully, will direct future work for SRC in this area, I think it would be very valuable if you could be on hand at least a couple days while the review team is here.

We probably will not know the dates of this before mid-December at the earliest.

But if at all possible, would you try to keep January free of commitments and plan to be available? I would appreciate it very much.

Please tell Margaret her drawings are framed, following her suggestions, and all of them look excellent. I am particularly pleased with the framing of the carnival drawing which is done in a recessed frame with a small metal, silver band covering the wood.

Best to all of you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Pat

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

file Univ of Wisc.

11/27/67

Dear Paul:

Pardon the informality of my typing.

As always good to hear from you. Margaret much pleased that you like the drawings.

I will do what I can to be free in January. The difficulty will come with my regularly scheduled class work. This knocks out several days of each week. This ~~till~~ round of teaching I have been lucky in having classes concentrated on Tuesday and Wednesday which gives the beginning and end of weeks for more fexible planning. All of this subject to change on January 1.

Of course, the sooner I hear the dates from you the better, although I will not finally know what my schedule here is until after the first.

I plan to go to Spartanburg for a meeting set up by the Civil Rts. Com., with cooperation of TEAM(interagency effort in textiles) on Dec. 2nd. From Spartanburg I will come into Atlanta for a few days on research related to the article I am trying to get out of the way. I hope you will be in town during that time.

Best personal wishes,

Emory

Emory F. Via

P.S. I was able on my last trip (11/13/67) to Washington to get EEOC to release the data which Carl Akins had put together in the Summer. He now has it. After 3-4 months delay and several prods, turned out to be much ado about nothing

Jeer
Edward J. Wise

December 8, 1967

Mr. Emory F. Via
University Extension
School for Workers
University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Mr. Via:

Mr. Wood asked that I send you the enclosed.

It was nice to see you in the office last week - we really miss you these days.

Sincerely,

Katharine Martin

KM

Enclosures - 2

File Univ. of Wisconsin

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

The University of Wisconsin
432 North Lake Street
Madison, Wisconsin 53706
Telephone: Area Code 608 262-2111

School for Workers

March 28, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I think you will be interested in the lead article in the current Harvard Law Review (Vol. 81, No. 5, March, 1968) entitled "The New Sovereign Community". I have only had a chance to scan it but it deals in some detail with problems of administrative discretion in public policy and the relation between administrators and those affected by policies. The springboard for the discussion is CDGM.

Filed Civ Research 5/6/68 WY

The article is written by Edgar S. and Jean Cahn.

Although I have not read it and the article is lengthy (70 pages), once the appropriate people at the Council have looked it over, it seems to me that it might be considered for a specialized distribution (assuming that reasonable reprints are available) to a leadership group of lawyers, administrators, political scientists, and others.

100 or 200 copies BA

But, as the saying goes, you look at it.

Best personal wishes.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:bjr

Via

Roosevelt College
OF CHICAGO
430 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

LABOR EDUCATION
DIVISION

TELEPHONE
WABASH 2-3580

Harold:

Thought you might want this clipping from far away Chicago.

It seems to me that it is important to have stories of the Councils' work and the advances made, in out of the South papers. Not the least of the reasons is the fact that they are read by many Southerners residing here.

It would be my hope, of course, that the South can challenge the rest of the nation to do better with their own problems.

Sincerely,

Emory

B.
Edw. Everett:-
Connally Bldg -

EFV's SUMMER SCHEDULE

This schedule is tentative, especially in regards to time at SRC. Several "side trips" are contemplated. Please let me know if my travel plans fit into any jobs SRC would like for me to do.

June 29-July 5	Fisk Institute
July 7-12	SRC
July 14-18	SRC
July 21-25	Kitty Hawk, North Carolina (vacation)
July 28-30	Norfolk - Newport News
August 4-8	SRC
August 11-12	SRC
August 13-15	Tri-State Labor School - Chapel Hill, N. C.
August 18-~~22~~ 20	SRC
August 20-22	TWUA Southern Staff meeting - Charlotte, N. C.
August 25-27	(Possibly AFT Convention, Chicago)
August 29-Sept. 1	Friends Conference on Race Relations Westtown School (outside Philadelphia)
Sept. 2-5	SRC
Sept. 8-12	SRC
Sept. 14-19	Advance Southern Labor School, Dayton Plaza Hotel, Daytona, Florida
Sept. 22-26	SRC

EFV:ls

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
Return Postage Guaranteed.

Make folder - File - Universities: Yale

November 22, 1965

Dr. C. Vann Woodward
Hall of Graduate Studies
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Dr. Woodward:

As promised, enclosed is your manuscript. We have shared copies with Ralph McGill and Eugene Patterson. We are very anxious to publish this if you find it possible. We would especially like to publish it in the first issue of the new quarterly, New South, which will appear in January. However, we are open to other suggestions. It was a superb address, and we heard many compliments on it.

Enclosed is our check for $200 representing the honorarium for this occasion. Please send us an accounting of your expenses at your convenience.

We are deeply grateful to you for making this substantial contribution to our Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Manuscript)

bc: Mr. Dabbs and Dr. Gomillion

See Universities: "Yale"

December 2, 1965

Dr. C. Vann Woodward
Department of History
Yale University
237 Hall of Graduate Studies
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Dr. Woodward:

We did not include the check, but it is now enclosed. Added to it is an amount of $149.44, which represents reimbursement of your mileage at .08 per mile.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the Moynihan Report.

Your reaction to our publishing your speech disappointed us a great deal, for we do think it definitely up to standarddfor publication. We will, of course, abide by your decision, but it would be delightful if you changed your mind. Our first issue of the quarterly New South, which will appear in about two months, will attempt to analyze where we are in the South in race relations at this time. Several distinguished journalists and others will be contributing to it. We think your piece would make an excellent lead article. If you could possibly find time to re-write it to your satisfaction, we could offer you the modest fee of $100. We don't want to belabor the point, but do hope you might find this possible.

Thank you again for making such a substantial contribution to our Annual Meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check #5; $349.44)

Separate mailing: Moynihan Report: "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action"

Yale University New Haven, Connecticut

Department of History

237 Hall of Graduate Studies

Rec'd 11/29/65

November 25, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Many thanks for returning my manuscript so promptly. Another look at it confirms my original feeling that it is really not up to standard for publication, that it leans too much on others, and I just don't have the time to put it in shape. Besides, as I said, I am obliged to warm it over for another speech later. Please understand that I appreciate the offer of publication nonetheless.

May I beg a favor? I need a copy of the Moynihan Report. Do you have an extra one or can you tell me where I can get one. I assume his paper in Daedalus is is not the report.

I do not know what to say about expenses. I drove down, and the direct mileage would be 1,868 miles. But the plane fare from Kennedy Airport is $129.78 and would doubtless be less and I would be content with that. Whichever is the smaller sum. I will ask for nothing in the way of travel expenses other than transportation.

Your letter says you are enclosing a check for $200, but your secretary evidently forgot to put it in.

Thank you for the cordial entertainment.

Sincerely yours,

C. Vann Woodward

C. Vann Woodward

did! will do my

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1,868
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200.00
349.44

March 4, 1966

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Director
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Your letter of December 21, 1965 was passed on to one of our staffers, who is usually bright and reliable. This time he pulled an Anthony, and discovered your request this morning. I apologize sincerely for this.

If your trip to the Southern institutions has not yet been made, and if you still need our suggestions, please let us know and we will respond immediately.

Again, my sincere apologies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut 06520*

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL
2115 Yale Station
Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director*

December 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was good to talk with you on the phone. You were mighty kind to think of me in connection with the subject matter of your call, and I only wish I could have been more helpful. It sounds like an exciting project, and I'm still thinking about persons who might be qualified and available.

One of the extra responsibilities I've taken on is conducting some interviews in selected Southern Negro institutions in behalf of the law schools of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia. I am most anxious to get as thoughtful and accurate information as I can on all the people whom I will be interviewing, and it would be most helpful to me to have the names of faculty members at the institutions I expect to visit on whose judgment I can rely. I was wondering, therefore, if you might share a little of your special knowledge with me. I expect to be interviewing people at Morehouse, Morris Brown, Clark, Spelman, Dillard, Southern, Fisk, Hampton, and North Carolina College. I am possibly going to visit Tougalou, Tuskegee, and Talladega. Are there any other institutions we should consider? At these institutions, could you pass on to me the names of persons whom you know, preferably those in teaching positions, and preferably also those whose judgment you respect. I already have the names of the following persons, but don't know any of them myself. Do you know anything about them? Morehouse - Dr. Melvin Kennedy, Chairman of the Department of Political Science; Morris Brown - Mrs. Margaret Rowley, Professor in the division of Social Science; Tuskegee - Professor Richard Wasserstrom; Fisk - Dr. M. J. Lunine and Professor Currier. Currier (Fisk) is Chairman of the History Department. Do you know his first name?

As we did not send anyone to Dillard or Southern, we have no contacts there at all.

I certainly will appreciate your help, and I hope you will forgive me for burdening you with this request.

I hoped to see Leslie in New York at a party which Governor Sanford had, but he did not make it. I look forward to getting down to see him soon.

I hope that I'll have the chance to visit with you when I'm in Atlanta, and will certainly let you know the precise dates once I establish them.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:jth

Merry Christmas

MJ

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut 06520*

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL
2115 Yale Station
Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director*

File
Yale Univ.
Southern Teaching Proj.

April 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter, and for keeping us in mind. I don't have the files in front of me, as they went up to Harvard today for review by committee there. My best recollection is that Frazier was a marginal applicant, while Miss Hoage is very likely to be accepted. I will certainly enter into the record, however, the information you passed on to me.

Thanks so much for your help. I expect to be seeing you soon, and will let you know just as soon as I can when I will be in Atlanta.

With all good wishes, and many thanks,

Cordially,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:lag

See you Thursday
J

Joel
Yale Hand.

May 19, 1966

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Thanks for your good letter. I, too, enjoyed our get together here in Atlanta, and hope we can do so again soon. I might very well be able to come up sometime during the course of the summer program, and would like to do so. If a particular date or purpose seems to you most appropriate, please let me know.

We are always looking for bright young people. By all means send along any information you have, and encourage people to write us. Now, for instance, we are looking for directors of both the North Carolina and Louisiana Councils on Human Relations. Both of the persons mentioned in your letter sound interesting.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut 06520*

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL
2115 Yale Station
Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director*

May 2, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was certainly good to see you in Atlanta last week, and I was especially pleased that you could join me for dinner. I hope we can get together soon for similarly relaxed and frank discussions.

I can't remember whether I sent you copies of the enclosures, but I wanted you to be sure to have them in order that they might stimulate you to come visit us this summer. We can offer you a double feature program to inspect along with Yale's traditional hospitality. Please let me know when you think you might join us.

From time to time I run across bright young people who are interested in working in important endeavors in the south, not just for a year, but as the first stage in their careers. Would you be interested in considering any of these people for positions on your staff? I'm thinking right now about a graduate of the Yale Law School who has spent three years in Africa, a native of North Carolina who is torn between continuing in his specialty of African law, and becoming involved in the problems of the south on the other. There is another guy who is from the south, who has been in the administration here at Yale for two years since graduation who wants very much to work in the south. Other possibilities keep coming up from time to time. I don't want to burden you with any letters from people if you have no use for them but would be happy to encourage them to get in touch with you if you do.

I hope we can get together again soon and certainly trust you will be with us for a visit here at Yale this summer.

With all good wishes,

Cordially,

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:mfc
Enclosures

See Universities - Yale -

July 1, 1966

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

We forgive you!

I will be in Washington on the weekend of July 23rd and may go on to the University of Connecticut on the 25th. How would a visit on July 27-28 fit your schedule? I would probably plan to get there on the morning of the 27th and leave on the afternoon of the 28th. Let me know what you think of these dates.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 21, 1966

Dr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Adams:

I hope Paul managed to convey to you both the fact that I would not appear and some sense of my anguish resulting from that change. That's the first time I've missed a plane, and will certainly teach me a lesson about traveling.

Let there be no question in your mind about my overwhelming desire to join the discussion. The topic alone was interesting enough; the opportunity to meet the other participants was golden both personally and with respect to two other projects on which I am now working.

As I told Paul on the telephone I surely hope you will understand my absence as one of those unavoidable accidents and clearly not any hint of disinterest. I trust you will call on me when appropriate in the future.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:mfc
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Rec'd 6/23/66

(4)

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

An Upward Bound Program — Supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the National Science Foundation

2115 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut 06520

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director* Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

June 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The enclosed letter to Dr. Adams speaks for itself. I hope that you, too, will forgive me.

I trust also that you will not take vengeance on me by not coming up to visit the Yale Summer High School this session. Anytime between June 27th and August 12th would be excellent. When can you make it? If you have to change it at the last minute, I'll understand. I have to. I look forward to seeing you soon. Please let me hear from you at your convenience.

With warm good wishes,

Cordially,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:mfc

File
Yale Hist.

file

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

An Upward Bound Program — Supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the National Science Foundation

2115 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut 06520

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director*

Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

July 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter of July 1st, and especially for the message of forgiveness which it contained.

July 27th-28th would be excellent, and we'll expect you on the morning of the 27th. We'll see that you are appropriately housed for the night of the 27th. If you're coming up by train, let me know which one you're arriving on and we'll meet you.

Ann and Andrew Scott, respectfully professor of history at Duke and professor of political science at Chapel Hill, will be up here at the same time, and will probably be speaking at the discussion on the 27th. Is there any chance that you could be here for Sunday night July 24th, to speak at an assembly of the school at 6:30 p.m., before you go up to the University of Connecticut? That would be just a little better in terms of sharing you with all of our students.

Then you could stop back by for another couple of days after you finished at the University of Connecticut.

We'll be happy with whatever you work out. Why don't you give me a ring when you get this letter, and we'll mail down the schedule.

I certainly am looking forward to having you with us. It'll give us a chance to talk about many things.

With all good wishes,

Cordially,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To MR. JOEL L. FLEISHMAN JULY 25 19 66

Street and No. YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

Care of or Apt. No. 2115 YALE STATION *Destination* NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

THE COMBINATION OF THE WORK LOAD HERE AND THE DIFFICULTIES OF TRAVEL FORCED ME TO CANCEL THE TRIP TO LX& YALE. I CANNOT TELL YOU HOW DISAPPOINTED I AM. PERHAPS LATER.

PAUL ANTHONY

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

See Yale Univ.

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

See Yale Thing

File

YALE SUMMER HIGH SCHOOL

An Upward Bound Program — Supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity and by the National Science Foundation

2115 Yale Station New Haven, Connecticut 06520

JOEL L. FLEISHMAN, *Director*

Area code 203, 787-3131—Ext. 2962

October 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Yes, indeed, it was a real pleasure to have so many opportunities to visit and chat with so kindred a spirit. I also want you to know how deeply grateful I am for all the help you and the members of your staff gave me with respect to the project on which I am working for David Hunter. It's still a little early to know what's going to happen, but I am optimistic. Needless to say, before anything is undertaken I will be back in touch with you to talk further.

The trip had quite a profound affect on me. After travelling three weeks in the South and talking with so many people, including you, I really have developed quite a zeal for trying to attract to the South the people necessary to solve the problems. That goes for me personally as well. I hope that it will not be too long before I return, and I expect to use whatever time remains to me outside the South in solving the problems there about which we both care so deeply.

You will recall that I have a rain check from you worth on Paul Anthony visit to New Haven. We want very much for you to come, and I'd like to go ahead and set up the time now. Does November look like a good time? If not, how about early December? You look at your calendar, and I'll give you a few days to think about it, after which I'm going to call you and see if we can reserve a couple of days on your calendar. Tuesdays and Wednesday or Wednesday and Thursday are the best days for us.

Is there any chance that this fall's gubernatorial election in Georgia can be saved?

Thanks very, very much for all your help, and, most important, for your friendship. I hope to see you soon.

With all good wishes,

As ever,

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:jk

File
Lewis'
Yale

December 27, 1966

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Receiving a card such as yours almost makes me review my policy of not sending such things.

I do hope we have only begun to work and scheme together.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

YALE UNIVERSITY

ASSOCIATE PROVOST FOR URBAN STUDIES AND PROGRAMS

1984 Yale Station
493 College Street
New Haven, Conn. 06520

Area Code 203
787-3131, ext. 2962

9/27/67

To: Mr. Paul Anthony

From: Joel Fleishman

VJ
PA

Date:

copies to Governor Maynard
Cli Evans
3/5

file
Yale Fund.

April 5, 1967

Mr. David R. Hunter
Executive Director
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dave:

I appreciate very much your sending me a copy of Charlie's first memorandum, which I confess I found somewhat disappointing. I wish I had been able to comment on it earlier, but my mother passed away shortly after I received it, and I've been occupied with other things in the interim.

I would make two main criticisms, both of them quite important. In the first place, Charlie's socio-economic groupings simply do not exist. To talk about Negroes as a group is about as meaningful as to talk about upper, middle, or lower income whites as distinct groups. What about the differences between upper, middle, and lower income Negroes? What about the differences between the urban and rural dwellers? What about the differences between those who are alienated from society and those who are commited to it? What about those who haven't yet made up their mind? With respect to upper income whites, what about the differences which exist from area to area, from city to city, with respect to a tradition of involvement in political activity? How does one go about starting a tradition where none exists?

I am convinced there is hidden leadership talent all over the place, but that in order to activate it, several prerequisites are necessary. First, we've got to know how to find it. Second, we've got to know how to pierce the layers of indifference so as to irritate it into action. Third, we've got to be prepared to give it the tools whereby it can translate its desire to do something into effective accomplishment.

I think Charlie is being terribly naive when he talks about "well-established channels, easily entered." Just as I think Charlie's trichotomy of our society into upper white, lower white, and Negro constitutes a romanticism which is unfounded in fact, I am convinced that the view that you can identify, improve, and train political leadership in an ad hoc fashion, utilizing existing organizations, without providing a continuing supply of fact and technique to a continuing group of students of all ages, levels of experience and interests, is hopelessly quixotic.

I am not addicted to the creation of new institutions; I am, however, enough of a realist to know that the need which you have identified cannot be filled without the establishment of a place from which might come a continuing flow of the stimuli necessary for the development of leadership for politics of the quality sought and from the requisite backgrounds.

One more thing. It seems to me that we are not going to solve the problems of the South so long as we continue to ignore the findings of empirical political science. I cannot understand how someone who has put together a successful electoral combination can fail to understand the relationship between increasing Negro power and improving social conditions in the South. There is a demonstratable cause-and-effect relationship between increased Negro political power and broadened achievement of social justice for all elements in the society. That is fact, not conjecture, and to ignore it by suggesting that our efforts to improve politics must of necessity be color blind is about as meaningful as limiting one's campaign in a bi-racial congressional district to abstruse discussion of the Good, the Beautiful, and The True. I just simply cannot understand how Charlie, who has at one time put together a successful political coalition could fail to realize that the only way to achieve comparable results on a statewide or Southwide basis is to isolate those factors which are of most potential value in achieving the result which one desired, and then directing one's attention to those.

I do not mean to become impassioned, but I think it is important to keep these things in mind as you proceed in seeking a solution to the problems which you have posed.

With warm greetings.

Cordially,

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:jk

bc: Mr. Thomas Lambeth

bc: Mr. James Lee Burney

Attached is Charles L. Weltner's first memorandum report after joining the Stern Family Fund on a part-time basis to develop a plan to improve politicians in the south.

MEMORANDUM I

TO: Sterm Family Fund

January 20, 1967

FROM: Charles L. Weltner

The quality of life in America depends in substantial measure upon the quality of American government. The quality of government depends upon the quality of political leadership -- and that, in turn, is but a composite of the character of individual political leaders.

Thus, enhancing the character of men and women in public office enhances the quality of society. To do this, requires either a strengthening of character of individual office holders (an unlikely prospect), or the development of men and women of character into office-holders.

While something can be done to increase the skills of officeholders, adn to encourage and sustain well-motivated and conscientious men and women in office, an effort of "character building" would be beyond the pale. Hence, our efforts are properly directed toward character finding. We might seek out, identify, encourage, stimulate, motivate, and convince young Southerners of character to seek elective office. The success of such an effort would lie in the number of well-motivated Southerners who enter - and win - political contests. That must be the major effort.

While we might anticipate the course of actionour proteges may take, we cannot be very much concerned with specific issues or positions. These must be determined by the officeholder.

All we can expect is that they reflect the basic character we hope to have identified. Ours must be a recruitment function , substantially completed when a man of character qualifies as a candidate.

This, of necessity, contemplates divergence and differences of political views. It contemplates generating candidates within both major political parties, and independents as well.

It contemplates bringing onto the field candidates who might well oppose each other, in primaries, general election, or, afterwards, as officeholders. The actions of successful candidates will be governed only by his own charcater and background. That he discharge his duties with honesty, with realism, and in accord with his iddependent concept of the public interest is all that we can expect -- and would be ample reward.

"The whole art of government consists in being honest", Jefferson wrote. "Simply strive to do your duty , and history will give you credit where you fail."

This is, perhaps, what we seek. My task is to respond to two inquiries: Can it be done? How can it be done? The first can only be answered on faith. I believe it can be done, and that the lasting benefits to flow from success warrant a serious consideration of means to our goals.

Thus, our second inquiry - how can it be done ?

At the onset, it is well to establish some boundaries, and this can be done in part by defining the areas and possibilities we wish to exclude.

If there is to be a substantial investment in the establishment of any program , then duplication of existing facilities must be avoided. Hence, there is little need for an activity devoted primarily to research in voting patterns, or to the registration of new voters. Existing efforts in those fields are substantial.

Nor should we establish a school, graduate or undergraduate, in political science. Nor is there anything unique in developing training programs for present officeholders, nor in an agency for economic or governmental research.

Further, issues, as such, or governmental techniques, are not of prime importance. Perhaps,to some extent, our program should make

available, or develop access to these matters. But they are adjunct only.

The unique aspect of the program must be in its outreach, and that must be its primary function. We want to reach good men and women.

Just who are "good men and women"? I return to my thesis that "good" is not confined to any party, or to any race, or to any political view. "Good" means, first, honest. Honest in personal and financial affairs, yes. But equally important, honest in approaching the realities of Southern politics. (An honest approach by each of two men can yield two opposing positions. This is not important. What counts is that ecah "strive to do his duty".)

"Good" means diligent in duty. It means that the public interest have a monopoly in the discharge of public duties.

This is the meaning of "good". The presence or absence of experience, education, training, speaking ability, pleasing appearance, political knowledge, public recognition, influence, and financial resources--all are subordinated to the factors denoting "good". "Good"ness is essential. With it, all combinations of the other factors are fortuitous. Without it, they are dangerous.

Thus, ours is an old search. Find the honest man - whet his interest in public service - encourage his efforts toward election. If he win, help him to do his duty. If he lose, help him mitigate his damages.

Having defined "good" men, I now inquire - where are they? There is, of course, no exclusive habitat. Good men are all over--in colleges, in the shops, in offices, and in the professions.

It would be a mistake to limit our search to the campuses, or to the professions. True, there is more latent talent there, but not necessarily more "good" talent.

The harvest is easier, but not of necessity, more fruitful. Nor should the development of Negro leaders assume disproportionate emphasis.

The desperate need of the South is honest leadership arising from, and directed to, lower income whites. (In this connection, see my small volume, Southerner, page 184.)

The problems of the search are infinitely more difficult here. Factually, lower income whites do not join luncheon clubs, trade organizations, garden clubs, civic groups, and social service boards. They are not dismembered (because they have never been "membered") but they do exist in relative isolation within their communities, often with little thought beyond their own affairs, and little effective effort of communication among themselves and other sectors of the broader community.

Understandably, social change (integration) comes hardest here. Leadership is lacking here, and we must not forget the forgotten man. But, to reach him is the hardest task of all.

If other communities are akin to my own, people fall within three major large categories, and their lives and outlooks tend to be substantially influenced thereby. These are: upper income whites, lower income whites, and negroes.

The first would sometimes require of its spokesmen thoughtless economic conservatism, but often countenances a moderate view of the race issue.

The second (the forgotten man) often requires a demagogic position on race which overshadows a general tendency toward economic liberalism.

The third, and increasing of late, sometimes demands extremism of the black power strains, a separatism that is equivalent , in both logic and effect, to white supremacy.

Now, obviously, we must have "good" men from each of these three sectors. Their political problems will differ, as will their political positions. Thus, our outreach must be varied, as required, to reach into each group - for we slight any one at our peril.

I shall outline my first impressions of possibilitiies as they pertain

to the three groups.

Upper income whites. This is the easy one. Contact points are colleges and universities,through political science and humanities departments; Jaycees Clubs; younger lawyers scetions of Bar Associations; general news coverage; civic clubs. These channels are quite well established, and easily entered. The response should be good.

Lower income whites. Labor unions, always politically oriented, are the most fertile fields, although there is some draw-back in the possibility of rigidity in thinking on union matters; Tenant Associations; some fraternal orders (most are vehemently anti-political); Parent-Teacher groups; credit unions (a wonderfully developed sub-surface network); and possibly some churches, constitute the major channels. These must serve as starting points, albeit prognosis is not bright.

Negroes. In urban areas, Negroes are often over-organized. In rural areas, they are, for the most part, woefully under-organized. Some extant organizations are inimical to our designs. Others would be suspicious of us. Some will be immensely helpful. We start with these last.

Having defined good men (Who?), and indicated their probable location (Where?) , the inquiry becomes "What?" What do we do, beginning at the points above indicated, to identify and interest good men and women?

Quite obviously, this question cannot be answered philosophically, as Who?, nor on the basis of past experience, as Where? The answer must come from the"good" men themselves, and from others who, by virtue of their interest and experience, can offer guidance.

My next submission will report upon inquiries designed, hopefully, to furnish us our answer.

A Preliminary Report to the Stern Family Fund
Political Leadership Development and Improvement in the South

A democratic society can exist for long periods without leaders, but as unsolved problems accumulate, it becomes increasingly difficult for it to function well. By definition the officials elected by the people will be their representatives, but representatives are not necessarily leaders. In order to become a political leader in a democracy, a citizen must acquire an identity of his own, a momentum of his own, independent of his representational identity.

The greatest political leaders are born not made so. Yet others, only slightly less amply endowed with the requisites of leadership, can be thrust to greatness by early identification and stimulation of their interests and talent, by exposure to the challenges facing the body politic, and by the nurturing and encouragement of whatever ambition is manifested.

For Jefferson, the system of public education existed for the purpose of training up those who would lead the democracy; for us, public education exists for the training of all those who live in the democracy. This change of goals, however worthy and necessary to the making of wise decisions by the citizens in the democracy, has left little room in the educational system for the purposeful development of political leaders.

The increasing complexity of public decision-making in this age of accelerating population and technology has been elsewhere lamented, as has been the threat posed by it to the survival of meaningful decision-making by popularly elected representatives who are left increasingly dependent on the judgment of technologists and bureaucrats.

It is therefore appropriate that the development of political leadership be singled out as a goal to be served, if for no other reason than that the survival of the system of democratic government today hangs increasingly upon the availability of wise, committed and skillful men willing to expose themselves to the ravages--and opportunities--of public office-seeking. The greater the crisis racking the body politic, the greater the need for leadership to cure it. Of all sections of the United States, the South has both the most aggravated problems and the greatest opportunity for solving them. Though in bondage to slavery and its inhuman inheritance, though defeated in war and devasted by Reconstruction, the South can, having avoided the perpetuation in concrete of the results of exploding population attendant on rampant industrialization, move quickly herself to solve her problems. She can do so, however, only if there can be quickly trained indigenous leaders of a quality commensurate with the magnitude and difficulty of the task.

Why is the present time so critical a period for the South? Thus far, the most rapid progress in the South's recovery from Civil War, Reconstruction, exclusion and oppression of the Negro, exclusive dependence on agriculture, and the Great Depression has occurred as a result of outside intervention, whether of industrialization or federal power. To be sure, there has been positive Southern leadership from time to time and from place to place, but that leadership could never have succeeded politically without having the antecedence and foundation of those two forces.

If the Civil War doomed the South to an abyss of poverty, ignorance and stagnation, it was the Second World War which snapped the chains that held her there.

Soldiers travelled all over the United States and saw different ways of generating wealth. They came to know people from other parts of country, people with values quite different from their own. Dissatisfaction set in with the return South after the war.

The war speeded up the technological revolution and provided the basic tools, which, when refined during the decade following the war, constituted the means for pushing the South ahead. The revolutions in transport, communications, and cybernetics--all direct results of the Second World War--made it possible to tie the South more closely into the production mainstream and, inevitably, into the consumption mainstream. The Cherry Orchard, which was once the South, was demolished with the ships at Pearl Harbor.

And what of the Negro--the American dilemma but the shame of the South? The war, too, affected him profoundly. Just as the Southern white returned from the panoplied experiences of war determined to make of the South a good place for twentieth century man to live, so the Negro returned from war determined to be a man in his own country. The same experiences which awakened lower middle class whites to their poverty relative to the remainder of the nation served to discover in Negroes hopes for their own humanity which they never even knew they had.

The war provided Southern Negroes with their first opportunity for interracial life, even though as late as 1945 there was still considerable segregation within the Armed Services. (It was not until the late 1940's that President Truman abolished segregated military units.) The war opened the eyes of Negroes to all aspects of life in other parts of the country from which they had been excluded in their home communities--restaurants, hotels, technology--and acquainted them with urbanized, educated, emanicipated Negroes.

The Negro who returned home found gall where there had been sweetness. Bitter over those opportunities of which he had been deprived, the Negro determined to mount the struggle for his equality at whatever cost and however long it must last.

The decade of the fifties evidenced increasing pressure first on the schools and colleges, and next on the instrumentalities of government.

By the 1960's, the revolution had been fed sufficiently that it began to grow independent of those who had created it. With a life of its own, it reached out to those who had never participated in the experiences which gave it birth, and for whom the hopes had already taken on a semblance of achievable reality. For them, even more was required to ease the pain of disparity between reality and hope. For them the revolution became total, and it stimulated in them ideas ab initio, untempered by any traditionally posed limitations. They thought they joined the movement, but it was the movement which reached out to draw them in, and thereby change itself.

Revolutions, once begun, depend on leaders for direction. Today the penetration of industrialization and the pressure of federal power threaten to outpace the ability of the South to generate its own solutions to the problems which plague it. Unless the South can come immediately to grips with its challenges, it will inevitably go the way of the urban North, its problems consequently compounded, and the quality of the life possible there considerably diminished. It will find itself in twenty-five years confronting, for example, housing patterns, then embedded in concrete like Harlem, with the social alienation and educational segregation which such patterns ordain. What is true of race is true also of transportation congestion, natural resource pollution and depletion, tax resource inadequacy to the performance of governmental functions, multiplication of units of local government, plummeting quality of governmental services, and so on. If there is any doubt that the South is heading rapidly in this direction, ponder the present problems of New Orleans, Atlanta, and Memphis to cite only a few.

Such a future is not predestined, but, absent the emergence of positive political leadership, it is inevitable. Without a forceful determination to grapple with problems, our politics is ordinarily one of inertia which responds only to pressure, rather than a dynamic one which creates direction and persuades the body politic to follow.

At moments of great stress in a society, political leadership does sometimes emerge ex proprio motu, but to depend on its doing so is to place faith in the extraordinary occurrence. For a democratic body politic to depend on the spontaneous generation of political leadership, while dangerously powerful forces rush ever more rapidly through its arteries, is for a system grounded in reason to place fundamental trust in irrationality.

The two most important tasks immediately ahead are the conscious generation of new leadership and the improvement of that leadership already present or emerging. While the methods appropriate for recruiting participants for programs of leadership generation will be different from those for programs of leadership improvement, the substance of the programs will be the same, differing only in the emphasis accorded to specific components of each program. In both, there must be a confrontation of the participants with the social, economic, and educational problems facing their geographical area of concern, an exploration of alternative solutions, and training in the skills of political action.

In considering programs designed to serve these ends, we must first carefully select the target population at whom such programs are to be directed. We should choose for either kind of program persons at levels anywhere from the neighborhood community potential block leader all the way up to the potential state and national leaders. The higher the level at which a program is directed, the more sophisticated must be the substance of the course, though the techniques of recruitment, instruction, and motivation of the participants must be innovative and sophisticated for all levels.

Based on my present assessment of the needs of the South today, and taking into account the efforts of others already under way, I suggest to the Stern Family Fund that it channel whatever resources it can make available for leadership development into programs directed at training those who will

be expected to lead in the broadest constituencies. I would not, however, exclude support for experimental programs of leadership training for the narrow constituencies. It is for me a question both of relative priorities for existing resources and relative outputs of programs.

In the first place, the urgent problems are geographically broad in scope and complex in nature and therefore require for their solution leaders at several levels above that of the neighborhood. In the second place, leaders trained at a higher level of competence must, in order to succeed in gaining and holding office, themselves train local leaders. Thus, higher level training would pyramid the output of the program much more than would the emphasis on the lower level. Third, several governmental and non-governmental organizations such as the ~~Organization~~ Office of Economic Opportunity, Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty; Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, and various civil rights organizations, are already active in neighborhood leadership development, while there appear to be no existing programs of training in great breadth and depth for leaders at higher levels. Fourth, significant Negro political leadership is already beginning to emerge as a result of the revolution, and its great need is for intensive training to enable it to act broadly on all questions facing the entire community.

I therefore tentatively propose to the Board of Directors of the Stern Family Fund the following comprehensive program of leadership development, comprising the support of some existing efforts at lower levels and the undertaking of major initiatives at the higher levels. All of these recommendations are subject to further discussion and planning.

Recommendation I: A Center for Southern Politics

To develop and implement a comprehensive and continuing program of leadership improvement, and to devise a variety of programs of leadership generation, I strongly urge the establishment under prestigious, bi-racial, nonpartisan sponsorship of a Center for Southern Politics.

It should be strategically placed in order to assure it the greatest possible reservoir of human, laboratory, institutional, and informational resources.

It should serve as the locus for the accumulation of data respecting 1) the substantive problems of the South and the relevance of political action to them, 2) alternative appropriate solutions wherever derived in the United States and abroad, 3) political statistics and behavior patterns, and 4) the new technology of politics--voter registration and mobilization, campaign techniques, ~~and~~ current public opinion research, et cet.

It should be both situs and catalyst for the systematic and rigorous discussion of Southern political, social, economic and educational problems by Southern politicians of both races, thus increasing the issue orientation of the participants.

It should publish a Journal of Southern Politics, which would offer a forum to all views rationally and rigorously advanced.

It should administer a variety of special courses, ranging in length from one day to three months or longer, for practicing politicians in residence, with curriculum tailored to the needs and desires of the group enrolled in each, whether geographical or by function. It should also offer to promising college graduates with interest in political activity a year long post graduate course, with a component comprising field work with those taking short courses. All courses should include field work in association with model politicians.

It should plan and develop statewide centers similar in goals and functions to its own, and then assist such statewide centers in devising programs and special curriculum for local elected officials, such as school board members, councilmen, county commissioners, sheriffs, etc. Such centers could carry on extension training physically located in the rural areas.

It should develop and plan a variety of innovative leadership training courses for specific cities, counties, and states, to be conducted in cities all over the South, utilizing local university personnel for teaching and administration, and drawing on local leadership for support and sponsorship.

There are many problems inherent in such a plan. In the first place, young business and professional leaders will find it difficult to sever themselves from their communities for any extended periods of time. There would inevitably be an economic problem of income lost to the participants during the duration of the sessions. In order to attract those persons desired for the longer courses, it would be clearly necessary to provide a stipend in lieu of wages.

For anyone already active or interested in becoming active politically, prolonged absence from his constituency can result in weakened political roots. It would be necessary to provide short intermittent vacations with adequate travel allowances in order to enable local ties to remain intact.

It is entirely possible that participation in such residential programs, if not carefully devised and appropriately sponsored, might lead to the stigmatization of the participants with particular ideological labels which could prove embarassing or even fatal in subsequent political campaigns, thus negating the achievements of the program.

It will undoubtedly be initially difficult to attract to such a Center a sufficient quantity of first rate scholars and administrators. With appropriate institutional and individual sponsorship, however, and with sufficient funds to compensate at a level commensurate with the talents sought, this hurdle can be overcome. It would certainly be possible to buy weeklong periods of time from specialists as needed, and thereby diminish annual staff requirements.

Weighing against these serious problems are many advantages. Such a center would enable the best young political talent of both races to extend and deepen its knowledge of the South and its problems, and to familiarize itself with modern skills in office-seeking, office-holding, and decision-making.

It would provide the first meaningful opportunity to most of the participants for interracial intellectual and social interaction in a setting away from home and free from a crisis orientation.

By gathering data on Southern problems and on a range of alternative solutions to each of them, it could stimulate through courses, conferences, and publications both public discussion and private conversation leading to their solution.

By concentrating on political leadership development and improvement, it could stimulate the flow of both recent college graduates and rising business and professional leadership into political action.

If properly sponsored, by responsible Southern political leaders, scholars, businessmen, lawyers, leaders in labor and agriculture, and community development specialists, and if appropriately related to, but not controlled by, two or more Southern institutions of higher education--at least one predominantly white and at least one predominantly Negro--it could draw together both relevant theory and practical experience required for the solution of problems through political action.

If the sponsorship is in fact responsible and prestigious, the attractiveness to scholars and participants will be great and the possibility of stigma minimal.

The consensus of all those whom I interviewed--scholars, businessmen, professionals, and practicing politicians--is that such a Center would be not only feasible but also desirable if adequately financed, appropriately sponsored, strategically located, and suitably staffed.

Recommendation II: Urban Leadership Development Programs

I propose the establishment in Atlanta and New Orleans of Urban Leadership Development Programs to operate initially over a three year period. I suggest that the experience of the Savannah program conducted, but not originated, by the Institute of Government at the University of Georgia be utilized in devising these programs. (See enclosure.)

The programs should be under biracial institutional sponsorship--in Atlanta possibly the Institute of Government at the University of Georgia with the Atlanta University Center and in New Orleans Tulane University, Xavier and/or Dillard.

The target population for such programs is comprised of young business, labor, professional, and educational leaders representative of all important power interests in the city. In order to obtain participation of the most promising young men, the program must enjoy the open sponsorship of the senior leadership of the city. Selection of participants ought perhaps to be competitive and limited, with publicity given to those chosen. Participation should be contingent on regular attendance. Each year there should be two separate sessions of which each should have at least ten weekly meetings of five hours duration, including dinner. Specially prepared materials should be

distributed in advance of each meeting. The course should be conducted by a political scientist, with an eminent guest scholar-specialist for each meeting. Model political leaders should be brought in to recount how their cities solved problems.

This program could be mounted in each city for about $10,000 a year--which would include administration, recruitment, materials preparation, honoraria for guest faculty, food and miscellaneous expenses.

Perhaps the Stern Family Fund should consider paying only one-half the cost of these programs, and requiring the local senior sponsors to contribute the remainder. This might ensure greater interest on their part.

This program might also be made available to Nashville (Vanderbilt and Fisk) and Durham (Duke or the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and North Carolina College), but I cannot say for certain now whether there is the requisite interest in either city. I have discussed with Dr. Longenecker the possibility of a consortium of institutions within the Council of Southern Universities undertaking programs of this kind all over the South, including all four of the cities mentioned herein. I do not know to what extent his plans are moving forward in this respect.

I strongly emphasize the need for biracial institutional sponsorship and biracial participation. More and more in Southern cities, Negro institutions and leaders must be brought into the processes of community decision-making. It is neither just nor wise nor possible to continue excluding Negroes from the table at which decisions affecting the entire community are reached. In order to obtain wholehearted Negro participation in the program, Negro institutions must share in the sponsorship and planning from the beginning.

Recommendation III: Undergraduate Political Apprenticeship Program

Involvement in meaningful political activity while still enrolled in college often leads to a permanent commitment to political action. While there are a few governmental summer internship programs for college students (the Federal Government, the State of North Carolina) and at least several legislative internship programs (North Carolina General Assembly and Massachusetts General Court), there are to my knowledge no programs of which the core is comprised of training in the organization of political campaigns, voter registration, election publicity and strategy, etc. If a student with high leadership potential could be immersed in these techniques, there would be a high likelihood of his active political participation as an adult. He would be acquainted with political skills and therefore unafraid of them, and he would likely find such activities pleasurable.

Furthermore, one of the greatest needs of emerging political candidates in the urban areas is for the manpower required to do the physical and paper work which is a fundamental part of block organization. Registration lists need to be obtained and compared with residential lists. Phone numbers need to be obtained. Cards need to be prepared. People need to be registered.. Research needs to be performed. Communication through newsletters

needs to be maintained. The lack of available manpower for such purposes is one of the greatest hindrances to the entry of young potential candidates into the political arena.

To serve both these purposes, I therefore propose the establishment of an Undergraduate Political Apprenticeship Program in New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Jackson, Durham, Columbia, and Birmingham. I urge that this program be administered by the Voter Education Program of the Southern Regional Council, and that all student apprentices be selected by the Southern Regional Council.

After selection for the program students would be interviewed by the state legislators or legislative candidates for purposes of assignment to a specific individual. Students would devote to the program the same ten to fifteen hours a week which they presently spend in library, dining hall or general maintenance work at their college. They would be paid at the same rates. They would work full time in the summer.

Both white and Negro colleges should participate in the program and assignment of apprentices should be made to both white and Negro candidates.

This program would cost about $1000 a year for each intern ($15 a week during the school year and $55 a week for 10 weeks during the summer). I suggest starting the first year with fifty apprentices, and expanding the second year to one hundred if the first year's results seem to warrant it.

I would not recommend commencing this program in all cities at once, but suggest for the first year, in order of priority, New Orleans, Atlanta, Memphis, Durham, and Nashville.

This program would have immense immediate benefits in the form of improved urban political organization, as well as extraordinarily valuable political leadership development consequences.

Recommendation IV: Lower Level Political Leadership Training

I am transmitting herewith a leadership training proposal of the Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality. If the Stern Family Fund wishes to support leadership training at the lowest level, and if SEDFRE will guarantee that programs funded are substancially interracial, some of those components of this proposal which are planned for the South might very well be funded. It would be of great usefulness, for example, if lower level white and Negro potential leaders could participate jointly in the Intensive Program described in the proposal. Interracial experiences at this level are urgently needed if white and Negro political alliances are to be so meaningful and possible. White participants might be recruited through the labor movement, with which both Marvin Rich, Director of SEDFRE, and Ronnie Moore, Director of Leadership Training, have good ties.

In order of priority, I would recommend support of the Intensive Program, if it takes place in New Orleans, those Area-Wide Citizenship Education weeklong programs which take place in the South, and that proportion of the entire program's administrative budget which the component programs supported bears to the costs of the whole program.

I strongly favor the longer and more intensive programs because they are more likely to result in an understanding of substantial problems and effective political action to solve them. I am skeptical of the value of short term skills training except to solve immediate crises such as voter registration immediately prior to an election.

SEDFRE has some experience in conducting these kinds of programs, as well as a wealth of the contacts required for their success.

Recommendation V: Ad Hoc Program for Recently Elected Legislators.

I recommend that an ad hoc course lasting one month in late November and early December similar to the ones to be constructed by the proposed center, be devised and offered in Atlanta to Negro legislators elected throughout the South in November, 1966. I suggest that President Vivian Herderson of Clark College, Paul Anthony, and Vernon Jordan of the Southern Regional Council, and Marvin Rich of SEDFRE be asked to plan such a course, and that the Southern Regional Council or Atlanta University Center be asked to administer it.

I found among Negro Democratic nominees for state legislative bodies great interest in such a program.

Yale University News Bureau

New Haven, Connecticut 06520
787-3131, Ext. 344

Steve Kezerian, Director

File

#18(P)

For release to MORNING papers of MONDAY, July 24, 1967

New Haven, Conn., July 23:-- JOEL L. FLEISHMAN who served as Legal Assistant to former Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina, has been appointed to the newly-created post of Associate Provost for Urban Studies and Programs at Yale University.

The appointment of Mr. Fleishman "heralds a new era in Yale's attention to urban problems," President Kingman Brewster, Jr., of Yale said in the announcement today.

Mr. Fleishman joined the Yale staff in 1965 coming here from North Carolina. He has for the past two years been Director of the Yale Summer High School, and his appointment to his new post is effective immediately.

In commenting on the University's plans in urban studies, President Brewster said: "In addition to its Department of City Planning, the University hopes to expand greatly its research and training in all aspects of urban affairs. The most recently launched new programs have been in urban law and in a combined law and city planning program. Plans are also being completed for a mid-career program to contribute to the advanced training for urban school administrators.

more

"Studies are now underway to determine how the University's departments of economics, history, political science, sociology, psychology, and administrative sciences might best contribute to a better understanding of urban problems and their solutions," he said.

In addition to the development of academic programs of training and research, Mr. Fleishman will have primary responsibility for the increasing activities of the University directed toward the amelioration of social problems with particular concern for the racially and economically disadvantaged.

Mr. Fleishman has been Director of the Yale Summer High School, a highly successful summer program for students of high potential from disadvantaged backgrounds who came to Yale early in their high school career. He has also organized and assisted in establishing a joint Yale, Harvard, Columbia program for students from predominantly Negro colleges who are encouraged to equip themselves for graduate and professional education by a summer of intensive work at one of the three universities.

Mr. Fleishman is a consultant to the Office of Economic Opportunity on the design of programs for the improvement of urban schools.

Mr. Fleishman, who is 33, is a native of Fayetteville, North Carolina. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of North Carolina in 1955 and his J.D. degree with honors in 1959 from the Law School there. He also received his Master of Arts degree in dramatic arts from North Carolina.

more

He came to Yale in 1959-60 and received his Master of Laws degree in 1960, and then served as Assistant to the Director of the Walter E. Meyer Research Institute of Law at the Yale Law School in 1960-61. In September, 1961, he joined the staff of Governor Sanford, serving until the four-year gubernatorial term expired.

/ / / / /

See Yale Univ.

October 27, 1967

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Office of the Provost
1984 Yale Station
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Thank you for your comments about the statement and your invitation to come to Yale. When you are down here why don't we set a date?

Looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

YALE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
JOEL L. FLEISHMAN
Associate Provost for
Urban Studies and Programs

1984 YALE STATION
493 COLLEGE STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520
AREA CODE 203—787-3131 EXT. 2962

October 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have just had the chance to read "On the National Crisis", which you published in August. I assume also that you wrote it.

It's a splendid document, with just the right emphasis, and with the mention of all of the things which have to be mentioned in such a discussion. You need to talk more about these and other things, and I hope you will soon accept our invitation to come to Yale so that you can take advantage of our forum to spread the word even more.

I look forward to seeing you sometime in November. I have to come down for a meeting of the Committee on Negro Colleges of the Southern Education Foundation. I will be in touch.

With warmest greetings,

As ever,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:dm

Jack
Yale Urban

November 9, 1967

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Associate Provost for Urban Studies
and Programs
Yale University
1984 Yale Station
493 College Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

While we would always be eager to do anything we could to help those you recommend, particularly under the circumstances outlined in your letter of November 2nd, the possibilities we could offer are not encouraging. Among other things, we have just completed a very successful, but also very expensive, effort in a writer-photographer team, and it would be some time before we could put even modest resources into further efforts.

I still look forward to being with you when you are here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

YALE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
JOEL L. FLEISHMAN
Associate Provost for
Urban Studies and Programs

1984 YALE STATION
493 COLLEGE STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520
AREA CODE 203—787-3131 EXT. 2962

November 2, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I wonder whether you, Vernon, or Pat might have some work in which to engage two bright, 1967 graduates of Yale who are interested in writing about and photographing efforts to improve social and economic conditions about minorities in the South. Both are extremely bright and talented, and have already done some work in this field. They both worked briefly for Billy Barnes at the North Carolina Fund, but, as a result of their participation in a Gardner political rally, at which they represented themselves as being newspaper reporters, the Fund felt it necessary to discharge them, chiefly because of the running arguments it has been having with Congressman Gardner. None of Gardner's people know anything about this; the Funds actions were purely anticipatory.

I do recommend them most highly, and have suggested that if they are in the vicinity of Atlanta they get in touch with you. They're presently working temporarily for the Appalachian Volunteers, positions which they obtained through George Esser's influence. Both George and Billy have expressed their willingness to give them the highest recommendations. Their names are Rick Taft (of Ohio) and Frank Clifford.

Let me know if there is anything I should do to accelerate their getting in touch with you.

With warm greetings,

Cordially,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:dm

YALE UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF THE PROVOST
JOEL L. FLEISHMAN
Associate Provost for
Urban Studies and Programs

1984 YALE STATION
493 COLLEGE STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520
AREA CODE 203—787-3131 EXT. 2962

November 17, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks very much for your letter of November 9. I certainly do understand, and appreciate your shooting straight. I will feel much freer to suggest people to you if I know that you will not be reluctant to tell me if they don't happen to fit your real needs.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

Warmest greetings,

Cordially,

Joel

Joel L. Fleishman

JLF:dm

May 13, 1969

Mr. Joel L. Fleishman
Associate Provost for Urban
Studies and Programs
Yale University
1984 Yale Station
493 College Street
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

I have talked on the phone with Tom Naylor and one of his colleagues at Chapel Hill and they have visited the office here while I was away. They seem like pretty sound and sincere fellows. I think the one wrinkle of importance they could introduce that SRC cannot do would be the creation of a group of young and vigorous individuals concerned with direct political action and political reform.

It has been far too long.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

August 24, 1964

Professor Lewis Killian
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Killian:

Thank you for your letter of August 12 to Mr. Dunbar, and the several copies of your report on Bethune-Cookman College.

In Mr. Dunbar's absence from the office I have had your expenses okayed, and I am enclosing our check of $227.89 to cover them.

Fees: $150.00
Expenses 77.89
227.89

I am sure your request regarding the fall meeting of the evaluation committee will be given serious consideration, and you should be hearing from Mr. Dunbar about this in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1. (Check #3566; $227.89)

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

August 12, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have completed my visit to Bethune-Cookman and have prepared a memorandum reporting my findings. Since there was no guide for the form in which we should prepare our reports, I have done it my own way.

I am enclosing the following:

1. Four copies of the memorandum.

2. Application forms for student instructors.

3. Statement of my expenses. Pd. by RHA # 227.89 8/19/64 CR #3566

I don't know whether you have a form on which the statement of expenses should be prepared, nor do I know at what rate you pay mileage. If you can complete the expense voucher as made up, this will be fine.

I found my evaluation of the program at Bethune-Cookman most interesting and edifying. I have one request to make. You indicated that there would be a meeting of the evaluators sometime this fall. I hope that you can set it up during the week rather than on a week-end. Very frankly, I would much prefer to exchange one type of work for another than give up my week-end. This is one by-product of the "trimonster system!"

Cordially yours,

Lewis

Lewis M. Killian
Professor

LMK:sm

MEMORANDUM

TO: Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

FROM: Lewis M. Killian
Florida State University

RE: Southern Teaching Program at Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Florida

1. Student Instructors.

Peter J. O'Connell (Humanities, Contemporary Literature)

Susan Oakman (Mathematics)

Barbara Hurwitz (Physics, Chemistry)

Fontaine Belford (Reading, French, Contemporary Literature)

2. The Setting.

Bethune-Cookman is a small, private college. Much of its support comes from the Methodist Church. During the regular session it has only about 800 students; only about 200 attend the summer session. Most of the students are from Florida. A few African students are included in the student body. The small faculty (about 40 members) has been integrated for several years, so white faculty members are no novelty to the students.

Daytona Beach has been free from acute racial tensions for the past ten years at least, although it has had numerous small-scale protest activities. The public schools, including the community Junior College, were desegregated two years ago as the result of a court suit. Lunch counters were desegregated three years ago after a brief period of picketing. When the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 was signed into law there was widespread compliance, although there has been no systematic program of testing. Use of the beach by Negroes remains an area of ambiguity. Most of the time no Negroes may be seen on the beach except at a segregated portion south of the tourist area, yet small groups of Negroes sometimes use the beach without incidents or police interference.

Bethune-Cookman is located on Second Avenue, which runs through the heart of the Negro section of Daytona Beach. The campus is contiguous to a Negro business district. As far as white residents of the city who do not have business there, the campus is "off the beaten track." There is a certain amount of civic pride in the institution and the president is regarded by white leaders as a good, sensible Negro. (Based on previous research in this community.) Because of the composition of the faculty, the presence of white people on the campus causes no unusual reaction in the white community.

YALE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AT B-CC — Four students who are participating in the Southern Teachers Program sponsored by Yale University are teaching at Bethune-Cookman College. These students are shown with Dr. Richard V. Moore, President of the college as he welcomes and acquaints them with many of the merits and standard qualifications of the institution. They are left to right: Barbara M. Hurwitz from New Rochelle, New York, attended Bryn Mawr College receiving an A.B. degree in Chemistry and plans to enter Harvard Medical School this fall; Dr. Richard V. Moore; Fontaine M. Belford attended Yale University receiving an M.A. Degree in Philosophical Theology. Her future plans are to teach in the mid-east; Susan Oakman attended Goucher College receiving the B.A. degree in Mathematics and is presently attending Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut and Peter J. O'Connell from Whitensville, Massachusetts received the B.A. degree from John Hopkins University in 1963 and now attends Yale University.

These teachers will return to their respective college or university after completing their internship at Bethune-Cookman College during the summer session.

"The Bethunia," July 20, 1964

3. Assignment of the Student Instructors.

The participation of Bethune-Cookman College in the Southern Teaching Program was arranged by the Special Assistant to the President. He was away from the campus during the entire period of the consultant's visit, so could not be interviewed. Significantly, no other members of the administration, including the President, knew any of the details of how Bethune-Cookman came to participate in the program. This lack of knowledge was reflected in a general state of confusion as to the nature and purpose of the program. Apparently the planning for the introduction of the Student Instructors to the campus was almost a one-man operation. Certainly the role of the Student Instructors was not made clear to the general faculty until sometime after they had arrived. Throughout the summer session the President referred to them as "interns." (See attached clipping from student newspaper.)

Nevertheless, the four Student Instructors were generally well-informed as to what they would teach before they arrived. Some last-minute adjustments were made. One Instructor was surprised to find that she was teaching in the Summer Skills Program for high school seniors; she thought she was to do only college teaching. Another came with the knowledge that she would teach reading, although she did not feel especially competent in this area, and was pleasantly surprised to be assigned also to a class in French, which she had taught before.

It appears that the administration planned all along to use the Student Instructors in two ways: (1) to conduct the Summer Skills Program offered to ten high school seniors selected as having unusual promise, and (2) to teach college courses for which there was a demand but which no regular faculty were available to teach.

This dual use of the Student Instructors resulted in terribly heavy teaching loads, even though the number of students they taught was small. During the four weeks of the Summer Skills program, their loads ranged from 13 hours (with two preparations) through 23 hours (with four preparations). During the last two weeks of the session, when only college courses were taught, the loads were 5, 8, 13 and 15 hours. The Student Instructors had little spare time on their hands!

4. Living Arrangements.

Those Instructors who arrived in Daytona Beach by public transportation were met by someone from the college. It was fortunate that one brought her own automobile. The activities of the groups would have been much more limited had they not had a car available.

All four of the Student Instructors, the three women and the one man, were housed in a "faculty dormitory" on the campus. Since only two other faculty members were in residence, the dormitory was almost like a private residence for them. A kitchen was available if they wished to cook. The parlor was available for any entertaining they wished to do, and it also seems to have served as an "office" for them. Since the building was located in the very center of the campus, it was easy for students to meet with them there. The Student Instructors found this housing comfortable.

They ate most of their meals in the college dining room. (Meals were furnished by the college.) They were pleased with the food, describing it as economical but well-prepared. One Instructor said that it was actually better than the fare she

5. Reactions to the Teaching Program.

a. Student Instructors.

The reaction of the student instructors to their teaching experience was examined against the background of their motives for taking part in program. All of them have a strong desire to make a contribution to the cause of civil rights and Negro welfare, and all are adventurous young people who welcomed a unique educational experience. All had a strong conviction that improving the quality of Negro education is a significant part of the struggle for equality. One admitted, however, that if she had been able to afford expenses demanded she would have worked for SNICK in Mississippi this summer. Another, the only one who had lived in the South before, believes strongly in the cause of civil rights but feels that "what is going on in Mississippi is definitely wrong." She feels that what she has done this summer is more significant than the challenge being offered to law and traditions by the civil rights workers in Mississippi. Whatever their reasons for participating, all felt that their experience had been a profitable one, in terms of both the teaching experience and the insights gained concerning Negro education.

The teaching experience seems to have been a gratifying but, at times a depressing one. All four felt that they had evoked real interest and effort from most of their students and that they had taught them something. But all were shocked at the inadequacy of the preparation of their students and felt that their teaching was premarily remedial in nature. The two who taught math and science felt that some of the skills they had to teach should have been acquired by the students in junior high school. One of the most depressing things they encountered was cheating. by some of their students. The Instructors felt that most of the students they met were unaccustomed to the thrill of learning. Instead, it seemed, they felt that a college degree was something a Negro had to have to compete but that it made little difference how he obtained it.

The Student Instructors had not expected the teaching conditions to be ideal, but they were still disappointed. The lack of adequate laboratory equipment drastically limited the scope of the science courses. Noen of the instructors were satisfied with the textbooks which had been adopted for their courses. The library was described as "appalling." One Student Instructor was so moved that she wrote to a former professor and has received a promise of a contribution of some 2,000 volumes which he will collect for the Bethune-Cookman Library.

In spite of these handicaps, the Student Instructors felt that they were able to generate a new attitude toward learning in most of their students. They felt that their extra-curricular contacts with their students were equally important. They had long "bull-sessions" with them at the faculty dormitory. They discussed music and compared record collections. They went to the movies, to the beach and to newly desegregated restaurants with some of their students. One of the Student Instructors sang in the college choir. They organized a hootenany for the students in the Summer Skills programs. In general, their feeling was that they gave the Negro students at Bethune-Cookman novel contacts with white people who were close to their own age but who treated them simply as "people." Even in these contacts there were some disappointments. They found most of the Negro students more conservative and more complacent about race relations than they themselves were.

b. Faculty.

(Based on interviews with President, Registrar, Librarian, Director of Public Relations, Director of Student Affairs, Dean of Women and 4 faculty members who worked with Student Instructors).

The reactions of Bethune-Cookman faculty members to the Teaching Program was uniformly good. The predominant feeling was the combination of the academic competence and the youth of the Student Instructors aroused an interest in the students which they themselves had difficulty in obtaining.

Yet it was evident that most of the faculty members had rather little contact with the Student Instructors. They simply accepted them as visiting members of the faculty. At first, the President's references to the Student Instructors as "interns" caused confusion as to their status. There was also an impression that they were on the campus only in connection with the Summer Skills Program, not for college teaching. During the third week of the Summer Session, the Student Instructors provided the program at one of the daily chapel sessions. At this time they were able to clear up most of the confusion about their role.

The faculty members with whom they were supposed to work left them pretty much on their own. They did try to fulfill any requests made for assistance. In interviews with the consultant they were apologetic for not having been able to meet all the requests, but did not feel that any were unreasonable. For instance, the head of the Science Department said that he had struggled with the inadequacy of the laboratory equipment for years and understood the Student Instructor's frustration perfectly.

Two of the faculty members interviewed felt that the Student Instructors had been exploited--that their teaching loads were too heavy and their compensation inadequate. All of the faculty members in whose departments the Student Instructors had worked were obviously grateful for the relief and assistance that they provided the regular faculty. One department head indicated that one of his faculty members would not have been able to go away for graduate study during the summer had it not been for the presence of a replacement.

The Dean of Women was especially enthusiastic about the influence of the Student Instructors on the students. She was one of the few faculty members who had any extensive contact with them, primarily because she also lives on campus. She stated that she would like to have young people like this assigned to her counseling program, particularly during the regular school year. She feels that they could be unusually effective with Negro college girls just a few years younger than them.

c. Student Reactions.

(Based on interviews with 8 students from various classes taught by Student Instructors).

The reactions of the students confirmed the judgment of the Student Instructors that they had been well-received. The praise was lavish but obviously sincere and well-considered. The thing that was emphasized over-and-over was that the Student Instructors were willing and able to find the level at which their students could operate and work from there. The students felt that the Student Instructors challenged them, gave them new material, but at the same time were patient with them. Equally

important was the feeling that these faculty members, in contrast to the regular faculty, took time to get close to the students. Again the similarity in age was emphasized. Some of the remarks of the students were:

> "My instructor was so enthusiastic. She could always put her point over. Her class was a challenge to me."
>
> "They don't take the attitude of so many faculty members, 'I have mine, it's up to you to get yours.' They pay more attention to what you don't know."
>
> "They had an impact on the whole campus. Like one of the singing in the choir--most of the time faculty members won't do things like this."
>
> "We knew they were faculty members, but felt like they were students."

One student commented on a very practical, immediate value of the Southern Teaching Program. He observed that since so many faculty members go away for the summer study, the graduation of students may be delayed because required courses are not offered. If a Student Instructor is available to teach such a course, some students may be saved the expense of an additional semester.

6. Social Relations.

The social activities of the Student Instructors took place almost entirely with each other and with their students. They spent a few evenings with other faculty members who lived on campus. They were never invited into the homes of other faculty members, and they met no one in the off-campus Negro community. The indifference of most of the faculty to them was a surprise and a disappointment.

They had virtually no contact with white people not connected with the college. Two attended white churches but made no acquaintances there. The fact that Daytona is a tourist town, accustomed to visitors, probably accounts for the absence of any overtures of friendliness. One of the Student Instructors did have an introduction to a local family. She visited them several times. She reported that they voiced no criticism of what she and her colleagues were doing but thought it peculiar. They teased her with jokes about what it must be like to live on a Negro campus.

7. Overall-Evaluation and Recommendations.

The Southern Teaching Program was not revolutionary in its impact on Bethune-Cookman College. It directly affected four white college Student-Instructors, 10 Negro high school seniors, and approximately 30 Negro college students. But while the pay-off may not be immediately evident, there is every reason to believe that this was a highly significant experience for all of them. The students and the Student-Instructors interviewed as well as the faculty members, all feel that the program should be continued and expanded.

The Student Instructors feel that from a purely educational standpoint this has been a valuable experience, even if they do not engage in further interracial work. At the same time they feel that they have gained valuable insights into the

problems of Negro education and the cultural gap between whites and Negroes.

There is evidence that at least some of the Negro students have been introduced to a new approach to learning. They have been challenged by standards of academic excellence found in the better universities, but they have been helped and encouraged, not threatened.

Although some of the faculty members felt that the Student Instructors were not paid enough, the Student Instructors themselves felt that the compensation should be raised greatly if at all. All of them could have made much more money at other jobs during the summer, for all are highly competent. But they feel that any student who takes part in this program should do so out of a sense of mission and that the compensation should not become so attractive as to be primary in importance.

It is evident, however, that better planning might have resulted in an even better use of the Student Instructors' time. They were "spread too thin" for their own good and for the effectiveness of the program. The Summer Skills program, which they conducted entirely themselves, would have been enough work for one summer session. On the other hand, if they had been used entirely for college teaching, the courses should have been planned more carefully. One class only had one student in it, another two. While the small classes which these Student Instructors taught had the advantage of maximizing individual attention to the students, the consultant feels that the point of inefficiency of use of resources was reached. Better planning of the Student Instructors assignments should obviate this.

NAME: SUSAN VIRGINIA DAEMAN

MAJOR SUBJECT: MATHEMATICS
(for summer teaching)
INTRODUCTORY CHEMISTRY

SCHOOL ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY
MIDDLETOWN
CONNECTICUT DIAMOND 7-3061

PERMANENT ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
17 CONISTON ROAD
SHORT HILLS DREXEL 9-2072
NEW JERSEY

AGE: 22 SEX: F MARITAL STATUS: SINGLE

DATES OF YOUR SUMMER VACATION: JUNE 8 - SEPTEMBER 10

EDUCATION (include degrees or degree equivalencies you will have earned by June, 1964; academic honors; major field):

BA IN MATHEMATICS FROM GOUCHER COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 1963.

IN JUNE 1964 I WILL HAVE COMPLETED MY FIRST YEAR OF A TWO YEAR MASTER OF ARTS IN TEACHING PROGRAM IN MATHEMATICS - WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.

EMPLOYMENT (include summer and part-time jobs; list employer, dates, position held):

SUMMER: 1960, 61, 62 RECREATION DIRECTOR OF TOWN PLAYGROUND IN SPRINGFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

EMPLOYER: MR. EDWARD RUBY TOWN HALL SPRINGFIELD, N.J.

COLLEGE: 1959-1960 GOUCHER POST OFFICE
1961-1963 GRADED MATHEMATICS PAPERS FOR INTRODUCTORY AND INTERMEDIATE CALCULUS COURSES.

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES: SEE ATTACHED SHEET.

GOUCHER COLLEGE: CHEMISTRY CLUB, MATH CLUB PRESIDENT. VOLUNTEER AT ROSEWOOD STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED. BALT. MD.

REFERENCES (LIST TWO OR THREE): IN THE WESLEYAN COMPANION PROGRAM AT CONNECTICUT VALLEY HOSP. MIDDLETOWN CONN.

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS:

A COMPLETE FILE OF REFERENCES MAY BE OBTAINED FROM MISS DOROTHY ARNOLD, GOUCHER COLLEGE, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

PLEASE ATTACH TO EACH APPLICATION FORM A LIST OF COURSES YOU HAVE TAKEN IN YOUR MAJOR AND RELATED FIELDS. AND A LIST OF COURSES YOU CAN TEACH.

PLEASE SUBMIT THREE COPIES OF THIS APPLICATION FORM TO:
SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, c/o YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN., 787-7194

Susan Virginia Oakman

Employment

1962-1963 programed for the IBM 1620 at Fordham - Miss Bernstein

Courses:

at Fordham

math

Introduction to Calculus 2 terms

Intermediate Calculus 2 terms

Advanced Calculus

Differential Equations

Modern Algebra 2 terms

Probability and Statistics

Modern Geometry

Numerical Analysis

Number Theory

Introduction to Topology

Chemistry

Introduction to Chemistry

Organic Chemistry 2 terms

Qualitative Analysis 2 terms

Biochemistry

Wellesley

Advanced Calculus

Modern Algebra 2 semesters

Methods in teaching H.S. mathematics

practice teaching (algebra II)

<u>able to teach</u>: Calculus, Modern Algebra, Chemistry (Intro.)

NAME: Barbara M. Hurwitz

MAJOR SUBJECT: Chemistry
(for summer teaching)

SCHOOL ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
Merion Hall
Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr, Pa.
LA5 - 2225

PERMANENT ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
41 Paine Avenue
New Rochelle, N.Y.
NE6 - 2730

AGE: 21 SEX: F MARITAL STATUS: Single

DATES OF YOUR SUMMER VACATION: Jun.1 - Sept. 10

EDUCATION (include degrees or degree equivalencies you will have earned by June, 1964; academic honors; major field):

AB, Bryn Mawr College, June, 1964
Major Subject: Chemistry
Shippen Scholarship (First Student in Sciences), 1963
entering Harvard Medical School in September

EMPLOYMENT (include summer and part-time jobs; list employer, dates, position held):

Summer 1960 - counsellor - Queen Lake Camp, Athol, Massachusetts
Summer 1961 - research aid - Sloan-Kettering Institute, Rye, N.Y.
Summer 1962 - research assistant - " " "
Summer 1963 - NSF grant in organic chemistry. Independent research at Bryn Mawr College under Dr. F.B. Mallory/
Part-time jobs tutoring chemistry, physics, high school math, during college.
Hall Payday Mistress, 1963-1964

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:

Chorus, Renaissance Choir, Octangle (singing groups)
Dance Club
Hall Social Chairman, 1961-1962
Senior Song Mistress, 1963-64
Delegate, The Second American Revolution Conference, Feb., 1964.

REFERENCES (LIST TWO OR THREE):

Dr. F.B. Mallory, Chemistry Department, Bryn Mawr College
Dr. Dorris Hutchison, Sloan-Kettering Institute, Rye, N.Y.
Mrs. J.F. Pruett, Dean, Bryn Mawr College

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS:

can participate in and/or organize musical activities, dance, etc.

PLEASE ATTACH TO EACH APPLICATION FORM A LIST OF COURSES YOU HAVE TAKEN IN YOUR MAJOR AND RELATED FIELDS. AND A LIST OF COURSES YOU CAN TEACH.

PLEASE SUBMIT THREE COPIES OF THIS APPLICATION FORM TO:
SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, c/o YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN., 787-7194

Barbara M. Hurwitz

COURSES COMPLETED BY JUNE, 1964

1. IN CHEMISTRY:	Introductory Chemistry and Qualitative Analysis	8 credits
	Quantitative Analysis	4 credits
	Advanced Inorganic Chemistry	4 credits
	Organic Chemistry	8 credits
	Advanced Organic Chemistry	8 credits
	Physical Chemistry	8 credits
	Quantum Mechanics	4 credits
2. IN PHYSICS:	Introductory Physics	8 credits
	Electricity and Magnetism	4 credits
	Optics	4 credits
3. IN BIOLOGY:	Introductory Biology	8 credits
	Biochemistry	8 credits
4. IN MATHEMATICS:		
	Calculus - two years, one in high school; Second Year Calculus at BMC	8 credits
	Applied Mathematics forChemists	4 credits

COURSES QUALIFIED TO TEACH

Introductory Chemistry	Introductory Physics	French language
Organic Chemistry	Introductory Biology	($4\frac{1}{2}$ years' training)
Inorganic Chemistry	High School Mathematics	
Physical Chemistry		

Especially and preferably, however, the courses in organic and inorganic chemistry, and in a first year French.

NAME: Fontaine Maury Belford

MAJOR SUBJECT: English, French, Religion
(for summer teaching)

SCHOOL ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
409 Prospect St.
New Haven 11, Conn.
562-8861

PERMANENT ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
55 Bank St.
New York 14, N.Y.
Al 5-3019

AGE: 24 SEX: F MARITAL STATUS: single

DATES OF YOUR SUMMER VACATION: June1- Sept.1

EDUCATION (include degrees or degree equivalencies you will have earned by June, 1964; academic honors; major field):

Hollins College, B.A. 1962 - English
Sorbonne, Certificat De Langue Francaise, 1960 - French (cum laude)
Yale Divinity School, M.A.R., 1964 - Religion (Philosophical Theology)

EMPLOYMENT (include summer and part-time jobs; list employer, dates, position held):

SUMMER

1961- worked on developing teaching machine programs for Encyclopedia Brittanica Films, in German, Russian, French, and Geography and Structural Linguistics.
1962- director of summer recreation program for teenagers in the slums- Chapel of the Intercession, 155 St. and B'way. Father Hood
1963- instructor in French for the Peace Corps Training Program, Berea College, Berea, Ky. - Miss Gladys Louisda

WINTER (New Haven)

1962-3- director youth activities, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Father Bradley
1963-4- Student Assistant, Watertown Congregational Church, Wathrtown, Conn. Rev. Gilchrist

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:

Editorial Boards of: Newspaper, Literary Magazine, Humor Magazine.
Editor: Hollins Abroad Yearbook. Honorary Drama Association (officer)
Student Government Officer.

REFERENCES (LIST TWO OR THREE):

Rev. Mr. Alvord Beardslee- Hollins College, Hollins, Va.
Dr. John Oliver Nelson- Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS:

I have had a great deal of experience working with students from diverse backgrounds- both in planning programs, and teaching. I have spent a good part of my life in Tenn., Miss., and Ga. and have some idea of what the situation in these places is like- and of what can be done to help.

PLEASE ATTACH TO EACH APPLICATION FORM A LIST OF COURSES YOU HAVE TAKEN IN YOUR MAJOR AND RELATED FIELDS, AND A LIST OF COURSES YOU CAN TEACH.

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SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, c/o YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN., 787-7194

Fontaine Maury Belford
Resume of Academic Work

English

Survey of English Literature- from Chaucer to Eliot
Creative Writing-study of archetypal patterns, and the literary syntax of modern poetry
Advance Creative Writing- intensive personal experimentation with writing techniques
Junior Readings- study of a selected group of classics, in a variety of periods-
E.g.- Piers Plowman; Troilus and Cressida; Pilgrims Progress; etc.
Shakespeare- a literary, rather than dramatic study of all of the major plays
The Russian Novel- Tolstoy and Dostoevsky
Contemporary British Fiction - (taught by Wm. Golding) modern masterpieces -e.g.-
T.H.White, Murdock, Braine, Golding, etc.
Literary Archetypes- senior seminar for honors paper

I could teach any general survey type course; a course in the development of the novel; a course in contemporary literature; a course in writing, etc.

French

Survey of French Literature
Advance French Conversation
A year of study at the Sorbonne- work included general core work on French civilization and culture and more specialized work in Modern French Theatre
Twentieth Century Literature
Literature of the Middle Ages
Literature in late XVIII & the XIX Centuries

I could teach any level (except advanced grammar) of French Language; survey of French Literature; Conversation.
(I taught all of these last summer to the Peace Corps, at Berea College.

Religion

Comparative Religion
Ethics
Theology Since Schleirmacher
Sociology of Religion
Christianity and Contemporary Culture
Old ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Testament
Church History
Calvin and Luther
Methods of History
Symbols and Existence
Gospel of Mark
Epistle to the Romans
Church and the University
Campus Christian Ministry
Theology of Preaching

I could teach any fairly general course, and more advanced courses in Ethics, or Religion and Literature

NAME: Peter J. O'Connell

MAJOR SUBJECT: (for summer teaching) English and/or History (particularly American literature and history)

SCHOOL ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
727 Elm Street
New Haven 11, Connecticut

PERMANENT ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE:
7 Whitin Avenue
Whitinsville, Massachusetts

AGE: 23 SEX: Male MARITAL STATUS: Unmarried DATES OF YOUR SUMMER VACATION: June 15-Sept.15 1964

EDUCATION (include degrees or degree equivalencies you will have earned by June, 1964; academic honors; major field):

B.A. in English from The Johns Hopkins University
M.A. in American Studies from Yale University

Delta Phi Alpha (German honorary fraternity)
Johns Hopkins representative to the College Bowl program
General and Departmental Honors at Johns Hopkins
Phi Beta Kappa
Woodrow Wilson Fellow
A. A. U. P. (junior member)

EMPLOYMENT (include summer and part-time jobs; list employer, dates, position held):

Reeves Corp., Attleborough, Mass., salesman, June-Sept. 1958

Farmmeville Plastics Corp., Farmmsville, Mass., injection molding machine operator, June-Sept. 1959

U.S. Post Office, Whitinsville, Mass., clerk-carrier, June-Sept, 1960,1961,1962, 1963

EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES:

Y. M. C. A.
Channels (Johns Hopkins literary magazine)
Delta Phi Alpha
Young Democrats
American Civil Liberties Union
Committee for Basic Freedoms

REFERENCES (LIST TWO OR THREE):

Prof. R. W. B. Lewis, American Studies Program and Department of English, Yale Univ.
Prof. Howard R. Lamar, Department of History, Yale University

OTHER QUALIFICATIONS:

Interest in people and enthusiasm about teaching.

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SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, c/o YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN., 787-7194

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Courses I have taken in my major and related fields:

English

Undergraduate:

Major British Writers to 1835

Major British and American Writers from 1835 to the Present

American Literature

Modern British and American Poets

History of English Drama to 1615

Shakespeare

Donne and the Metaphysical Poets

Milton

Graduate:

American Literature

Aspects of the Modern Novel

History

Undergraduate:

Occidental Civilization to ~~xxxxxx~~ 1715

Occidental Civilization from 1715 to the Present

England from 1688 to the Present

France and England in the Middle Ages

(over)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Tocqueville's America (U.S. 1800-1840)

U.S. History 1845-1865
Selected Problems in American History, 1900-1939
Graduate:

Literature of American History

Readings in Nineteenth Century American History

Courses I could teach:

American Literature

Modern British Literature

English Composition

Nineteenth-Century American History

Problems of American Society
Modern Fiction

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Staff

MEMORANDUM January 18,1965

to: Albert Brinston

From: MMJ

Albert,

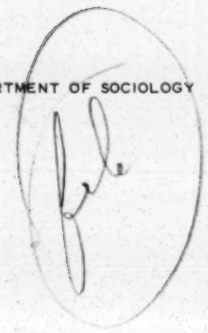
Please package up 30 copies of the Paul Gaston report (Summer Teaching Program) and mail Via Air Express to Mr. Fred Schulze at Yale in New Haven Connecticut. (Label Attached)

Rec'd 1/26/65

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE 32306

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY



January 25, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I must be very apologetic about the fact that I have failed to comment sooner on your draft of the final report. No excuse! Belatedly let me say that I think it is splendid and I have no substantive changes to suggest. In case it is not too late I will comment on a couple of points that need clarification for me. On page 3, I do not understand the import of the statement beginning "Few ponder the mystery..." Is this meant to imply that they should have pondered to mystery or that it is good that they didn't bother? On page 8, the meaning of the statement 1b is not clear. Perhaps, the word "ideal" might be left out. Then on page 9, at the bottom of the page, do we want to say "Nothing you do will be an example to anyone else"? Would it not be better to say "to any faculty members"?

I am returning my copy of the draft. On pages 1 and 2 I have pencilled in a couple of minor suggestions. I hope that these comments are not too late to be of use.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis M. Killian

LMK:sn

Enclosures:

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

LANE COLLEGE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

JACKSON, TENNESSEE

Rec'd 10/1/64

September 30, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

In acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 24th asking for comments on the instructors who taught during our summer school under the Southern Teaching Program, I wish to state that each one showed proficiency in his field and made a fine impression on the summer school students.

We would be interested in participating in the program again next summer. If it can be arranged, we would like to sponsor a five week institute for a select group of high school graduates who will form our freshman class - from 75 to 100. We would like for the instructors under your program to work with them in the areas of communication (reading, writing and conversation), the social sciences and the natural sciences. This program has not been fully developed but it is a proposed plan for next year. I shall be happy to keep you posted as to its development.

Very truly yours,

C. A. Kirkendoll

C. A. Kirkendoll
President

CAK:fe

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

DRAFT

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

AN EVALUATION

I. Description

A. The Southern Teaching Program was conceived in early 1964 by a small group of law and graduate students at Yale, interested in contributing to the reform of racial relations but convinced that their own best contribution would be to offer their training. Encouraged by the Yale administration, they addressed several Negro colleges of the South, offering to provide Summer session instructors. The response exceeded expectations; the students suddenly had on their hands a fairly large program, and foundation help was sought and obtained. In the outcome, 52 graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "S.I.'s") were recruited and they taught in 13 predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio) during the Summer of 1964. The program is planned again for 1965, and is being formalized in some respects, including the appointment of a full-time coordinator.

B. This evaluation was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by STP. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, initially accepted responsibility for the undertaking. His first step was to recruit a group of consultants, with the understanding that the final report would "reflect the consensus of all" and "be submitted in their names."

Southern Teaching Program - 2.

The group consisted of:

Tilman C. Cothran, Professor of Sociology and Chairman of Department, Atlanta University;

G. Franklin Edwards, Professor of Sociology, Howard University;

Lewis M. Killian, Professor of Sociology, Florida State University;

T. E. McKinney, Jr., Professor of Political Science and Chairman of Department, Southern University;

J. Kenneth Morland, Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Chairman of Department, Randolph-Macon Woman's College;

Lionel H. Newsom, Professor of Sociology, Morehouse College (now, President of Barber Scotia College).

A study design, drafted by Dunbar and revised by the consultants, was prepared, and is attached to this report. Each consultant except Edwards visited, for two or three day periods, assigned campuses during the Summer session. (See Table I at end of this report.) The written reports of these visits form the chief underpinning of this evaluation. Cothran also observed at a mid-summer evaluation session at Memphis participated in by 26 of the S.I.'s. Questionnaires prepared by STP were returned by 42 of the S.I.'s, and these were also of great value.* Presidents of the colleges were requested to write, or have written by some administrative officer, a general evaluation, and eight did so.** On December 2, 1964, the consultants (Newsom being

*A few chose to write long letters instead of using the form; two other letters contained very little information. For usable purposes, therefore, data ~~was~~ were received from 40 S.I.'s.

**Replies were received from Bethune-Cookman, Bishop, Central State, Lane, Le Moyne, Rust, Texas Southern, and Tuskegee.

absent) held a day long conference with Dunbar to review an outline report he had prepared. Following this, Dunbar drafted a report which was circulated to all consultants for revision and approval.

II. General Remarks

The most obvious fact about the 1964 work of STP is that it did make an appreciated contribution on nearly all the campuses. With only a few exceptions, the administrators seem generally satisfied and interested in continuing the program, the students liked the S.I.'s, and they were received by other faculty with feelings ranging from positive gratitude to tolerance to resentment (little of the first, more of the third, much of the second). Again with a few exceptions, the SI's themselves were well pleased with their Summer. Many found the preparation of their students startlingly worse than they had steeled themselves to expect, perhaps an equal number were thrilled by talents discovered or improved, and nearly all were dismayed by the non-intellectual quality of campus life; few pondered the mystery that from such cultural barrens had come the student protest movement of the 1960's, in whose magnetic field they now were.

All of these reactions could have been fairly well predicted by anyone familiar with the great need and the ingrained appreciativeness of Negro colleges. There are colleges in the South whose conditions are so poor that almost any outside effort is of help; only a catastrophe could hurt such schools, and our 13 include some of them. Our list also includes, however, several campuses of

present distinction and potential greatness. These cannot be helped merely through effort and good will; but is precisely these institutions which know best how to make use of proffered assistance. Our prevailing interest in the writing of this evaluation report is to consider how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the Negro colleges.

STP was in 1964 a relatively small operation, and though it expects to enlarge in 1965 this will still be true. We found it, however, to be a signally interesting venture to study, for two principal reasons:

1. Despite its size and unpretentiousness, STP seems to us to illuminate well many of the characteristic problems encountered in programs of direct assistance to Negro colleges. It is one expression of the widespread current interest in aiding Negro colleges through the resources of prestige universities; although STP is a student directed operation, it draws on these resources. A measuring of its effectiveness and potential against more costly programs might well be worthwhile.

2. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has recently drawn much attention for its report on The Flight from Teaching. Among its discussed solutions is the "greater use of graduate students in college and university instruction." STP, now and in its later development, should be examined most carefully for ideas it may suggest for alleviating the shortage of fully trained college teachers.

III. Observations of STP of 1964

A. Selection Criteria

The 52 S. I.'s of 1964 included all levels of graduates from June A. B.'s up to and including one Ph.D. What number had had previous classroom teaching experience of any kind cannot be certainly ascertained, but an examination of their applications for STP shows that only a few could have had any. Moreover, a considerable number taught courses outside the field of their specialization.

We think this procedure was unwise and should be drastically altered. We state this even before reporting our observations on the quality of work done by the 1964 S. I.'s. Indeed, we emphasize that our opinion here has nothing to do with empirical data.

It has to do, on the contrary, with what we regard as the need which any program of direct assistance, including STP, should serve; viz., the strengthening of higher education for Negroes. A sore need, perhaps the keenest of all, is low professional standards.

Remembering this, it seems to us wrong to encourage the attitude that southern Negro students do not require teachers as well as trained as white students of the North. We would urge that STP offer only those S. I.'s for the unsupervised teaching of college credit courses who have completed enough graduate training to be eligible to teach equivalent courses in the same fields at their own universities; generally, this would imply an M. A. degree or its equivalent in preparation. We do not think this would prove impossible for STP to accomplish.

A lesser standard could suffice for those assigned as assistants to regular faculty or as instructors in non-credit courses, such as pre-freshman or remedial programs. Indeed, something might be said for the superior qualifications of persons not yet too deeply immersed in specialized scholarship. But for these S.I.'s, the assurance of qualified supervision ought to be required by STP of the receiving college, and STP should plan prior programs of instruction in the techniques of problems of remedial education. To do the latter before the Summer of 1965 may or may not be feasible, but it should be incorporated into the planning for later years. Moreover, even for these special programs we believe that S.I.'s -- for their own benefit as well as that of the college -- should work in fields allied to their major interest; this rule might be set aside for individual cases but should in general be followed.

We are altogether aware that for many of the 1964 S.I.'s, the pleasure and the excitement were precisely their sudden responsibility; in fact, a number went to pains to explain that what they chiefly derived from the Summer was an experience that had little or nothing to do with civil rights or race relations, but had to do solely with the opportunity to teach. These attitudes delight us, as they would anyone devoted to education. But we are deeply impressed with the evident maturity of most of the S.I.'s, and with their capacity to understand that the first responsibility of STP should be the strengthening of the institutions it serves.

B. Orientation*

More than one-third of the S.I.'s did not attend the orientation held last June in New Haven. Although many of the opinions noted by the S.I.'s on their questionnaires are not easily classifiable, probably half of those who did attend had a negative reaction.

A principal shortcoming of the 1964 program was the non-existence or inadequacy of orientation at many of the receiving colleges. The 1964 program was of course, somewhat hurriedly planned and contrived, and the colleges had even less time to plan for it than did STP itself.

A common recommendation of the 1964 S.I.'s was that the 1965 S.I.'s receive orientation from them.

It is hardly surprising that response to the New Haven orientation session was not better; our experience is that some persons tend to be negative about any planned orientation programs. Indeed, this question produced the only substantial disagreement among the authors of this report, a minority of whom would dispense with any orientation of the S.I.'s en masse, on the grounds that orientation should be for the S.I.'s as for any other incoming instructors, the exclusive responsibility of the college.

*In the discussion which follows, we ignore a weighty technical problem; i.e., the erratic opening dates of summer sessions, which in 1964 ranged from May 30 to July 13. We ignore the problem because we know of no solution to it, except orientation that begins not later than mid-May for summer S.I.'s. We are encouraged in discussing the question in somewhat ideal terms, because, as will appear later, we advocate that STP not be solely or even mainly a Summer program.

A majority view is that STP should provide an orientation session of a day or two duration before the S.I.'s journey to their assigned campuses, and should endeavor to get as perfect attendance as possible. The program should emphasize:

1. The objective of STP:
   a. education, not civil rights;
   b. the strengthening of the institutions, to the ideal end that it is stronger after you leave.
2. The need to adjust to the situation you find*;
3. The nature of the Negro college campus
4. The psychology of interacting with Negroes on the faculty, student, and community levels
5. The uniqueness of each campus and community.

Some of the "veteran" S.I.'s should be present, but these should be carefully selected from among those who made a success of the previous Summer. The session could be held in any convenient location; in this regard, several of us wondered if Atlanta, where nearly all air and train routes of the South criss-cross, might not even for the S.I.'s be the most convenient place.

If some of us were not wholly persuaded of the need for a general orientation, we unitedly believe that the receiving college must discharge its obligation to the S.I.'s, and that STP should require this. This should consist of two things:

*Dean Wasserstrom of Tuskegee put it well: "They manifested a kind of unwillingness to accept Tuskegee Institute and its programs as a 'given' within which to work ... . I think it extremely important that persons who participate in such a short term affair ... do so with a conscious willingness to perform as best they can within the confines and foci of the program."

1. Clear and precise notification in advance as to the S.I.'s assignment.
2. Several days, desirably as much as a week, on the campus before classes begin, with some responsible person assigned to help the S.I. settle in, learn the ropes of the library and the book store and the labs, and meet his associates and supervisor (if there is one).

Underlying whatever orientation the S.I.'s receive, one theme would be, we hope, repeatedly underscored. Our experience suggests to us that it has meaning and relevance to the use of graduate students as teachers in any schools. The theme is, "you are faculty."

The 1964 S.I.'s tended very strongly to identify with the students, although many of them at the same time noted - some wistfully, some detachedly, some disapprovingly - that their faculty associates had little to do with them socially. The difficult, delicate thought which should be got over to the S.I.'s would go somewhat like this:

> "From the moment you put foot on your assigned campus, you are faculty. Once you establish and maintain that identification in your own mind, you will likely discover that others will sense it. As faculty, you have and should assert the same privilege all other faculty have; viz., to improve your campus, including its faculty-student relationships or its awareness of community responsibility. Explore, therefore, how far you can go, but always preserving your faculty identity. You may surprise yourself. More importantly, you may surprise and instruct your associates. But if you identify with the students, you may be almost certain that nothing you do will be an example to anyone else."

C. The Summer Sessions of 1964

1. In general terms, STP seemed to be a clear disappointment only at Lane and St. Augustine. At the latter, the failure was probably due entirely to the college's almost total lack of prior planning. At Lane, neither the S.I.'s nor the administration seemed geared to make a success of the experiment. President Kirkendoll of Lane desires, however, a continuance of the program, to support a planned pre-freshman course. (See Attachment.)

2. Again in general terms, STP seemed from all accounts to be an enthusiastic success at Le Moyne and Texas Southern (at Miles also, but only one S.I. was there). The other eight schools fell somewhere in between.

It is, we believe, highly noteworthy that at Le Moyne and TSU the S.I.'s taught in well established programs of a special nature: at Le Moyne, a Summer Humanties Seminar for selected high school juniors and seniors; at TSU, a Basic Skills Workshop for selected, top quality freshmen.* Both schools looked on STP as a happy resource to draw upon for their programs. The schools themselves took the responsibility for making the best use of the S.I.'s.

*S.I.'s at both colleges commented on the brightness of their students, which was the opposite, almost, of the situation facing S.I.'s elsewhere.

And even though these programs were outside the regular curriculum, the schools treated the S.I.'s with professional respect and got professionalism from them. Significantly, when TSU found it needed one of its S.I.'s to teach a credit course, it immediately and substantially increased his stipend.

We think the Le Moyne and TSU approach, which was approximated at a couple other schools, is the only feasible way of making STP succeed. For it must be realized that the success of STP depends at least as much on the receiving colleges as on STP itself. At Le Moyne and TSU, the college knew what it wanted, made its own appraisal of the value STP could have to its programs, and integrated the S.I.'s into its on-going work.

Success is a product, of course, of mutual effort. There seemed to us to be no objective reasons why the Tuskegee programs should not have gone thoroughly well. Tuskegee furnished a strong argument for sound orientation, for once the S.I.'s learned who they were and why they were there things seemed to go satisfactorily.

Le Moyne and TSU are located in large cities - the only ones of the colleges which were. This factor probably affected every aspect of their attractiveness to the S.I.'s and contributed to the S.I.'s own good performance.

3. At Bishop, S.I.'s were integrated into a previously planned program directed and staffed by Emory University people; some rub resulted. Prior discussions could probably have eliminated the causes. STP should be prepared, we believe, to combine its resources with those of others in any of the several cooperative endeavors going on in the South, and with planning this should be feasible.

4. For the most part, the colleges accepted what STP said. There was the barest minimum of prior exchange of credentials or recommendations.

5. Summer session is, everywhere, unlike the regular sessions of a college. This fact alone does not necessarily diminish the value of STP as presently conceived. It does need to be known prior to going to work, however, and remembered later. Summer school at a southern Negro college frequently collects into one classroom, public school teachers, pupils who had previously failed the course, campus hangers-around, and perhaps one or two bright students trying to accelerate. This produces a demanding challenge to the skills of any teacher; all of us can testify, either from actual or analogous experience, that it is quite likely to be also a disturbingly unsatisfying experience for the teacher.

6. Only a handful of the 1964 S.I.'s engaged in civil rights activities, and none to the evident detriment of their teaching responsibilities. The following statements culled from questionnaires articulate well what seemed to be widely shared reactions:

a. Most of my relationships with Negroes were perhaps touched by a certain tension or extra consciousness of the other person's needs and hurts, but I doubt that this is a "problem." Would that all human relationships everywhere would know such 'extra consciousness.'!

b. It was exciting to discover that middle class Negroes really do have the same values as I do, and a relief to decide that I don't have to feel any more of a common bond with a Negro grocery boy than I do with a white elevator man.

c. On the whole, I was not unduly shocked by the lack of intellectual motivation which I found in the pre-freshman student body. In this regard, I was somewhat disturbed by the frustrations of several of my northern and southern white teaching colleagues attending big northern universities who were suffering from what I would call liberal illusions about the nature of man, and the nature of segregation and education in general. I benefited morale-wise from being a political conservative. I had suspected that students who had attended third-rate schools and came from families where intellectual values were not always held in high esteem would not be well motivated. Nor did I think that we would be able to remedy this situation over night. I was, however, surprised by what I came to consider as the influence of motivation and development of the students. In varying degrees and various ways, most of the students accepted segregation. As the summer progressed, I came more and more to the conclusion that I could only deal with the problem of the intellectual motivation of each student by confronting him directly or intellectually or helping him to confront segregation, as it affected him physically and mentally. (Written by one of the handful who, before the Summer was out, got into civil rights activity.)

7. With the inevitable few exceptions, the S.I.'s did a good job, and were accorded ~~to~~ approval of their students and their administration. Two S.I.'s stayed on at their colleges on full time appointments for 1964-65 (one at Le Moyne and one at _?_). The following, taken from one of our field reports, expresses accurately what was generally found:

> Administrative personnel agreed that the S.I.'s were competent in their respective fields (sometimes with a slight edge over the regular teachers); that they brought

> a kind of interest and dynamism to their teaching which was often lacking among regular faculty members; that they exhibited an interest in students, both in and out of the classroom, that regular faculty members could emulate; and that they were creative in the utilization of existing resources.

8. At a minority of the schools, the S.I.'s were overworked; at one college in particular, the teaching load was a horror. The SI's at Texas Southern complained of too little work.

9. One S.I. thought that the chief value he and his colleagues had was simply "being there" as "outsiders," opening by their presence new vistas for the young Negro Southerner. In one form or another, this thought came out in the questionnaires of many of the S.I.'s. Typically, it came from those in the less satisfactory teaching situations, not from those able to take pride in a teaching accomplishment.

Some S.I.'s gave a number of extra-curricular services. At Rust, by way of conspicuous example, the S.I.'s started a campus newspaper (which involved, among other things, making a photographer's dark room), processed thousand of books donated for Freedom Schools and selected and cataloged 2600 of them for the Rust library, staged a party for 200 students, and one of them assumed the duties of college public relations director. The purpose of STP, however, is academic. For S.I.'s to help out in these ways is good and laudable. For STP to allow this sort of activity to occupy a prominent place in its "advertising" or fund raising or orientation of new S.I.'s would be a gross mistake.

10. One S.I. disillusioned over his classes, wrote that long after his class had forgotten his lectures, students would remember him "lecturing while lying on a desk." This seems an inconvenient way to lecture, but does it suggest any problems? It is tempting to say that S.I.'s should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the S.I.'s should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. S.I's should at least find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate. In contrast to the reclining lecturer, another S.I. wrote: future S.I.'s "should be chosen for their capacity to transcend their parochial prejudices against neckties, conformity, and hard bound books." We would not necessarily agree.

Considering all, we who visited the 13 campuses expected to find more non-conformity and resentment of the same than was apparent. We found instead the interactions of mature people. We would recommend that STP select on the basic of academic credentials and teaching potential, and that little stress in either the selection or orientation process be given to conforming habits or their lack.

11. Our observation was that the S.I.'s as a whole made an important academic contribution, though it affected only their students, and little if at all their faculty associates. The disadvantaged

colleges of the South - both Negro and white - suffer from many ills, but the mostcancerous is their intellectual isolation. The S.I.'s brought heavier and more demanding assignments, /more exacting standards on which grades were based, made the students plunge into unabridged books instead of anthologies, used the labs for problem solving and not merely demonstrations. They jolted minds - of a small number of young people.

12. In a very few situations, S.I.'s were over-supervised. In most cases they were on their own, in some cases even to the point of seemingly having no one's interest.

13. Faculty resentment of the S.I.'s did exist at some colleges. Although other factors were present as well, the chief cause was suspicion that regular faculty were being deprived of jobs by the S.I.'s.

We think it is wholly the responsibility of the receiving college to meet these problems. The S.I.'s do, of course, need to comport themselves with tact and courtesy, but no more (and no less) is required of them than of any incoming young instructors. The college administration should interpret and clarify for the regular faculty the role and purpose of STP. We can think of no way that STP can in advance require this, but where problems of this kind are encountered again STP might properly not return to that school without first having a frank talk with the administration.*

*We have omitted from this report any discussions of the interaction of S.I.'s and the local communities, although we gathered data on this matter and some of the S.I.'s reported on it interestingly; those receiving this report who would care to have information on this point may write Dunbar at the Southern Regional Council. We have omitted it because of a decision to focus exclusively on the educational questions.

D. Evaluation and Recommendations

1. We found that STP in 1964 made a wholesome contribution to at least eleven campuses. We believe that participation in STP deepened the training and maturity of the S.I.'s.

2. We are strongly of the opinion, especially after our observation of 1964 S.I.'s, that graduate students can not only benefit personally but can tremendously help higher education by doing more teaching. They can be good teachers, and they learn a great deal about their subject in the process. The STP idea is sound and we think should be extended.

3. We confine our remarks in this paragraph to the Negro colleges of the South, though we suspect they may apply generally. We doubt that graduate students as teachers can be of enduring value unless their service is a means for strenthening the regular faculty. Our chief lament about STP in 1964 is that we saw only the scantiest of evidence that the S.I.'s directly or indirectly benefited the regular faculty of the colleges.

4. Consequently, we believe that STP as presently conceived - i.e., as a Summer program - is of limited worth to the Negro colleges, though it may be of considerable value to the S.I.'s themselves. Such worth to the colleges as it can have is chiefly, we believe, in connection with special pre-freshman enrichment or remedial programs. Because we regard such programs as highly important, we encourage the further support of them by the resources of STP.

Otherwise, we see value to the colleges from STP as Summer activity only in peripheral cases; e.g., in order to free a regular faculty member for a few weeks of advanced study or research; or to give an experimental honors course, thereby encouraging the college to get someone to do it regularly.

5. We believe that STP could make a most valuable and valued contribution if arrangements could permit S.I.'s a longer period of contact with the Negro compus, thus enabling STP to have beneficial effect on the regular faculty. This means, ofcourse, instructors for one or more terms of the regular school year. The direct benefits to the faculty could consist of freeing faculty members for advanced study or research, or assisting them with very large classes.

We believe that the foundations supporting STP should seriously consider providing additional funds to make possible (a) a longer period of instruction by the S.I.'s;* and (b) subsidy to a regular faculty members for study while the S.I.'s are meeting their classes. Although we have not done and cannot do an accurate cost estimate, our belief is that this would be, by comparison with other programs of similar aims, a distinctly cheaper and yet highly effective method of strenthening the Negro colleges of the South. For it would go to the root problem which is the shortcomings of a faculty isolated from most of the stimulus and progress of scholarly associations.

*Of the 40 S.I.'s returing questionnaires, 27 said they would consider teaching for a year or longer at a predominatly Negro college, six said they couldn't or wouldn't, and seven either did not answer or were undecided.

6. We are recommending, therefore, that STP be structured along these lines:

a. for the support of special Summer enrichment and remedial programs;

b. for the direct benefit of faculty by enabling them to be released during the regular school year for advanced study, or by assisting them with heavy teaching leads.

Were STP so structured, we suspect its usefulness could be breadened. It is noticeable that some of the leading Negro colleges did not participate in 1964. Some of these do not offer Summer school. Others might not have been persuaded of the propriety for them of accepting STP. In either case, structuring STP as we have recommended here and in paragraphs 4 and 5 would quite possibly expand its area of service.

7. So too, we believe, would official sponsorship by Yale or some other prestige shcool. We advance this thought with diffidence but nevertheless with conviction. STP was conceived by students, and we are mindful of their claims. We also agree with Dr. Dominic Soda, who taught in STP at Bishop and is now on the faculty of Washington University, that STP's "simplicity of organization and directness of program were particularly appealing." These qualities should be preserved.

But help extended to any college should be dignified and non-patronizing. We noticed time and time again that administrators referred to STP as "the Yale program," and that is the way they wanted to think of it. We would hope that STP could continue to be run by students, but chartered by Yale or another front-rank school. If that

were administratively possible, the present virtues of simplicity and directness could be kept, and a relationship of lasting dignity between STP and the southern college could be established.

8. We hope that STP can successfully recruit S.I.'s not only in the Ivy League but at other schools of the North and West as well. We advocate recruitment on southern campuses such as Virginia, North Carolina, Duke, and Texas. We urge that every reasonable effort be made to recruit more Negro S.I.'s; the 1964 record of only one was not good.

9. For our recommendation on selection criteria see III A above. To the remarks there, we would add that each prospective S.I. should be recommended by his own graduate advisor to STP, and that a copy of the recommendation should be transmitted to the proposed receiving college along with the SI's other credentials. We think it important that the colleges have time to pass on the qualifications of proposed S.I.'s and their suitability for the college's program needs. This means that STP should plan its operations to permit this period of time, and might also adopt the practice of simultaneously submitting the name of the S.I. to more than one school.

10. During Summer or other times when a significant number of S.I.'s are at work, STP might consider employing a visiting supervisor; someone of scholarly distinction and familiar with Negro campuses. This person could consel S.I.'s, help them interact with administration and faculty, and perhpas give college or classroom lectures.

11. For our recommendation on orientation see III B above.

12. Because a number of the S.I.'s of 1964 proposed that STP plan and organize its own remedial program and offer that to southern colleges, we comment on this point. We would not approve, falling back again on our premise that STP should serve the institutional development of the receiving colleges. It will not do so by weakening their responsibility to plan and carry forward their own programs.

13. Although this report has stayed within the framework of "Negro colleges," our final recommendation is that STP thoughtfully consider offering its resources to all disadvantaged colleges of the South. Many of the "white colleges" have academic problems and inadequacies much like those of the predominantly Negro schools. If STP can see its way clear to do this, it should, of course, restrict its offer of services to non-segregated schools willing to accept S.I.'s without regard to race.

14. We conclude by proposing - to STP, to the supporting foundations, to Yale, and to the receiving colleges - that STP not be seen as in any sense or degree a missionary venture, but in the context of a large conception of the obligation which the national community of scholars has for education, wherever it is offered.

Tilman C. Cothran
Leslie W. Dunbar
G. Franklin Edwards
Lewis M. Killian
T. E. McKinney, Jr.
J. Kenneth Morland
Lionel H. Newsom

DRAFT

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED ?	VISITED BY
Arkansas AM&N	Ann M. Goodrich (Wesleyan)	Elem. French, 17th & 18th Cent. Fr. Lit., freshman orientation	T,T,A	Yes	Cothran
	Christopher P. Hadley (Yale)	Logic, Introd. Calculus, Calculus II	T,T,T	Yes	
	Charles L. Marlow (Yale)	Eng. Lit, Amer. Lit.	T,T	Yes	
	George P. O'Leary (Yale)	math	T	No	
Bethune-Cookman	Fontaine Belford (Yale Divinity)	Summer skills, Program for high school seniors, French, Contemporary Lit.	T,T,T	Yes	Killian
	Barbara M. Hurwitz (Bryn Mawr)	Introd. Physics, Teaching Elem. Sci, Summer Skills	T,A,T	Yes	
	Susan Oakman (Wesleyan)	College Math, Trig, Coll. Alg., Summer Skills	T,T,T,T	Letter	
	Peter J. O'Connell (Yale)	Contemp Lit., Summer Skills	T,T	Yes	
Bishop	Robert J. Anderson (Yale)	Freshman remedial-English	T	Yes	McKinne
	George Herr (Yale Medical)	ditto - math	T	Yes	
	Morris B. Kaplan (Yale)	ditto - English	T	Yes	
	Dominic Soda (Yale)	Modern Alg., Fresh. remed. - math	T,T	Yes	
Central State	Alexander M. McBean (Yale)	Introd. Biol., Experimental Embryology	A,A	Yes	Newsom

DRAFT

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT or ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED ?	VISITED BY
	Lillian S. Robinson (?)	(?)	?	No	
	Jeffrey B. Sidney (Yale)	Remedial Math, Principles of Math	T,T	Yes	
Lane	Leslie Donald Epstein (Yale)	Gen. Anthropology, Soc. Anthro., Psych.	T,T,T	Yes	Newsom
	Frank T. Gardner (Yale)	Biol. Survey, Conservation, Anat. & Physiology, Genetics	T,T.T,T	Yes	
	Joan Gardner (Yale)	Art. Hist. & Apprec., Art in Everyday Life Art Structures, Creative Drawing	T,T,T,T	Yes	
	Susan Gumpert (?)	Amer. Nat'l Gov't Amer. Hist.	T,T	Yes	
Le Moyne	Phillip A. Bertocci (Yale)	Summer Humanities Seminar for high school juniors and seniors - history	T	Yes	Newsom
	Marilu Sanchez (Yale)	ditto - speech	T	Yes	
	David J. Winter (Yale)	ditto - math	T	Yes	
	Judith Winter (Yale)	ditto - philosophy	T	Yes	
Miles	Michel Forget (Yale Divinity)	Elem, Intermed, and Advanced French	T,T,T	Yes	Newsom
Philander Smith	William W. Everett (Yale)	U.S. History, U.S. Govt.	T,T	Yes	Cothran
	Susan Hawk (Yale)	?	?	No	
	Robert P. Myers (Columbia Medical)	?	?	Letter	

DRAFT

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT or ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED ?	VISITED BY
	Emily W. Strong (?)	Modern Math, Alg., Trig, Analytic Geom.	T,T,T,T	Yes	
	Richard Winslow (Columbia Medical)	Inorganic Chem.	T	Yes	
Rust	Franklin E. Bragg, II (Columbia Medical)	Intro. Biol.	T	Yes	Morland
	James M. Dodson (Yale)	Amer. Govt, St. and Local Govt	T,T	No	
	Loren Ghiglione (Yale)	Freshman English	T	Yes	
	Bruce C. Johnston (Columbia Medical)	World Lit.	T	Yes	
	James H. Matlack (Yale)	Amer Lit, Amer. Hist.	T,T	Yes	
	James G. Ricks (Yale)	Western Civilization	T	No	
St. Augustine	James A. Todd (Yale Divinity)	Alg-Trig, Social Statistics	T,T	Yes	Morland
	William N. Tucker (Yale)	College Grammar, English Composition	T,T	Yes	
Texas Southern	John Peter Basinger (Wesleyan)	Basic Skills Workshop for entering freshmen-math	T	Yes	McKinney
	Tom L. Beauchamp (Yale)	ditto-philosophy	T	Yes	
	Harriett H. Bograd (Yale)	ditto-critical thinking	T	Yes	
	Sanford Budick (Yale)	World Lit, Modern English Novel	T,T	Yes	

DRAFT

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT or ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED ?	VISITED BY
	N. S. Freud (Yale)	Basic Skills etc. English	T	Yes	
	Orm Overland (Yale)	ditto-English	T	Yes	
	Vincent J. Rinella (Yale)	ditto-English	T	Yes	
	Robert Walker (Yale)	ditto-math	T	No	
Tuskegee	Robert E. Filner (Yale)	Pre-freshman program - math	A	No	Morland
	Hans H. Hock (Yale)	German	T	No	
	Liza Molodovsky (Columbia)	Pre-freshman-reading	A	Yes	
	James T.B. Tripp (Yale)	ditto-math	A	Yes	
	Henrietta Yancy (Yale)	ditto-reading	A	No	
Winston-Salem	Deborah A. Gwatkin (Wesleyan)	Basic Math, Trig	T,T	Yes	Cothran
	Jonah S. Raskin (University of Manchester)	Amer. Lit, Eng Lit, Freshman Composition	T,T,T	No	

~~Make folder~~
a Sally

See me about this one
(under Summer teaching program)
Make file
Southern Teaching Program - Yale
1965

April 27, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Fred:

I think it is clear now that I cannot be at your New Haven meeting. I am sorry because it would be of real interest to me. I hope the meeting goes well, and that you will let me know about it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 4/20/65

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

April 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Orientation for the Southern Teaching Program instructors who will be teaching this summer has been set for Saturday, May 8, at New Haven. We would like to invite you to attend. We plan to have a series of short talks in the morning on the South and Negro colleges and to have a series of workshops on specific topics in the afternoon. We hope that several of the consultants who prepared the Southern Regional Council report will be among the speakers. We would be glad to have you make any remarks you feel are relevant, including observations on last summer's program, or simply to meet informally with the summer instructors.

The Southern Teaching Program will cover transportation expenses to New Haven and take care of meals and overnight accomodations. If you can attend the orientation, please let us know whether we should reserve a room for you on Friday and/or Saturday evenings.

We hope very much that you will be able to come to the orientation.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:ms

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Summer Teaching Program

REGARDING:

ltr from Jane Lee J. Eddy to LWD re $2,000 check - payment in connection with expenses of Summer Teaching Program.

DATE: 5/25/65

(SEE):
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Taconic Foundation, Inc.

June 4, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of May 26. I am sorry that I missed the orientation session at New Haven. I missed out on the fact that you had a Berkeley group, and that sounds very promising.

I am sorry that you have not been getting SRC publications regularly. The answer, I'm afraid, is all too simple; we have not been putting out many. (I trust you have received our report on discrimination in the federal courts.) We were disappointed last year that the two things we had expected to publish did not get completed. One was a study of rural schools and the other an essay by Lillian Smith. The former is now on my desk, and will be getting out in the next couple of months. In fact, I anticipate that you will find 1965 a pretty good publication year for us, because several things are lined up.

About all that I can say at this point regarding an evaluation of the 1965 STP is

that we would be glad to discuss it with either you or Art Singer. The job we did last year cost more than Taconic granted us, so we ended up in the hole on it, and I would want to be very careful that this does not happen again. I had an occasion the other day to talk with Dr. John Griffin, Director of the Southern Education Foundation, and it is possible that a joint effort might be worked out here. He intends to commission someone this summer to do a fact-finding job around the South on the effects of integration on Negro teachers. He would be willing, I think, to join with you or with us and have the two jobs done by the same person or persons.

I shall be away for the next two weeks; will be glad to talk with you about it when I return.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
CC: Dr. John Griffin

6 Grif

Rec'd 5/27/65

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

May 26, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les Dunbar:

About 70 of this summer's instructors attended the orientation at New Haven on May 8. (This was most of the people from the East. The 30 at Berkeley held a separate orientation there.) Dr. McKinney came and spoke, and Dr. Herman Branson of Howard University and ESI stopped by briefly. Several of last summer's instructors also attended and shared their experiences. The day was of some value, particularly because of informal contacts.

Maya and I met with Arthur Singer of the Carnegie Corporation a few weeks ago to discuss the present and future of the Southern Teaching Program. He indicated that it might be worthwhile to approach Carnegie next fall for a sizeable two or three year grant. It would be necessary, however, to have at that time a report or evaluation of this summer's program, done by an objective organization or individuals.

Do you have any suggestions on how we might have our program evaluated this summer? Since we will have instructors at 26 or 27 colleges, it will probably be difficult to cover all of them. Perhaps it would not be necessary. Nine of the colleges are ones which participated last summer. Would it be possible for one or two evaluators to visit some to the new and some of the old colleges and write a kind of "appendix" to this year's report?

Do you think the Southern Regional Council, or any individual consultants from last summer, would be interested and able to help with an evaluation this summer? Are there other organisations or individuals which might be interested that you could recommend?

I keep intending to write a long letter describing the colleges and instructors involved in this summer's program. They change daily, however, even this week.

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

At the moment, we have placed 127 people at 26 colleges. That seems fairly definite, although in the last two weeks that number has fluctuated between 138 and 105.

Of last summer's colleges, Saint Augustine's and Arkansas A.,M. and N. have decided not to participate this summer, probably in some degree because of dissatisfaction over last summer. Rust College and Winston-Salem State College are not participating, having recently arranged large cooperative programs of faculty and student exchanges with Michigan State and Southern Illinois universities. Both Rust and Winston-Salem have asked that we keep in touch with them in future summers.

One last question, a minor one. Last fall we subscribed to the New South and all Southern Regional Council publications. We get New South regularly, but nothing else. Have there been any other publications?

Hope to see you sometime this summer.

Sincerely,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:ms

file

VIA AIR MAIL
June 25, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program - 1965
P. O. Box 401-A, Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

Some time ago Leslie Dunbar asked me to respond to your inquiry of June 8. I am very sorry to have taken so long in doing so.

If we can send additional information please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

Rec'd 6/9/65

LWD ✓

MS-file

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

June 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your thoughts on an evaluation of this summer's program. Next week I will write to you in detail some of the ideas we have had about the nature of the evaluation, which schools to visit, etc.

You suggested once that the SRC might be able to give the summer instructors names of local people in the communities where they are teaching who have been sympathetic to the work of the SRC. This would be a very good thing, if you have time for it. Here, then, is a list of the colleges and communities where we now have people teaching.

A & T College of North Carolina- Greensboro.
Allen University- Columbia, South Carolina.
Benedict College- Columbia, South Carolina.
Bennett College- Greensboro, North Carolina.
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.
Bishop College- Dallas, Texas.
Central State College- Wilberforce, Ohio.
Charleston Tutorial Center- Charleston, South Carolina.
Claflin College- Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Dillard University- New Orleans, La.
Friendship Junior College- Rock Hill, South Carolina.
Lane College- Jackson, Tenn.
Langston University- Langston, Oklahoma.
LeMoyne College- Memphis, Tenn.
Miles College- Birmingham, Alabama.
Morris Brown College- Atlanta.
Oakwood College- Huntsville, Alabama.
Orlando Wider Horizons Program- Orlando, Florida.
Philander Smith College- Little Rock, Arkansas.
Prairie View A & M College- Prairie View, Texas.
Tennessee A & I University- Nashville, Tenn.
Texas Southern University- Houston, Texas.
Tougaloo College- Jackson, Mississippi.
Tuskegee Institute- Tuskegee, Alabama.

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Virginia State College- Norfolk, Va.
Virginia Union University- Richmond, Va.
Wiley College- Marshall, Texas.

Thank you again for your advice about an evaluation. I'll write next week and send copies to Dr. Griffin and Mr. Singer.

Sincerely yours,

Fred

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:ms

Greensboro, N.C.	Samuel Proctor, President North Carolina A. & T. College Greensboro, N.C.
	John Taylor c/o Holiday Inns Greensboro, N.C.
Columbia, S.C.	Mrs. Alice Spearman, Executive Director South Carolina Council on Human Relations 1330 Laurel Street Columbia
	(Source of Information)
Charleston, S.C.	Mrs. Spearman, above
Orangeburg, S.C.	Mrs. Spearman, above
Rock Hill, S.C.	Mrs. Spearman, above
Daytona Beach, Fla.	Mrs. Henrine Banks, Dean of Women Bethune-Cookham College Daytona Beach
	Mr. Herbert Davidson, Editor and Publisher Daytona Beach News Journal Daytona Beach
New Orleans, La.	Albert Dent, President Dillard University New Orleans
	John P. Nelson, Jr. 328 Chartres Street, Suite 101 New Orleans
	Mrs. Leo Mervis 34 Audubon Blvd. New Orleans
Jackson, Tenn.	Baxton Bryant, Executive Director Tennessee Council on Human Relations 1106 - 19th Avenue South Nashville
	(Source of Information)
Memphis, Tenn.	Mrs. Lawrence Coe 3580 Watauga Avenue Memphis, Tenn.

Birmingham, Ala.	Dr. Lucius Pitts, President Miles College Birmingham, Alabama
Atlanta, Ga.	Southern REgional Council (Source of Information)
Huntsville, Alabama	Ed Stanfield, Executive Director Alabama Council on Human Relations 2809 Governors Drive, S.W. Huntsville, Ala. (Source of Information)
Orlando, Fla.	Mr. Bill Bennett Wider Horizons of Orange County, Inc. P. O. Box 1125 Orlando
Little Rock, Ark.	Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director Arkansas Council on Human Relations 1220 West Capitol Little Rock (Source of Information)
Houston, Texas	Charles Kelly, Executive Director Houston Council on Human Relations 5403 Austin Street Houston, Texas (Also, source of information)
Jackson, Miss.	Kenneth Dean, Executive Director Mississippi Council on Human Relations 306 First Federal Building Capitol at State Street Jackson, Mississippi
Tuskegee, Alabama	Dr. Luther H. Foster, President Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Chairman Division of Social Sciences Tuskegee Institute Tuskegee, Alabama

File
Southern Teaching Prog.
1965

June 30, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

I was asked by Mr. Dunbar to try to work out with ITC arrangements for your weekend conference of the Southern Teaching Program. Reverend Wynn, to whom I was referred, was out of the city. I have now made arrangements with Clark College for the meeting to be held on its campus the weekend of July 17 in Brawley Hall. I understand the facilities at Brawley Hall are more desirable than at Old Gammon, and the prices are about the same.

I have been in touch with Mrs. Shedricka Miller, Secretary to the President at Clark, who quoted the following figures:

Lodging:
$2.50 per person, per night

Meals: (Saturday - lunch and dinner; Sunday - breakfast, and lunch if desired)
$3.00 per person, per day

Mrs. Miller asked for a guarantee of at least 40 persons. I did not feel in a position to make

such a guarantee, so it might be well for you to write to her. I am sending over to Mrs. Miller today a copy of your letter to Mr. Shields.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

File - Southern Teaching Prog - 1965

June 30, 1965

Dear Shed:

Here's the copy of the letter I promised to send over to you. I have written Mr. Schulze, and you should be hearing from him direct.

Come by when you can.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Shedricka Miller
Secretary to the President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

$2.50 L-B
Suite - $5.00
$3.00 PCV
Lounge - cheaper

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

June 24, 1965

7/17

Mr. William Shields
Business Manager
Interdenominational Theological Center
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shields:

Leslie Dunbar suggested that I write to you about the possibility of using the Old Gammon Seminary for a conference of Southern Teaching Program instructors on the weekend of either July 10 or July 17. The Southern Teaching Program, Inc. is a non-profit educational organization; its purpose is to place qualified graduate students as instructors in the summer sessions of predominantly Negro or integrated colleges, to replace regular faculty members who are studying or as additional staff to make possible special programs for entering freshmen. The program was organized last year by several Yale Law School students; last summer 53 students taught at thirteen colleges. This summer 145 graduate students from more than ten universities are teaching at twenty-seven colleges.

40-50 people

We would like to have a conference of instructors teaching within a 200 mile radius of Atlanta, on either July 10 and 11 or July 17 and 18. This would involve about forty to fifty people. They would need a place to stay on Saturday night, lunch and dinner on Saturday, and breakfast and possibly lunch on Sunday. We would need a place to hold meetings on Saturday afternoon, evening, and Sunday morning.

We would appreciate knowing whether the Old Gammon Seminary would be available for such a conference on either of these weekends and, if so, what the approximate cost would be. I am sending a copy of this letter to Leslie Dunbar, who said that he would call you early next week to discuss the matter further.

Thank you for considering our request.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:ms

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Rec'd 7/6/65

File

July 2, 1965

Free - 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P O Box 401-A - Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

When your letter of June 24, 1965 arrived, space in all dormitories here had been committed.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar informs me that you may have accommodations at Clark College.

Please call upon ITC if we may help in any way.

Sincerely,

W. A. Shields
Business Manager

cc: Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

WAS:d

SA carym

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
Jackson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 27, 1965

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM : SA

RE : Hill Foundation Program

We should help screen exchange professors from UNCF colleges. They should show some degree of "community" interest in addition to educational abilities so they will be helpful to our program after their return. Presidents get too much leeway for nominations of this sort. Faculty committees or some combination is better. SI's in our summer teaching program might be helpful in screening. Certainly, our state directors of CHR would like the involvement. It might give them an entre to untapped resources at some of the colleges.

For initial recommendations, I am sending a copy of Don Hughes' letter to Paul Gaston, suggesting that he keep his eye open for someone from the behavioral sciences or economics. You might want also to have other contacts at various UNCF schools aware of our interests.

file

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 26, 1965

Dr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I hope our prompt reply to your request for Travel Advance is a small indication of the importance we attatch to the work you are to do for SRC's Couthern Teaching Program.

In addition to the $250 advance, the enclosed check includes the $92.67 you spent to make last week's trip to Atlanta.

I enjoyed the conference with you and Les. It was as informative as Peggy's steaks were tasty.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

Rec'd 7/26/65
SA ✓
Answered 7/26/65

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

July 24, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Here is another item to add to what I expect will be a cluttered desk awaiting you on your return from New York.

First, many thanks for your hospitality -- and Peggy's: please tell her how much I enjoyed the chance to visit with her.

The conference was very helpful. I took several pages of notes and got a good idea of how to go about the evaluation.

With your approval, I want to change slightly the list of institutions to be visited. I want to eliminate Allen, because it closes on the 5th of August, not the 15th as we were informed, and I cannot get to Columbia that early. Time considerations also lead me to eliminate the Charleston Tutorial Center. However, I spoke at some length with the four people at Charleston and have a good impression of that operation. There is no "administration" at the Tutorial Center to visit. I will add to the list, partly because it is convenient, Virginia Union, in Richmond. That will make a total of eight institutions to be visited.

I shall also be able to interview Virginia SI's at institutions I do not visit: Orlando Wider Horizons; Bishop; and Prairie View A&M. This should help round out the picture. I have prepared a questionnaire for all college presidents which I will send out early next week (I'll send you a copy). Fred Schulze will send directly to me the questionnaires to be filled out by the SI's.

I leave here Wednesday afternoon, July 28, and return on Tuesday, August 10. On this trip I will visit, in order, Miles, Tennessee A&I, LeMoyne, Philander Smith, Texas Southern, and Dillard. I'll come back here on the 10th to preside at a couple of orals, then visit Virginia Union and Benedict on the 16th and 17th.

I enclose a statement of my expenses for the Atlanta trip. Could you also send me an advance of $250? If I could have these checks before Wednesday afternoon Mary would rest easier. . . . More later.

Yours sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

P. M. Gaston

Leaving Charlottesville: July 28
Returning Charlottesville: August 10

Letters to me may be sent to the following addresses. The date indicates the last day on which mail should arrive to be certain to get to me.

July 29
c/o Mr. Tom Hopkins
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama 35208

July 30
c/o Mr. John W. Brookes
135 Watson Hall
Tennessee A & I State University
Nashville, Tennessee

August 2
c/o Mr. Roger Wertheimer
Le Moyne College
Memphis, Tennessee

August 3
c/o Mr. David ~~Fisher~~ Fisher
Philander Smith College
Little Rock, Arkansas

August 5
c/o Mr. Tom Beauchamp
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

August 6
c/o Mr. Kermit Lipez
Dillard University
New Orleans, La.

August 9
c/o Dr. C. A. Gaston
Fairhope, Alabama

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Southern Teaching Program - 1965

REGARDING:

ltr from LWD to Arthur L. Singer, Jr., of Carnegie Corporation.

DATE:

7/29/65

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

CARNEGIE CORP. OF NEW YORK

Rec'd 8/13/65

SA - pls handle
PA

~~SA file~~

file - Southern Teaching Prof - 1965

12 August 1965
1861 Winston Rd.
Charlottesville
Virginia

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

It was a good trip. I spent an average of a day-and-a-half at Miles, Tennessee A&I, LeMoyne, Philander Smith, Texas Southern, and Dillard. I've more notes, I suppose, than I'll be able to use.

I expect to visit Virginia Union, in Richmond, on Monday, and Benedict on Tuesday and Wednesday. That will make a total of eight visits. My evaluation will be based upon these eight visits plus (1) questionnaires filled out by all of the places using STP instructors (I enclose a copy); (2) statements filed by the STP instructors, which Fred will send me; and (3) interviews of STP instructors at Atlanta. I will also be able to interview some of the Virginia SI's who were at institutions I have not visited.

My plan now is to block out a rough draft of my report next week, when I return from Columbia. I will await the material from Fred before writing the final report. I should be able to send you my evaluation on or about September 15. Unless you wish it otherwise, I will send you one original and let you do the duplicating. I'll keep a copy for myself.

I enclose a statement of expenses for the trip I've just taken. My remaining expenses will include transportation & other costs for next week's short visits, plus secretarial assistance which I have gotten outside the department.

Please tell Sam I have not uncovered any economists for him, although I did look.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

cc: Fred Schulze

EVALUATION OF SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

Summer, 1965

Name of Institution: _____

Person Preparing Report: _____

Position: _____

1. Did the presence of STP instructors make it possible for you to relieve regular faculty members of teaching obligations so that they might pursue further study of their own? If so, how many?

2. Did the STP make it possible for you to offer any new program you might otherwise have been unable to offer? If so, what type(s) of new program(s) did you offer?

3. How would you rate the teaching job done by the STP instructors:

   a) excellent
   b) good
   c) fair
   d) poor

4. Did the STP instructors satisfy or disappoint you in their extra-curricular relationships with the students?

5. If you had STP instructors in 1964, could you state whether or not the STP-taught students did better, the same, or worse than other students in 1964-65?

6. What do you consider to have been the chief contributions, if any, of the STP instructors?

7. What do you consider to have been the chief deficiencies, if any, of the STP instructors?

8. On balance, would you describe your attitude toward the STP as it operated on your campus as:

   a) very favorable
   b) favorable
   c) satisfied
   c) unfavorable
   e) very unfavorable

9. Do you expect to request STP instructors for next summer?

10. General Comments. Please state any impressions you have that have not been elicited by the above questions. (Use reverse side, if necessary).

Please return to: P. M. Gaston, Department of History, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia

See Yale Univ: "Southern Teaching Prog." 1965"

August 24, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is an article which appeared in the New York Times that I am sure will be of the utmost interest to you -- just in case you have not seen it.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

WHITE TEACHERS OUSTED IN DALLAS

Negro College Drops 13 of 22 for 'Stirring Up Students'

DALLAS, Aug. 19 (AP) —Thirteen of 22 white summer instructors were dismissed today by the president of Bishop College, a predominantly Negro school, for what he called "stirring up the students."

Dr. Milton K. Curry Jr., the president of the school, said: "They seem to have the idea that they came down here for a social revolution. Some of them must be sick, frustrated young fellows."

The instructors said they would not leave, though they faced eviction by the campus police.

Gabe Kaimowitz, a 30-year-old New York University law student, was among the group dismissed. He said the dismissals had come after summer instructors had held a campus demonstration to protest what they called curbs on civil rights and academic freedoms.

The dismissed instructors were graduate students, 22 to 30 years old, who had been brought to Bishop to teach remedial English and mathematics to precollege students in a 10-week course.

Two Days To Go

Frank Schuler, 22, an Emory Colllege medical student, said the instructors had two days to go on their 10-week contract.

"We are not leaving until our contract is up," he said.

Mr. Schuler said the campus police and the manager of the apartments had told him they would be evicted by the campus police if they did not leave.

"None of us is leaving," Mr. Kaimowitz said.

Mr. Kaimowitz said the instructors were participating in the Southern Teaching Program, which sends summer teachers to some colleges. He said the administration had shut down a student newspaper, threatened to expel students who took part in civil rights activities and short-changed students on book sales.

Curry Sees No Trouble

President Curry said in a telephone interview that he did not expect any trouble removing the instructors from the campus. He said that if they did not leave willingly, he would probably "take it up with the lawyers."

The 54-year-old president charged that the 13 instructors had been attempting "to incite the students to leave Bishop College," and go to other schools. He said that the nine other visiting instructors, five of whom are white, did not support the 13.

President Curry also denied that the student newspaper had been shut down, that any students had been threatened with dismissal or that students had been short-changed on book sales.

August 25, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note. I am enclosing expense forms in compliance with your request. Good luck!

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosures

SA
Please

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville

21 VIII 65

Dear Les:

Thanks for the check covering my expenses on the recent trip. I've just come back from the last trip. Will you send me two forms for submitting expenses? I'll need one for the trip just completed, another for the final reckoning, after I'm finished.

Hastily,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

September 2, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your letter of August 27.

You did not need to be solicitous about us, but as long as you have been, I shall put the whole picture before you.

On the 1964 report, we spent $1,925 in consultant fees, and $1,202 in travel expenses for the consultants. That made a total of $3,127. The Taconic grant was $2,000, and I believe you know the story there.

This year, we shall spend $1,000 on Paul's fees. You are to reimburse us for his travel expenses.

Taconic's $2,000 plus your $2,300 would cover our cash expenditures, not allowing for the reproduction and distribution of last year's report or this year's.

We are not set up here to keep costs on reproduction and distribution. Normally we take care of these things on projects by an overhead allowance. In this case, I think the overhead allowance would most properly be based on the consultant fees. For the two years these equalled $2,925. I think a 25% overhead allowance would be modest, and certainly fair, considering not only our cost in processing the report but that an awful lot of my own time went into last year's report and a lesser amount into this year's.

A 25% allowance would be $731; add this to the consultant fees and you have $3,656. Add on last year's travel of $1,202 and you have a total cost for the two years of $4,858, or $558 over the Taconic grant plus your grant.

Dear sir, do what you feel called upon to do.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js

Rec'd 8/30/65

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

August 27, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

The arrangements between the Southern Regional Council and Parofessor Gaston, as outlined in your letter of July 29, are agreeable to us and, I believe, to Carnegie.

The individual reports of Southern Teaching Program instructors are fascinating, as usual, but coming in slowly: about thirty received so far. Paul said that the colleges have also been slow in returning his questionaire. Maybe September will spur people to action. (We recently sent out a letter to all STP instructors reminding them that we need their completed reports as soon as possible.)

We probably want about 650 copies of the report:

100 - Foundations, faculty interviewers, etc.
150 - 1965 summer instructors
75 - New colleges
250 - 1966 summer instructors
75 - Presidents, deans, and/or directors of summer sessions at 1965 colleges

650

Later this summer we will submit a list of people to whom we would like you to send the report directly, as we did last year. This would include colleges which we worked with this summer and some of the foundations, perhaps a total of 80 copies. The bulk of the reports, however, we could distribute.

Would the estimate of $1,300 cover this number of copies? If not, how much more do you think it might run?

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, Inc.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

The Bishop College affair seems complicated and should add a bit of excitement to the report. I hope we can overcome the negative effects of the publicity. That seems to be the only real failure this summer.

Sincerely,

Fred

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:ms

File
Southern Teaching Prog
1965

July 29, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Fred:

Most of this you already know, but I thought it might help to make these things a matter of record.

Paul Gaston will cover in his study the following selected schools: Miles, Tennessee A. & I., LeMoyne, Philander Smith, Texas Southern, Dillard, Virginia Union, and Benedict. Although some choices were influenced by cost and convenience of travel and by dates of closing, the selection achieves what we think are desirable types. It includes both repeat schools and new ones, schools in which the S.I.'s are handling classes individually, and schools in which they are working in special programs. Included also are some of the stronger as well as some of the weaker campuses.

As you know, Paul also attended the Atlanta conference, and in addition to the general value of that to him, he was able there to interview at length the 4 S.I.'s at the Charleston Tutorial

Center. He will also be able to interview, when they return to Charlottesville, the University of Virginia graduate students who are teaching at Bishop, Prairie View, and in the Orlando Wider Horizons program.

Paul has prepared and sent out a questionnaire to all college presidents. I understand that you will send to him the completed questionnaires from the S.I.'s at the end of the summer.

Our agreement with Professor Gaston is that he will submit to us a finished draft report based on his work this summer and reflecting the interests and questions of our 1964 report. The final report submitted to you will come from this office after our review of Paul's draft, and our discussions with him.

You should, at some time, let us know how many copies of the report to prepare and your wishes for distribution.

We have agreed to pay Professor Gaston an honorarium of $1,000 plus expenses. Our expenses here would be for professional staff time plus clerical help, and the cost of materials and postage in putting out the report. In advance of knowing exactly how long the report will be, and how many copies you will want, we can only estimate our cost. I believe $1,300 would cover it safely, and if that is agreeable to you we will settle for it. This would reach a total of $2,300 plus Gaston's expenses, which we shall submit to you separately, if that is agreeable.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Arthur Singer

File cy

VIA AIR MAIL

September 10, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Cabell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Gaston:

We are enclosing herewith a check in the amount of $500.00 (five hundred dollars), which is a portion of your fee for the work you are doing for SRC's Southern Teaching Program. Also enclosed are two travel expense forms -- the others we have not received, so please fill these out and return them to us at your earliest convenience.

Sorry we did not get your letter enclosing the other forms -- and trust this did not inconvenience you to a great extent.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure
1. Check - $500000
2. Two expense account forms

September 30, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor
Corcoran Department of History
B-20 Habell Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

It was not the post office this time. Your expense account was received some days ago, and the check was already made when your letter of September 28 arrived. For some reason it had not been mailed. The delay probably was due to the vacation of our secretary-treasurer. Our check, in the amount of $112.11, is enclosed, which covers your travel expenses.

The bookkeeper suggested that I remind you, and others who travel for SRC, to submit receipts of travel expenses whenever possible.

Forgive us for this delay.

Sincerely yours,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure
Ck. $112.11

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

September 28, 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sam:

The postoffice has probably been playing tricks with me again. I re-submitted my expense account statement on September 10, but I guess it went astray. I enclose another copy.

I did receive the $500 advance on my fee for the report, and I thank you ever so much. It saved me from the poor house.

The report has been going slower than I anticipated. I have just about everything in now, however, and should be able to wind it up within the next week or ten days.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor

file - Yale Univ - "Southern Teaching Prog" 1965

MJ - file Southern Teaching Program

13 November 1965

SUBJECT: Report and Recommendations of the Academic Consultant

TO: Board of Trustees, Bishop College

THROUGH: President M. K. Curry

1. Summer pre-freshman remedial program, 1965.

I do not propose to review the unfortunate details of the events of this past summer that brought unfavourable publicity both locally and nationally to Bishop College. I am, however, reproducing as Appendix A the pages relevant to Bishop College from the report of Professor Paul M. Gaston, who evaluated the 1965 Southern Teaching Program for the Southern Regional Council. I do this with Professor Gaston's permission and with the permission of the Southern Regional Council.

Despite what has been described as the 'Bishop College débâcle', the program academically was a success; indeed it was more of a success than the 1964 pilot-program. Final evaluation of the academic results must, however, be postponed until Spring 1966, when the performances of pre-freshmen in the regular College program can be studied. I recommend continuation of the program on the largest possible scale of participation by pre-freshmen.

This does not mean that the program is not in need of improvement. I have studied the recommendations of the Director of the 1965 Program, Mr. James W. Anthony, in some detail and, with some modifications, I agree with them. I reproduce them, with my own suggested modifications, as Appendix B. I recommend approval of the recommendations in Appendix B.

If this recommendation is approved, I see no reason not to continue to take advantage of the Yale Southern Teaching Program. I recommend continued use of YSTP personnel.

2. Student conduct and student organizations and activities.

I commented only incidentally on this phase of the College in my report of 14 February 1964. It is a phase that needs careful reëxamination and reorganization. I recommend, as the best way to go about this task, the adoption of Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Universities (American Civil Liberties Union, revised edition, March 1965), to apply to pre-freshmen as well as to regular students. Copies of the publication have already been furnished to the committee of the Board chaired by Dr. Edward N. Jones.

3. Administrative structure of the College.

This, again, is a matter I did not consider at any great length in my report of 14 February 1964. Bishop College in the past few years has expanded considerably, and with this expansion has come increasing complexity. With the plans for the future as they are, it will become ever larger and more complex. It is no longer practicable, indeed it is unfair, to expect the President to be responsible, except in a general administrative sense, for the detailed operation of the College.

I recommend a redefinition of the duties of the President as follows:

The President is the chief executive and administrative officer of the College, responsible to and reporting directly to the Board of Trustees. He is charged with the duty of supervising all the interests of the College, and establishes such administrative offices and faculty positions as he may deem necessary to carry on the work of the College. He is chief planning officer and represents the College in dealing with individuals and foundations who may be potential sources of financial support for the College. It is his duty to organize the faculty, direct the methods of its meetings, and supervise its work. Recommendations regarding appointment and promotion of regular faculty members are made to him, and he makes recommendations to the Board of Trustees in all cases involving granting of tenure. He sees that accurate reports of fiscal and other matters are prepared for submission to the Board of Trustees and to its committees. He brings before the Board all matters affecting the College's interests that require consideration by the Board.

I recommend the appointment of a Vice-President for Academic Affairs, with responsibilities and authority as follows: The Vice-President for Academic Affairs acts as Dean of the College and also as Dean of the Faculty. He recruits regular faculty members and recommends their employment, the terms of their employment, their promotion, and termination of their employment to the President. He is charged with all matters pertaining to the curriculum. He is responsible for discipline and has authority over the Dean of Men and Dean of Women. The Director of Admissions and of Student Aid also report to him. The Vice-President for Academic Affairs is responsible to and reports directly to the President and acts for the President in all matters academic and disciplinary.

I recommend the appointment of a Vice-President for Business Affairs, with responsibilities and authority as follows: The Vice-President for Business Affairs acts as Treasurer. As such, he authorizes and signs all cheques (machine signature may be used on all cheques under $500). He is responsible for the employment of all non-academic personnel. He is charged with the supervision of all auxiliary enterprises such as the bookstore, food service, and housing. He is purchasing agent for the College. He is charged

with the supervision of plant operation and maintenance. The Vice-President for Business Affairs is responsible to and reports directly to the President and acts for the President in all matters that are neither academic nor disciplinary.

G. P. Cuttino
Academic Consultant

APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT OF PROFESSOR PAUL M. GASTON
TO THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

C. The Bishop College Debacle

Two days before the pre-freshman program at Bishop College was scheduled to end, most of the program faculty, including all eleven SI's, was dismissed. "We separated the entire group," the President explained, "for rank insubordination." As the President saw them, the SI's were "rebellious, uncooperative, and set on the idea that the members had no obligations to the institution." He found their personal hygiene wanting, their dress deplorable, and their "extraordinary efforts to incite the students against the college" unpardonable. For their part, the SI's regarded the President as the "adversary," and described their battle with him and Bishop College in language quite as vigorous as his.

The bizarre events of the summer, as interpreted by several participants, make for serious strains on one's credulity. From various SI's came hair raising tales of administration-inspired raids on faculty parties, puritanical administration suppression of normal boy-girl relationships, hoodlumism of various sorts, robberies, intimidation, interference with the mails, and an allegation of SI plotting to bring shame on the college by implicating a Negro student in a rape charge against a white teacher. These "extra-curricular" activities provided the backdrop for a series of intense academic quarrels that ultimately produced an SI-led demonstration, involving over one hundred students, and the subsequent dismissal of the SI's.

It would require a separate report, quite as long as this one, to deal adequately with the Bishop affair. The following summary merely attempts to highlight some of the principal aspects of the story which are relevant to the future of the STP.[5]

---

[5]My evaluation is based on the following sources: (1) the President's questionnaire and covering letter; (2) Mr. Schulze's statements on the nature of the negotiations and arrangements with the college; (3) a lengthy evaluation prepared by the Program Director, supplemented by a personal letter from him; (4) extensive accounts prepared by four of the SI's as well as a jointly-prepared document on the "real and alleged reasons for student discontent at Bishop College"; (5) the transcript of a round table discussion of the crisis held in mid-July; and (6) other documents and remarks furnished by Professor G. P. Cuttino, the Academic Consultant to Bishop College.

Bishop College is in a stage of transition. The appointment of a distinguished scholar, Professor G. P. Cuttino of Emory University, as Academic Consultant, led to the drafting of a long-range academic plan and the inauguration of a pre-freshman program in 1964. SI's joined Emory graduate students to launch the program that summer. The same combination, with the addition of a few Dallas school teachers, staffed the operation this year. Mr. James W. Anthony of the Denver Country Day School was engaged as program director.

The college is extremely backward academically and is plagued by a variety of outmoded customs and regulations which any of the 1965 SI's would have found oppressive. In this atmosphere, numerous issues arose which divided the SI's from the administration; by mid-summer discontent was extreme and battle lines were drawn. Of the several divisive issues, the bookstore drama became the focal point and symbol of the contest. Hours were capricious, book orders were handled with aggravating disregard of the instructors' needs and wishes, and--most serious of all--students were overcharged on their purchases. Here, as in other conflicts, the SI's rallied to the side of the students. Protracted, inconclusive negotiations with the administration over the excessive charges led to the demonstration--a dramatic challenge to the President's authority.

The SI's who led the protest movement would fall in the category of "agitator," as defined earlier in this report. One can easily imagine another group of 1965 SI's who would have labored within the existing framework, lodging their criticisms tactfully to avoid a violent confrontation. The Bishop SI's, on the other hand, apparently wanted to see reform instituted in their sight and at their insistence, as one of their sympathetic observers put it. It was this insistence which produced the "explosion."

To attribute to the SI's primary responsibility for the debacle, however, is an insufficient comment on the significance of the Bishop affair. One could argue that tactful acquiescence would have left the institution as unreformed after the summer as before. There are those who maintain that a full exposure treatment was the only way to institute reform; that the existing structure was too inflexible to yield to normal ameliorative tactics. It may well be that the "explosion" will, in fact, lead to long-needed reforms. One will observe the future with interest in this respect.

Even should this prove to be true, however, the STP can scarcely point to the Bishop summer with pride or commend the tactics used there to future SI's. Three reasons underlie this conclusion. First, it is easy to imagine other institutions at which such tactics would have crippling effects. Second, the awesome responsibility of deciding when revolutionary tactics are necessary and pardonable is one which, one would feel, graduate students from our finer universities would need more than a short summer to ponder. Finally, the mission of the STP is to teach; and its program of reform lies in providing outstanding examples of the dedication, values, and achievements of American higher education at its best.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions of this evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program, 1965, may be stated briefly. The STP has made a positive impact on the students who were taught, all but a few of the receiving colleges, and the SI's themselves. It has proved itself to be an organization of considerable, though limited, usefulness in the cause of improving education in Negro colleges. Likewise, it has shown that graduate students may be used with great effectiveness in alleviating the shortage of trained teachers. Their very youth, in fact, permits them to make in some respects a more substantial contribution than older scholars. Assuming that the STP will continue to be administered as effectively as it was in 1965, it is the recommendation of this report that it be both continued and expanded.

APPENDIX B

DIRECTOR'S RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Director should be hired early, at least before Christmas, and be responsible to the Vice President for Academic Affairs for hiring the summer faculty. No faculty member shall be hired without a personal interview.

2. A coordinator for English, as well as math, should be chosen by the Director.

3. Books and materials for classroom use during the summer program should be handled with complete autonomy by the Director.

4. The whole problem of absences and drop-outs needs to be examined closely. First, there needs to be a more thorough system of keeping track of absences and drop-outs. Also, the Director and faculty next summer should arrive at a consistent and effective policy for dealing with this problem.

5. Next year's Director and faculty should fully prepare themselves for administering the placement and achievement tests. Testing should be done in one location. Preparation should be thorough to the extent of having faculty members administer the tests to each other.

6. A cut-off date for admissions should be set, preferably one week after the program begins.

7. The enrichment activities were a big success this year. At one or two points too many events were planned for the students. The use of film series was effective and should be a part of the enrichment program; only one of the Dallas Summer Musicals should be used. If more are used, the time between them should be greater than in this summer's enrichment program. If possible, better seats should be secured for the musical performances. The inability to see and hear well from the poor seats this year hampered the students' enjoyment of the performance. Greater use should be made of activities by individual classes. Several teachers supplemented the regular enrichment program with individual class trips to plays, films, museums and book stores. These were quite successful. Next year, part of the enrichment budget might be used to allocate twenty dollars to each teacher for just this purpose.

8. Communication between the college and the pre-freshman students should be well established. Advance notice should be given to the students clearly presenting the purpose of the program, its importance for their academic preparation, its influence on scholarship awards, and the specific costs of the program. A duplicate of this information should be presented to each student at registration, since many applicants who have had no previous communication

with the college show up then. A regular schedule of assemblies between the college administration and the students should be set up so that students can ask questions and receive on-the-spot answers, possibly every two weeks.

9. Communication between the college and the summer faculty is equally important. An orientation program for the summer faculty using the Director and appropriate members of the college faculty, specifically Dr. Silverman, should be set up so that the faculty will be prepared for the kind of problems they will meet at Bishop.

10. The authority of the Director over the program should be clearly defined. To the extent that the Director is empowered to solve difficulties arising in the program, to that extent he can act as buffer between the college and the summer faculty. Thus, he can more effectively avoid the conflicts that were a serious handicap this summer. I specifically recommend the following concerning the authority of the Director in the program:

a. As mentioned earlier, he should hire the summer faculty as prescribed in No. 1 above.

b. He should be consulted by both the Dean of Men and the Dean of Women in matters of serious disciplinary breaches, especially if such breaches could possibly lead to expulsions. Serious disciplinary breaches is defined as any action punished by probation or being campused. Restriction of students from enrichment activities, study halls, conferences with teachers, and extra-help sessions should not be considered as a possible punishment.

c. He should at least be informed, if not consulted, when the presence of the pre-freshman student body will be required at an assembly, a dormitory meeting, or an academic occasion, such as Commencement.

File
Southern Teaching Program
1965
Make '65 folder if there is not one)

November 22, 1965

Mr. Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor
Department of History
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your report. It is excellent. We are in a terrible bind here at this point -- as indicated by this late response to you, but the report will be mimeographed as soon as possible. We would like to have each of the student instructors receive a copy. Do you have those addresses? Or, should we expect Fred Schulze to send them out? Any other suggestions as to distribution will be welcomed.

Enclosed is our check for $500.00 representing the remainder of the fee. Your final statement of expenses will be honored on receipt.

We appreciate your doing this work for us, and hope there will be many opportunities for this kind of cooperation in the future.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Enclosure - 1. (Check, $500.00)

Rec'd 11/5/65

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

November 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I enclose one copy of my evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program. As we agreed on the telephone, I am sending one copy to Fred Schulze. He will xerox an extra copy or two, if necessary, and supply the Carnegie Corporation with them. They are to consider his application for funds in the very near future. I have kept one copy of the report for myself.

I hope that you find the report satisfactory. If you wish to suggest changes, by all means do so.

I wonder what you plan by way of reproducing and distributing the report. Les must have made two or three hundred copies last year, for I know every 1965 Student Instructor received one. Perhaps you should find out how many copies Fred Schulze will want for the STP. Am I correct in assuming that you will also make the report available to other interested persons on request? I should like to have a couple of dozen here for my own use.

I will send along my final statement of expenses in a day or so, when all of my bills are in. The fee Les and I agreed on was $1,000. Sam sent me an advance of $500 some weeks ago. If you approve the report I would be able to use the $500 balance as soon as you can part with it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor

PMG/mh

file - Southern Teaching Prog - 1965 (make 1965 folder if there isn't one)

December 3, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

As you know, Paul Gaston's study of the Southern Teaching Program is completed and is now being mimeographed. We would like to send a copy to each of the participants. Would you prefer sending them out, or would you want us to do it? If the latter, please send the names and addresses. We will be happy to make available to you the number of copies you need, and to give the report any other circulation you suggest.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

MT - file

December 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed are the names and addresses of those people to whom we would like you to send copies of Paul Gaston's report. The total is eighty-one. The remainder can be sant to New Haven and we will distribute them.

We appreciate very much the support which the Southern Regional Council has given to our program.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:aw
encl.

File: Yale Univ. "Southern Teaching Prog, 1965"

December 10, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Southern Teaching Program
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulz:

We are now mimeographing Paul Gaston's report. If you will send us the names of those individuals whom you want to get copies, we will get them into the mails promptly. And, we are running a sufficient number, 650 of which will be available for you.

Paul has not sent us a complete accounting of his expenses. As soon as we receive this we will send you an accounting of the total cost involved.

I hope you agree with me that Paul has done quite a good job on this.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

December 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Earlier this week I visited Paul Gaston in Charlottesville and he said that you had written to him asking about distribution of his report on the Southern Teaching Program. He asked me to write to you about distribution.

On August 27 I wrote to Leslie Dunbar about our plans to distribute the report. This letter may still be somewhere in the office. I told Les that I thought we wanted about 650 copies; for last summer's instructors, for next summer's instructors, for colleges, foundations, and faculty interviewers. Most of these copies could be sent directly to us in New Haven and we would handle further distribution. We would appreciate it if you could send copies directly to the foundations and to the administrations of the colleges we worked with last summer.

In addition to these 650 copies, Paul Gaston wants some, and you may also want to have some on hand. (Paul is writing to you about this.)

I believe our agreement with Les was that we would reimburse you for the costs of printing and distributing the report, for Paul Gaston's travel expenses, and for his honorarium.

If all of this is satisfactory, I will send you a list of the people to whom copies should be sent directly; the remainder can be sent to us. Can you estimate when the report will be duplicated and available for distribution?

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze

FS:ms

BCC

file

file Southern Teaching Program Gaston Rept.

MEMORANDUM December 15, 1965

To: BCC

From: MMJ

Bernice,

I have attached three (3) labels addressed to persons to whom the Gaston report on the Southern Teaching Program should be sent: Mrs. J. Bornstein, Mr. George W. Jones, and Dr. L. B. Allen. Please send these along with the other persons for whom you have labels addressed.

Also, please package up 600 copies of the report to go to Mr. Fred Schulze at Yale. (Label attached)

Also, please package up 25 copies for Paul Gaston. (label also attached)

December 15, 1965

Mr. Fred Schulze
Southern Teaching Program
P. O. Box 401-A
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

Enclosed is an accounting of the expenses incurred during the Southern Teaching Program study. The individual copies of the report are being mailed today and tomorrow. Under separate cover, we are sending you 600 copies.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

ACCOUNTING OF
SOUTHERN TEACHING PROJECT FUNDS

Balance due, January 1, 1965			$2,695.94
Received from Taconic Foundation, June 1965			2,000.00
Balance due			$ 695.94

	Fees	Travel	
G. Franklin Edwards 1/65	150.00		
Lionel Newsome 2/65	150.00	130.78	
Paul M. Gaston 7/65		342.67	
Paul M. Gaston 8/65		106.50	
Paul M. Gaston 9/65	500.00	112.11	
Paul M. Gaston 11/65	500.00	63.50	
Total	$1,300.00	$ 755.56	2,055.56

Total Fees and Travel due, December 15, 1965 $2,751.50

Rec'd 12/15/65

25 W

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, INC.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

December 13, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The following three people were by accident left off the list I sent you yesterday. We would be grateful if you would also send them copies of Paul Gaston's report.

Mrs. J. Bornstein
244 Whittier Circle
Orlando, Florida

Mr. George W. Jones
Dean of the College
Miles College
Birmingham, Ala.

Dr. L. B. Allen, President
Cheyney State College
Cheyney, Pennsylvania

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:aw

Mr. Arthur Singer, Executive Associate
Carnegie Corporation of New York
589 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017 (3 copies)

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019 (3 copies)

Mr. John J. Scanlon, Secretary-Treasurer
Fund For the Advancement of Education
477 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022 (3 copies)

Dr. William E. Cope, Jr.
United Negro College Fund, Inc.
22 E. 54th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Executive Secretary
The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dr. Hans Rosenhaupt
National Director
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation
32 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Mr. Martin Lehfeldt
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation
32 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Mr. Charles F. Jones
Associate Director
New York Foundation
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New York, N.Y. 10019

PAGE (s) MISSING

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Educational Consultant
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

Mr. David F. Freeman
Rockefeller Brothers Fund
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Yale University
New Haven, Conn.
(2 copies)

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Cambridge, Massachusetts

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NAACP Legal Defense and
Education Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N.Y. 10019

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Dean, Morse College
Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Dr. Broadus Butler
Asst. to U.S. Commissioner of
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Dept. of Health, Education
and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Minnard Stout
Office of Education
Dept. of Health, Education
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Washington, D.C.

Mr. John Monro
Dean, Harvard College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Mr. Charles E. McCarthy, Jr.
Director, Cooperative Program
for Educational Opportunity
17 Hillhouse Avenue
New Haven, Conn. 06520

Mr. Theodore J. Marchese
Expanding Opportunities
American Council on Education
1785 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 36, D.C.

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Greensboro, North Carolina

Dr. L. C. Dowdy, President
Agricultural and Technical College
of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dr. S. J. Shaw,
Director of Freshman Studies
Agricultural and Technical College
of North Carolina
Greensboro, North Carolina

President Glover
Allen University
Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. T. J. Hanberry, Dean
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Daytona Beach, Florida

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Dr. Charles L. Knight, Dean
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Director of Summer Session
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Prairie View A & M College
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Head of English Dept.
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Dr. L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dr. Richard Wasserstrom, Dean
College of Arts & Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

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Norfolk, Virginia

Mr. H. A. Marshall,
Director of Instruction
Virginia State College
Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. T. H. Henderson, President
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. Wendell P. Russell, Dean
Virginia Union University
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. T.W. Cole, Sr, President
Wiley College
Marshall, Texas

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

1965

An Evaluation Prepared For
The Southern Regional Council

By

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor of History
The University of Virginia

November 3, 1965

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Evaluation

The Southern Teaching Program was created early in 1964 by a group of law and graduate students at Yale University to provide instructors for summer sessions in predominantly Negro colleges, primarily in the South. In the summer of 1964, fifty-three graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "SI's") taught at thirteen predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio). The 1964 program was evaluated by the Southern Regional Council in a report dated January 29, 1965. That evaluation was prepared under the direction of Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, with the collaboration of six consultants who visited the campuses where the SI's taught.

Since the summer of 1964 the Southern Teaching Program has been incorporated and a full-time executive director, Mr. Fred Schulze, has been appointed. Foundation aid was secured for enlarged operations for the 1965 summer. Mr. Schulze broadened considerably the area of recruitment of instructors, and the requests for them from the colleges increased markedly. In the outcome, 144 SI's taught at 26 colleges (24 in the South) and in two community programs, both in the South.[1]

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[1] In mid-August Mr. Schulze learned that two instructors, engaged at the eleventh hour, taught at Bluefield State College in West Virginia. No information has been received from either the institution or from the instructors. The statistics and generalizations in this report consequently

This evaluation of the 1965 program was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by the STP. Dr. Dunbar engaged me to make the evaluation. My conclusions are based largely on four sources: (1) visits to eight of the colleges;[2] (2) interviews at a week-end conference in Atlanta attended by thirty-nine SI's from thirteen campuses; (3) questionnaires completed for me by the presidents or other administrative officers of the receiving colleges; and (4) questionnaires completed by the SI's for the STP which Mr. Schulze made available to me.[3] The special circumstances at Bishop College, discussed in Section IV, required extensive investigation through letters and telephone calls.

B. General Criteria of the Evaluation

The chief purpose of the authors of the 1964 report was to discover "how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the predominantly Negro colleges." They wished,

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omit this institution. Were it included, the number of institutions receiving STP instructors would be 29, and the number of SI's, 146. A complete list of institutions and the number of instructors who taught at each is reproduced in the appendix.

[2]The eight institutions visited, with the total number of SI's at each indicated in parentheses, were: Benedict College (7); Dillard University (6); LeMoyne College (6); Miles College (10); Philander Smith College (9); Tennessee A & I State University (15); Texas Southern University (11); and Virginia Union University (3).

[3]Replies were received from 25 of the 28 institutions; one of the non-reporting institutions, Dillard University, was visited. The other two were Central State College and Friendship Junior College. Responses came from SI's who taught at all institutions except one, Wiley College. Eighty-three SI's submitted evaluations.

moreover, to evaluate the STP in the light of two contemporary concerns: (1) the need to provide direct assistance to Negro colleges; and (2) the feasibility of using graduate students to alleviate the shortage of trained college teachers.

This evaluation is written with these questions uppermost in mind. Granted the discouraging, sometimes appalling, conditions that obtain in many Negro colleges, we need to know in what ways the STP can help to generate constructive reform. We need to look carefully at ways in which the STP has affected the students who were taught; the regular faculty members who stay on after the SI's leave; the curricula, standards, and administration of the receiving colleges; and the SI's themselves. Beginning with a description of the way in which the STP functioned in 1965, this report discusses each of these questions, highlights some of the principal difficulties that were encountered, and concludes with a summary of recommendations for the future.

II. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STP

A. Recruitment and Orientation

Recruitment of SI's was carried on, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and care, at more than twenty-five university campuses. In some cases both recruitment and interviewing were extremely casual, requiring the Executive Director of the STP to rely almost exclusively on the written applications of the candidates for placement purposes. In other cases interviewing was taken seriously and the recommendations of the local committees proved useful. There is no doubt that a serious interview, going beyond the question of academic ability, should be an integral part of the selection process, and the STP should persuade responsible administrators of the supplying universities to appoint a faculty committee for the purpose of screening applicants. The announcement of such a policy would, in addition to improving the chances of appointing qualified persons, alleviate some of the concerns of the receiving colleges over the non-academic qualifications of the SI's.

The staff of teachers recruited for 1965 was, both on paper and in practice, well qualified academically. About two-thirds had had previous teaching experience. All but three had had at least one year of graduate work. Ninety-three held master's degrees and five had earned doctorates. The table below shows the academic qualifications of the SI's, breaking them down into three groups: (1) those who came directly from graduate studies; (2) those who came from established teaching positions; and (3) a miscellaneous group

of persons who were neither in graduate school nor presently teaching (several of these were wives of men in the first two categories).

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF SI'S

	Total	B.A./B.S.	M.A./M.S.	Ph.D.
From Graduate Schools	118	40	77	1
From Teaching Positions	13	2	7	4
Miscellaneous	13	4	9	0
Totals	144	46	93	5

Of the 118 who came directly from graduate schools, 68 (about 58%) came from three universities: California (26), Yale (25), and Harvard (17). Known last year as the "Yale" Southern Teaching Program, this year's enterprise was frequently called the Yale-Berkeley program (Harvard does not appear to have stamped its image on the STP). Other universities supplying more than one SI were Columbia (8); Virginia (7); N.Y.U. and Wesleyan (4 each); Brandeis, M.I.T., and Michigan (3 each); and Cornell, Howard, and North Carolina (2 each). Twelve universities supplied one SI each. In all, twenty-five universities supplied SI's from their graduate schools.

The broader recruiting program which these figures reflect was a distinct improvement over the previous year, when nearly all of the SI's came from only one institution. To bring instructors from a variety of universities is to introduce more teaching ideas and practices, considerably increase the number of instructors who may be supplied, and involve more persons and institutions in the cause of the

Negro college. Despite the broader appeal, however, relatively few Negroes and white Southerners were recruited. The experience of the few who did participate, and the reactions to them of both students and administrations, suggests the need to recruit more vigorously in these two categories. Potential Negro SI's will come from the universities already in the program, plus ones similar to them. They need to be sought out. White Southerners can most easily be recruited in the southern universities, such as Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Vanderbilt, and Virginia. Only Virginia had a satisfactory recruitment program for 1965.

Once recruited the 1965 SI's faced a variety of orientation problems, few of which were satisfactorily met. Knowing little about Negro colleges in general, and even less about the specific institutions to which they would go, the SI typically arrived at his college with only the vaguest notion of what he was expected to do. The orientation programs at New Haven and Berkeley were judged by the SI's to range in value from extremely helpful to useless. One can safely say that these meetings did help to bridge the gap from innocence to involvement by acquainting the SI's with some of the general problems and conditions which they might encounter. The principal complaint -- a rather general one -- was that the meetings did not orient the SI toward his specific situation. Although general orientation meetings cannot remove this deficiency, there are some ways of improving the situation. For one thing, the STP might prepare brief sketches of the salient characteristics of each of the

receiving institutions, based largely upon reports filed by the 1965 SI's. It could also make available a list of the persons who taught in 1965 so that the 1966 SI's could contact the veteran whose experience should prove most helpful. Finally, the orientation meetings would be more helpful if they included special sessions for each discipline to be taught. Such meetings could be directed by a person who taught successfully in 1965.

A large measure of responsibility for the lack of advance knowledge rests upon the receiving institutions themselves. Most of them failed to supply their new instructors with adequate information on courses to be taught, books to be used, number of students in the classes, living accommodations, and other relevant matters. To remedy this situation the STP should urgently request each receiving institution to state as early and as explicitly as possible exactly what it expects from the SI's. Such requests were made in 1965, but they should be pressed vigorously in the future.

B. <u>The Colleges and the Programs</u>

The twenty-six colleges that employed SI's represent a cross section of the Negro college in America. They included two from the non-South, and southern institutions both large and small; state supported and church related; urban and rural; aggressive and lethargic. They had in common, whatever their relative academic positions, an awareness of acute problems which cannot easily be resolved. They looked upon the STP as an inexpensive means of bolstering

existing programs, adding new programs, infusing new ideas into the institutions, and garnering prestige for themselves.

At only eight of the colleges did the SI's function exclusively in the role of teachers of regular summer school courses. At seven places they taught both regular and pre-freshman courses, and at eleven institutions they were engaged exclusively in pre-freshman work. Almost two-thirds of the SI's taught pre-freshman courses. Typically these were in the fields of mathematics, reading, and English. Most of these programs were aimed at the sub-standard student not normally admissable without remedial work. Some were designed for the more talented, and some indiscriminately mixed their students with little reference to ability.

At most of the colleges where pre-freshman programs were offered the SI's constituted a substantial portion of the teaching staff; at some places they did virtually all of the teaching. Without the STP the receiving colleges either would not have had pre-freshman programs, or would have had ones significantly inferior to those which were offered. Every institution reported that the STP was crucial to its program. One dean, for example, reported that the "STP made it possible to fully staff a pre-college program for over 200 high school graduates who will enter college in the fall." Another declared: "We were able to offer an experimental program for high ability freshmen by having STP instructors." The evidence is overwhelming that, considered in terms of new programs offered and/or old programs strengthened, the STP made a considerable contribution.

As teachers of regular courses, the SI's came generally well prepared by their graduate studies. Those who taught elementary and remedial courses in the pre-freshman programs, however, typically had had no special training and little, if any, relevant experience. Extraordinary enthusiasm and an admirable dedication to teaching, however, generally overcame these deficiencies. Bright people with large capacities for work, the SI's taught effectively in difficult and, to them, novel situations. This is not to imply that specialized training is not to be prized. Time after time, SI's commented that they could have made more progress more rapidly if they had not had to work out techniques for themselves. Precisely how the STP may address itself directly to this problem is not clear, but one possibility would be to engage several experts in remedial instruction, particularly in reading skills, to counsel with the SI's before the summer sessions begin. It might be well, also, to engage an appropriate number of "experts" to travel from college to college, early in the summer, to work for brief periods with the SI's.

C. Two Community Programs

The STP also furnished instructors for two non-collegiate programs, the Charleston County Tutoring Center, in Charleston, South Carolina, and Wider Horizons of Orange County, Daytona Beach, Florida. Both of these community programs were created prior to the 1965 summer in response to demands for remedial and/or enrichment programs for Negroes which the total school boards were unwilling to undertake.

we need. For these reasons it is felt that an advisory committee will bring to the project the best available thinking and information resources, which will cut across boundaries of place and special interest.

The committee will be composed of persons with no direct civil rights organizational identity but who are more than conversant with the work of the organizations and have some appreciation of the problems of competition for credit in this area. The committee members will also have some direct involvement in the areas of registration, voter education and politics, either through study or personal participation. The project would like to solicit viewpoints and the committee meetings should be in the fullest sense an open forum. Provision would be made for a minimum of four meetings annually.

Advisory Committee Members

What this committee can do for the project is perhaps best illustrated by listing those persons who have, thus far, agreed to serve if such a committee is formed. They are:

Norman Hill, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Russell Sugarman, Memphis attorney
Frank Smith, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority
C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

the SI's, to make substantial academic progress.

Both the reporting SI's and the director, however, indicated the achievement of significant academic gains, although not as striking as in the Charleston case. With the younger children, many from rural backgrounds, non-academic adjustments often seemed more important than, or at least prerequisite to, academic progress. One SI wrote that "Although the children . . . had great educational needs, their psychological needs were in some cases more basic." The same instructor felt "strongly that graduate students are badly needed to teach elementary school in the South -- even students with no experience teaching. These children need so much more than just teachers -- they need someone to emulate, someone who can increase their scope of interests, someone who cares about them." Echoing this sentiment, the director, noting that the program would have been impossible without the STP, praised the SI's as being "warm, sympathetic, creative, and responsive to the needs of the students." They were "completely absorbed by the problems of the children and devoted their time unceasingly to improving the conditions confronting them."

Both community programs appear to have been highly successful. Both improved the academic skills of the students and paved the way for an easier transition from segregated to integrated school situations. The question facing the STP must be: shall projects of this sort, which are in great need across the South, be assisted on a wider scale? Some of the dangers are obvious. If the STP is to address

itself to all educational problems facing southern Negroes, and attempt to lend a hand wherever asked, it invites the danger of dissipating its energies and lessening its effectiveness. To restrict itself to the colleges, however, is to overlook the obvious truth that many problems of the college student are created in the lower grades. A happy compromise, which would maintain the essentially experimental spirit of the STP, would be to retain primary emphasis on the college, meeting first the demands that arise there, and then accommodate other programs on the basis of individual needs and merits and the availability of suitable teachers. What is recommended, in short, is a cautious expansion in 1966 of the non-collegiate programs undertaken in 1965.

III. THE IMPACT OF THE STP

To assess authoritatively the impact of the STP at this early stage in its history is all but impossible. Much depends upon the perspective from which one views its operation. To expect it to make long-lasting and profound changes in Negro higher education in a short period of time will inevitably lead to a sense of frustration and a negative evaluation. Realism rules out viewing the STP with such anticipations. The most sensible way of evaluating it is to ask what contributions it has made and how these contributions may be continued and augmented. If the impact, however limited, is constructive, and if the cost is not out of proportion to the results, one may safely declare irrelevant to the evaluation the larger question of how Negro colleges may be brought up to desired standards.

A. On the Students

All sources of information underscore, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the most obvious generalization about the student reaction to the program: appreciation was profound and the quality of the enlightenment was beyond expectations. One student put it this way: "Any of us would give his right arm to go to Yale. We can't go to Yale, but they sent Yale to us." Students are not adequate judges of the competence of their teachers or the success of their programs, but the insights they furnish are often unique and can be ignored only to the detriment of an effective evaluation.

While it is no doubt true that the evidence accumulated

ignores some students who were oppressed by the academic demands placed upon them and resentful of low grades, it remains clear that those who did speak out -- and they were in large numbers -- responded affirmatively to their experience. They commonly remarked on the friendliness of the SI's, their patience and dedication to teaching; and, almost without exception, they noted both surprise and pleasure at the extraordinary amount of time, outside the classroom, which the SI's were willing to devote to them. In some institutions, where little or no extracurricular activities were planned for them, the students found that the SI's -- despite their heavy teaching loads -- organized social, cultural, and athletic activities which enriched the summer.

At many institutions, the novelty of the SI -- his eagerness to raise fundamental questions in the minds of the students, and his frequently unorthodox means of jolting them -- caused the students to question for themselves the institutions in which they were enrolled and the quality of the education they were receiving. Two very different kinds of results were observed. At one institution, for example, several of the brighter and more advanced students tended to resent the implied criticism of their college which they felt in the remarks of the SI's. As one young man put it, "We know we're not Yale; we know, in fact, that we're not a very good college. But we're not worthless!" Proud of their institutions, students like this one testified to the excellence of the SI's teaching but wished for more tact

in their assault on the deficiencies which now appeared more clearly than ever before.

At the other extreme were a group of students in another college who found spiritual allies in the SI's. Resentful both of the regulations of the administration and the lack of concern of their regular faculty, this group spent many hours in exciting conversation, exploring ways of bringing about reforms. In between these two examples were the majority of the students interviewed. They questioned both themselves and their institutions without having their pride in either seriously damaged or without being moved to undertake protests and reforms.

The most common -- and in one sense the most revealing -- student observation described the quality of the education offered by the SI's. Almost everywhere one encountered the stock phrase: "They have taught us new ways of looking at our subjects; they have brought new techniques of teaching." Those who spoke in this fashion felt the excitement of intellectual achievement and reaped the rewards of hard work, intelligently directed. What they meant by "new" ways of looking at subjects and "new" techniques of teaching almost sums up the educational problem which the STP is facing. A "new" way of studying history meant asking "why" a particular event occurred; a "new" way of studying poetry meant examining "how" a poem was structured; a "new" technique of teaching physics was conducting an experiment to discover "why" one physical phenomenon occurred instead of another. The novelty with which these "techniques" appeared to the

students, and the inability of good graduate students to teach in any other way, says a great deal both about the deficiencies which are to be met and the qualifications of graduate students to meet them.

The immediate impact of the STP on the students, then, was a positive one. How lasting it will be cannot, of course, be determined. One of the chief regrets of the students, and one of the serious inadequacies of the STP, is that provision is made for summer instruction only. Returning to conventional instructors, most of whom are quite different from the SI's, the students will come better equipped for progress in the future. They may, however, develop frustrations which will sooner or later dissipate the achievements of the summer. Much depends upon the impact which the STP has on the institutions themselves.

B. On the Institutions

Discussion of the impact of the STP on the twenty-six colleges may begin with the observation that the administrations of these institutions were, on the whole, more than satisfied with the SI's and eager to continue the program. Twenty-three of the colleges completed questionnaires prepared for this evaluation. Twelve declared the teaching job done by the SI's to be excellent; eleven rated it good. None found it fair or poor. Asked to describe their general attitude toward the STP as it operated on their campuses as very favorable, favorable, satisfied, unfavorable, or very unfavorable, thirteen responded very favorable; seven, favorable; one, satisfied; and one, Bishop College, very

unfavorable; one cannot be classified.[4] All but Bishop College and Claflin College responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you expect to request STP instructors for next summer?"

Asked what they considered to be the chief contributions of the SI's, most colleges rated first their enthusiasm, willingness to work long hours, and ability to inspire the students. Typical were the following statements:

> New ideas together with zest for teaching has made a healthy impact on our regular teaching program.
>
> . . . their youthfulness, zest and desire to make a contribution in this particular kind of setting were very effective in motivating our students.
>
> . . . these instructors helped to widen the horizons for many of their students. They also demonstrated in a very practical way a number of worthwhile traits which could help to influence the students favorably.
>
> They have been able to identify with the students and express concern for the total life of the students.
>
> STP instructors brought new vigor and enthusiasm into the classrooms. They demanded and obtained relatively high academic performance from our students. They inspired students to read and study and exhibited a genuine interest in student development. They brought new ideas to the campus.

---

[4] At Claflin College two SI's were originally assigned. One was dismissed by the president early in the term. The dismissal apparently stemmed from a personality conflict between the president and the SI. The dean of the college, in preparing his evaluation, stated that the college's attitude toward the SI who remained was "favorable" while it was "unfavorable" toward the dismissed SI. No reason was given for the decision not to request SI's for next summer.

Half of the institutions also indicated that they had been able to undertake new programs or significantly expand existing ones because of the STP.

An attempt was made to determine the extent to which, if any, the availability of SI's made it possible for regular faculty members to pursue further study of their own. Eleven institutions reported that the STP had made this possible. The phrasing of the question, however, probably led to misleading replies, for it is highly doubtful that the STP did more than make it possible for faculty members to be relieved of teaching duties. Unfortunately, no reliable information was obtained to indicate the way in which further study was financed. It is probable that the instructors involved had to make their own arrangements. There is no indication that their salaries were met by the colleges.

Rumors, not easy to confirm, suggested that some faculty members who desired to teach were replaced by low-cost SI's. One definite example of this was uncovered; there may have been more, for certainly the temptation was there. To some undetermined extent, this aspect of the STP has an unsettling influence, not necessarily constructive, on the colleges. It certainly does not help faculty morale. Both faculty members and administrative officers expressed the wish that the STP, in addition to supplying instructors, would also make available matching funds to underwrite the cost of summer study for some members of the regular faculty. Such a program would increase appreciably the

usefulness of the STP and significantly augment its long-range contribution to improved educational standards. Supporting foundations should consider financing a well-conceived program along these lines, perhaps one which would require some contribution from the receiving college, although not one substantial enough to discourage the addition of new programs and the expansion of existing ones.

The impact of the STP on curricula, standards, and other aspects of the institutional complex was probably very slight, for several obvious reasons. Apart from the fact that institutions do not change easily, it must be remembered that SI's were relatively few in number, seldom integrated into policy-making echelons of the colleges, and often isolated from other members of the faculty. Their brief tenure and the non-typical nature of the summer session itself are further impediments. At some of the colleges the administrations requested, and received, critical evaluations of the curriculum which may serve as stimulants and guides to constructive reform in the future. Probably the most direct, tangible benefit which can be ascribed to the STP is the upgrading of students in the pre-freshman programs. Despite the limitations of these programs, noted earlier, they will supply a better student for the regular session.

The impact on regular faculty members is difficult to assess. Two science teachers at one college described the ideal result: a happy interchange of ideas and teaching techniques conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect. SI reports and a few interviews with regular faculty members,

however, suggested that there was little contact between the two groups at most places and some apprehension at a few.

An essential development, if the institutions are to be improved substantially and fairly rapidly, is a continuation through the regular academic year of the kind of contributions made by the SI's. This raises the question of the degree to which the STP should restrict itself to summer employment. The advantages of recruitment for summers only are obvious. Relatively few graduate students can be persuaded to sacrifice an entire year of work toward graduate degrees, while many are anxious to accept summer positions. Perhaps the most that the STP can do at the present is to apprise SI's of available opportunities and hope that a significant number will choose to become regular faculty members in one of the Negro colleges. How likely this approach is to bear fruit can better be understood by examining the reactions of the SI's themselves to their experiences.

C. <u>On the SI's</u>

The written evaluations supplied by the SI's run to almost three hundred pages and constitute a rich source of information. They make an interesting contrast to the shorter evaluations submitted by the institutions themselves. In general, the SI's were less optimistic about the future and more critical of their own achievements than were their employers. There is a two-fold explanation for this. First, the SI's were largely unacquainted with academic

backwardness when they encountered it, while the institutions were all too familiar with it. These dissimilar perspectives inevitably produced differing evaluations. Second, many of the SI's -- although certainly not all -- exhibited a common expectation of young people in believing it possible to make great changes in a short period of time. They were inevitably frustrated when the record of progress, though often remarkable, was woefully incomplete. The institutions, on the other hand, accustomed to a long history of student mediocrity, noted with sensitivity the slightest signs of breaking out of old patterns.

Most of the frustrations, criticisms, and bitternesses expressed by the SI's will be noted below, in Section IV. Numerous and varied though these disappointments were, virtually none of the SI's came away from the summer with a sense of despair. Even the most critical felt that some progress had been made; frustration arose from realizations of how little it was and how difficult it would be to achieve more. At several places -- notably Miles, LeMoyne, Lane, and Texas Southern -- the sense of achievement was especially high.

Whatever their evaluations of the programs, most of the SI's felt personally rewarded by their experience. One wrote:

> My summer . . . was very enriching for me personally and professionally. Lasting friendship grew between me and the members of the student body, the faculty, the administration (!), and the colored community . . . not immediately related to the university.

Typical of many was the reaction of another SI who wrote that the summer teaching "was one of the most fascinating experiences I have ever had." Others described their reactions with such adjectives as "unusual," "fresh," "vigorous," and "challenging." One SI, probably reached more deeply by her experiences than most, wrote:

> Teaching psychology at Miles College this summer was one of the most worthwhile, exciting, and difficult things I have ever done. I feel very lucky to have been sent to Miles . . . I am grateful for being given this first opportunity to teach, and to discover that I love it. I am very glad to have been able to be in the South, where I gained, if not a better understanding of the white point of view toward segregation or of the issues involved . . . at least a great love for my students and for the staff and administration of Miles College, a sad realization of the difficulties of educating the southern Negro, and an appreciation of the great satisfaction to to be gained from contributing something to this great need.

Another Miles SI described her work there as "one of the most rewarding experiences of my life and one of the most enjoyable, too." She has accepted a position on the regular faculty as a direct result of her experience.

An SI from Tennessee A & I, after reviewing both the disappointments and pleasures of his work, concluded:

> In sum, this has been a summer of mixed reactions. I've enjoyed teaching and found pleasure in many of my students. The people I've worked with are going to be fondly remembered. Most important of all, I'm sure that after a couple of nights' deep sleep in a less hot and humid climate, I will realize that the assumption which compelled me to seek this job, namely, that only through education will the Negro be able to maintain the equal rights he has won, has been vindicated.

No systematic attempt has been made to determine exactly how many SI's moved directly into Negro colleges, either their

own or another, as a result of the summer, or how many now feel inclined to return later to a Negro college. Several have in fact taken permanent jobs this year. Of the sixty or so who were interviewed during the summer visitations, ten indicated a rather strong desire to return later to a southern Negro college. Among these were several who appear to have bright professional careers before them.

To conclude this discussion of the impact of the STP, one may assert confidently that the graduate students recruited by the STP performed with extraordinary effectiveness as teachers and that the experience they had is likely to encourage a significant number of them to enter into full-time positions in Negro colleges.

IV. SOURCES OF CONFLICT

The generally favorable evaluation of the STP, summarized above, was reached despite evidence of a plethora of irritations and conflicts which diminished the effectiveness of the SI's in some places, caused serious crises in others, and a nationally publicized debacle in one. A brief survey of some of the principal sources of difficulty may be helpful in preparing for future summers.

A. Institutional Irritants

Anyone familiar with the *modus operandi* in most (not all) Negro colleges could have predicted a series of frustrations for the SI's and might reasonably have anticipated feuds of varying intensity. Coming from universities that are both wealthy and academically alert, the SI's were not prepared for the situations they would face. Many of the problems sprang directly from poverty. Libraries were generally poorly stocked and inadequately administered. Book stores commonly offered poor fare and their staffs, either inadequately trained or undermanned (or both), were often slow and inefficient in placing orders. Frustrations arising from these deficiencies caused bitter complaints in a few colleges. Where complaints were tactlessly aired, resentment on the part of the administrations frequently followed. Most of the SI's, however, accepted these and similar irritations with maturity and some worked intelligently and effectively to point the way toward constructive reform.

More serious were the irritations that sprang from the heritage of segregated education itself. In most Negro colleges, for example, the tradition of immense presidential authority -- autocracy, according to some critics -- resulted in what often seemed to the SI's arbitrary rulings which adversely affected the welfare of the students. Stern social regulations, rigid academic requirements, and an authoritarian faculty-student relationship -- all part of an ancient tradition of academic paternalism -- frequently seemed to the SI's to stifle self-expression and hinder intellectual development. There were conspicuous exceptions to this generalization, of course, but variations on the pattern occurred with uncommon regularity. In their zeal to break their students loose from these "oppressive" patterns, many SI's aroused suspicion and a measure of hostility from their Negro colleagues and superiors. Not unnaturally, many of the Negro faculty members felt defensive and insecure while the administrations, though maintaining a facade of confidence, reacted uneasily to the challenge to their authority. How prevalent this pattern was is not easy to determine. The safest generalization is that signs of it appeared at all but three or four institutions, but that at all but perhaps seven or eight the SI's muted their criticisms and relationships were generally constructive.

Finally, there were several miscellaneous irritants, present at enough institutions to warrant noting here.

Inadequate registration procedures and poor planning meant that some SI's were asked to teach courses other than those for which they had been hired, or that they had significantly more or fewer students than they had been told to expect, or that they had a heavier teaching load than they had agreed to. Directions from department heads or program directors were sometimes inadequate causing the SI's to prepare their courses without knowledge of what was normally expected. Salary payments caused difficulties in some places. The SI's had been led to expect $50 a week, but this did not, in fact, always result in weekly payments. Some were paid monthly, others at the end of their service. These arrangements worked a few serious hardships.

The STP is no doubt already aware of most, probably all, of the institutional irritants and, in fact, Mr. Schulze worked diligently to remedy many of them in advance. Not all of them, however, can be directly approached by the STP, and future SI's should be instructed carefully in the kinds of problems they may encounter.

B. <u>The Instructor as Agitator</u>

Given the institutional irritants, sketched above, the prospects for harmonious and constructive teaching situations depend to a very considerable extent upon the attitudes of the SI's themselves. To oversimplify complex reactions, one might delineate two polar positions which characterized SI attitudes. One position, which was occupied or approached by a significant majority of the SI's, held that the instructor's job was to

teach well and to work within existing frameworks in order most effectively to reach the students, gain the confidence of the faculty and administration and thereby make a positive contribution. Accompanying this attitude was the notion that, after all, the SI was a temporary employee with little experience in a complex institution with a long and involved history. One SI, displeased by the behavior of his colleagues, put it this way:

> Some of the teachers seemed to channel their frustrations into cutting satire about the school and trying to get students to rise in dissatisfaction.... I always thought we were there to reform students through good teaching, not to change the administration through satire and bitter, petty gripes.

The second position, cuttingly suggested by this criticism, was occupied by a minority of SI's. No less committed to "reform" than the others, they grew impatient with their superiors and became convinced that frontal assaults of one kind or another were the most likely approaches to yield dividends. Almost without exception, their first loyalty was to the student and they struck out at impediments to his progress. That so few administrations, in the questionnaires or in the interviews, expressed concern over this behavior suggests that the administrations were often more tolerant than the more militant SI's believed. It also suggests that the militants were a distinct minority and that, even when they did nettle their superiors, the desire for STP assistance in the future greatly outweighed the impact of the criticism.

In a few of the institutions which were visited, and

probably at about a third of those which were not, some SI's appeared as agitators in social as well as academic roles. Here their mode of dress and casual forms of behavior were distinctly out of keeping with the traditions of their host institutions. This pattern of behavior was evaluated in the 1964 report as follows:

> It is tempting to say that SI's should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the SI's should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. SI's should, at least, find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate.

The observations of the 1965 program lead to a slightly revised version of this recommendation. Certainly the SI should find out what is customarily expected of him so that his non-conformity is not accidental. He should also have the right of a faculty member anywhere to be a non-conformist. However, evidence collected this summer would indicate that, in many instances, non-conformity, especially in matters of dress and hygiene, has its price in undermining the confidence of the student in his instructor. The SI who dresses conventionally seldom runs the risk of creating obstacles to his teaching techniques and "new" ideas. The unconventional dresser frequently does create such obstacles.

In conclusion, one must be wary of stressing too heavily the importance of the summer's irritations and conflicts. With the primary emphasis on teaching programs and teaching obligations,

the net gains in the future -- as in 1965 -- are likely to be considerable. Only in one institution this summer did the conflicts result in a real debacle, but even there the evaluation of the academic progress was favorable.

C. The Bishop College Debacle

Two days before the pre-freshman program at Bishop College was scheduled to end, most of the program faculty, including all eleven SI's, was dismissed. "We separated the entire group," the President explained, "for rank insubordination." As the President saw them, the SI's were "rebellious, uncooperative, and set on the idea that the members had no obligations to the institution." He found their personal hygiene wanting, their dress deplorable, and their "extraordinary efforts to incite the students against the college" unpardonable. For their part, the SI's regarded the President as the "adversary," and described their battle with him and Bishop College in language quite as vigorous as his.

The bizarre events of the summer, as interpreted by several participants, make for serious strains on one's credulity. From various SI's came hair-raising tales of administration-inspired raids on faculty parties, puritanical administration suppression of normal boy-girl relationships, hoodlumism of various sorts, robberies, intimidation, interference with the mails, and an allegation of SI plotting to bring shame on the college by implicating a Negro student in a rape charge against a white teacher. These "extracurricular" activities provided the

backdrop for a series of intense academic quarrels that ultimately produced an SI-led demonstration, involving over one hundred students, and the subsequent dismissal of the SI's.

It would require a separate report, quite as long as this one, to deal adequately with the Bishop affair. The following summary merely attempts to highlight some of the principal aspects of the story which are relevant to the future of the STP.[5]

Bishop College is in a stage of transition. The appointment of a distinguished scholar, Professor C. P. Cuttino of Emory University, as Academic Consultant, led to the drafting of a long-range academic plan and the inauguration of a pre-freshman program in 1964. SI's joined Emory graduate students to launch the program that summer. The same combination, with the addition of a few Dallas school teachers, staffed the operation this year. Mr. James W. Anthony of the Denver Country Day School was engaged as Program Director.

---

[5]My evaluation is based on the following sources: (1) the President's questionnaire and covering letter; (2) Mr. Schulze's statements on the nature of the negotiations and arrangements with the college; (3) a lengthy evaluation prepared by the Program Director, supplemented by a personal letter from him; (4) extensive accounts prepared by four of the SI's as well as a jointly-prepared document on the "real and alleged reasons for student discontent at Bishop College"; (5) the transcript of a round table discussion of the crisis held in mid-July; and (6) other documents and remarks furnished by Professor G. P. Cuttino, the Academic Consultant to Bishop College.

The college is extremely backward academically and is plagued by a variety of outmoded customs and regulations which any of the 1965 SI's would have found oppressive. In this atmosphere, numerous issues arose which divided the SI's from the administration; by mid-summer discontent was extreme and battle lines were drawn. Of the several divisive issues, the bookstore drama became the focal point and symbol of the contest. Hours were capricious, book orders were handled with aggravating disregard of the instructors' needs and wishes, and -- most serious of all -- students were overcharged on their purchases. Here, as in other conflicts, the SI's rallied to the side of the students. Protracted, inconclusive negotiations with the administration over the excessive charges led to the demonstration -- a dramatic challenge to the President's authority.

The SI's who led the protest movement would fall in the category of "agitator," as defined earlier in this report. One can easily imagine another group of 1965 SI's who would have labored within the existing framework, lodging their criticisms tactfully to avoid a violent confrontation. The Bishop SI's, on the other hand, apparently wanted to see reform instituted in their sight and at their insistence, as one of their sympathetic observers put it. It was this insistence which produced the "explosion."

To attribute to the SI's primary responsibility for the debacle, however, is an insufficient comment on the significance of the Bishop affair. One could argue that tactful acquiescence

would have left the institution as unreformed after the summer as before. There are those who maintain that a full exposure treatment was the only way to institute reform; that the existing structure was too inflexible to yield to normal ameliorative tactics. It may well be that the "explosion" will, in fact, lead to long-needed reforms. One will observe the future with interest in this respect.

Even should this prove to be true, however, the STP can scarcely point to the Bishop summer with pride or commend the tactics used there to future SI's. Three reasons underlie this conclusion. First, it is easy to imagine other institutions at which such tactics would have crippling effects. Second, the awesome responsibility of deciding when revolutionary tactics are necessary and pardonable is one which, one would feel, graduate students from our finer universities would need more than a short summer to ponder. Finally, the mission of the STP is to teach; and its program of reform lies in providing outstanding examples of the dedication, values, and achievements of American higher education at its best.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions of this evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program, 1965, may be stated briefly. The STP has made a positive impact on the students who were taught, all but a few of the receiving colleges, and the SI's themselves. It has proved itself to be an organization of considerable, though limited, usefulness in the cause of improving education in Negro

colleges. Likewise, it has shown that graduate students may be used with great effectiveness in alleviating the shortage of trained teachers. Their very youth, in fact, permits them to make in some respects a more substantial contribution than older scholars. Assuming that the STP will continue to be administered as effectively as it was in 1965, it is the recommendation of this report that it be both continued and expanded.

The specific recommendations presented for the consideration of the STP and supporting foundations have been discussed in the body of this report. The major ones are listed below.

1. Creation of a faculty committee at each recruiting university to interest students in the program and interview candidates for it.

2. More vigorous recruitment of Negroes and southern whites.

3. Revision of orientation meetings to (a) acquaint SI's with their specific college; and (b) provide discussion of teaching problems in specific disciplines.

4. Exhortation of receiving colleges to provide SI's, as early as possible, with detailed information concerning courses to be taught, materials to be used, and accommodations to be provided.

5. Employment of experts in remedial instruction, especially reading, to counsel at the orientation meetings and call on receiving colleges during the summer.

6. Cautious expansion into the area of community programs for pre-college students.

7. Addition of a well-structured program of grants to underwrite summer study for selected regular faculty members of the receiving colleges.

8. Addition of a more systematic program of informing SI's of the availability of full time employment opportunities in Negro colleges.

9. More specific provisions for salary payments.

10. Thorough discussion with the SI's of the issues involved in "non-conformity."

VI. APPENDIX

Receiving Institution	#SI's	Program
Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro	4	Pre-Freshman
Allen University, Columbia, S. C.	2	Both
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.	7	Regular
Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	2	Pre-Freshman
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	Both
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.	11	Pre-Freshman
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio	4	Regular
Charleston Tutorial Center, S. C.	5	Community
Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pa.	2	Pre-Freshman
Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.	2	Regular
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	6	Pre-Freshman
Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, S. C.	3	Regular
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.	2	Both
Langston University, Langston, Okla.	4	Regular
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	6	Pre-Freshman
Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.	10	Both
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	2	Pre-Freshman
Oakwood College, Huntsville, Ala.	4	Regular
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	9	Regular
Prairie View A & M College, Prairie View, Tex.	4	Pre-Freshman
Tennessee A & I State University, Nashville	14	Pre-Freshman
Texas Southern University, Houston	11	Pre-Freshman

Receiving Institutions	#SI's	Program
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.	2	Pre-Freshman
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	4	Both
Virginia State College, Norfolk	4	Both
Virginia Union University, Richmond	3	Both
Wider Horizons, Orlando, Fla.	10*	Community
Wiley College, Marshall, Tex.	2*	Regular

*The two SI's at Wiley College also taught in the Wider Horizons program.

Tennessee University
A. and I. State
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

January 12, 1966

File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five - Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Thank you for the copy of "The Southern Teaching Program 1965"--An Evaluation prepared by the Southern Regional Council.

The evaluation and recommendations should be of estimable value to institutions participating in the Southern Teaching Program.

We appreciate your sending us a copy.

Very truly yours,

W. S. Davis

W. S. Davis, President

c

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Southern Teaching Prog 1966
Yale Univ.

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, INC.
P.O. BOX 401-A
YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

January 24, 1966

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

Just thought we would drop you a note and let you know that both the air mail shipment you sent and the railway express packages with the 600 copies have arrived safely.

We do thank you for your trouble, as the 30 copies were desperately needed.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:aw

MJ

January 18, 1966

Mr. Fred Schulze
Southern Teaching Program
401-A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Schulze:

Your letter dated the 17th addressed to Mr. Anthony arrived when he was away from the office. I have checked with our mailing room and discovered that the 600 copies of the Gaston report were mailed (via railway express) on December 29 -- sent in 8 cartons. Because of the heavy Christmas mailings it is reasonable to assume that they have been delayed in reaching you. If, however, you do not receive them within a very short while, do let us know and we will try to track them down.

In the meantime, I have put in the mails today (via air express) 30 copies of the report to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

MEMORANDUM January 18,1965

to: Albert Brinston

From: MMJ

Albert,

Please package up 30 copies of the Paul Gaston report (Summer Teaching Program) and mail Via Air Express to Mr. Fred Schulze at Yale in New Haven Connecticut. (Label Attached)

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, INC.
401-A YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520

January 17, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Sent 12-29-65 Railway Express & airmail

I hate to tell you this, but the several hundred copies of Paul Gaston's report which you sent to us around December 15, have not arrived. It seems as if they may have been lost in the Christmas mail. I have checked on this through the Post Office here in New Haven, but they can find no trace. Is there anything you can do in Atlanta?

There is no immediate need for most of the copies, since they are to go to 1965 and 1966 insttuctors. We do need, desperately, about twenty-five to thirty copies, for faculty interviewers who will begin interviewing applicants very soon. Do you still have that many copies and could you send them to us? We would be very appreciative. Then, if it seems that the original copies sent in December are irretrievably lost, we can discuss what to do next.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely yours,
Fred
Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:aw

March 23, 1966

file - Yale Univ.

Mr. Fred Schulze
Executive Director
Southern Teaching Program, Inc.
401-A Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Fred:

The arrangements on reimbursement is quite a fair one.

Under separate cover we are sending you 200 copies of the report on rural schools. At bulk rate they are .20 per copy, so if you have it you owe us $40.00. If not, we'll chalk it up to a good cause.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM March 23, 1966

To: BBCook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice,

Please package up 200 copies of the Ross Green Rural Schools study and send to Fred Schulze (labels attached)

thanx, mmj

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM, INC.
401-A YALE STATION
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT 06520

March 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

Enclosed is a check for expenses connected with Paul Gaston's report. The odd figure was arrived at as follows: In your letter of December 15, the total amount is $2,751.50. The amount attributed to Paul Gaston is $1,624.78. $2,320.70 represents the total minus the fees and travel of Edwards and Newsome. Do you think this is a fair compromise?

We were very interested by your recent report on rural schools, by Donald Ross Green, James A. Jordan, W. J. Bridgeman and Clay V. Brittain. We would like to distribute it to our teachers this summer. Could you please send us, and bill us for two hundred (200) copies? Thank you.

The program seems to be going well. So far we have requests from sixteen colleges for about 120 teachers. In addition, there will probably be eight community tutorial programs in South Carolina, using 65-70 teachers.

Hope to see you later this spring or summer.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Schulze

Fred Schulze
Executive Director

FS:aw
encl.

3-18-66 nh
ck. 2320.70

OFFICE OF THE DEAN
OF STUDENT AFFAIRS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

File - Space Third
Summer Teaching
Prog. 1965

May 3, 1966

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

Thank you for letting me borrow the 1964 Evaluation Report of the Southern Teaching Program. MIT had two or three students in the 1965 program and at least one them has provided effective leadership for one of our Boston tutoring programs.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Richard L. McDowell
Assistant to the
Dean of Student Affairs

RLM:sgh

file

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM
1964

An Evaluation

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January 29, 1965

I. Description

A. The Southern Teaching Program was conceived in early 1964 by a small group of law and graduate students at Yale, interested in contributing to the reform of racial relations but convinced that their own best contribution would be to offer their training. Encouraged by the Yale administration, they addressed several Negro colleges of the South, offering to provide Summer session instructors. The response exceeded expectations; the students suddenly had on their hands a fairly large program, and foundation help was sought and obtained. In the outcome, 53 graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "S.I.'s") were recruited and they taught at 13 predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio) during the Summer of 1964. The program is planned again for 1965,* and is being formalized in some respects, including the appointment of a full-time coordinator and a secretary. The STP has incorporated and has received foundation help for its 1965 program.

B. This evaluation was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by STP. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council,

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*As of January 17, 1965, STP had expressions of interest from 30 colleges, for about 140 instructors for the oncoming Summer. Its applicants exceeded 140.

I. Description

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42 of the S.I.'s, and these were also of great value.* Presidents of the colleges were requested to write, or have written by some administrative officer, a general evaluation, and eight did so.** On December 2, 1964, the consultants (Newsom being absent) held a day long conference with Dunbar to review an outline report he had prepared. Following this, Dunbar drafted a report which was circulated to all consultants for revision and approval.

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*A few chose to write long letters instead of using the form; two of the letters contained very little information. For usable purposes, therefore, data were received from 40 S.I.'s. The questionnaire is available on request from the Southern Teaching Program, Inc.,P. O. Box 401-A, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Replies were received from Bethune-Cookman, Bishop, Central State, Lane, LeMoyne, Rust, Texas Southern, and Tuskegee.

II. General Remarks

The most obvious fact about the 1964 work of STP is that it did make an appreciated contribution on nearly all the campuses. With only a few exceptions, the administrations seem generally satisfied and interested in continuing the program, the students liked the S.I.'s, and they were received by other faculty with feelings ranging from positive gratitude to tolerance to resentment (little of the first, more of the third, much of the second). Again with a few exceptions, the S.I.'s themselves were well pleased with their Summer. Many found the preparation of their students startlingly worse than they had steeled themselves to expect, perhaps an equal number were thrilled by talents discovered or improved, and nearly all were dismayed by the non-intellectual quality of campus life; few pondered the mystery that from campuses like these had come the student protest movement of the 1960's, in whose magnetic field they themselves now were.

All of these reactions could have been fairly well predicted by anyone familiar with the great need and the ingrained appreciativeness of Negro colleges. There are colleges in the South whose conditions are so poor that almost any outside effort is of help, and our 13 include some of them. Our list also includes, however, several campuses of present distinction and

potential greatness. These cannot be helped merely through effort and good will; but it is precisely these institutions which know best how to make use of proffered assistance. Our prevailing interest in the writing of this evalutation report is to consider how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the predominantly Negro colleges.

STP was in 1964 a relatively small operation, and though it expects to enlarge in 1965 this will still be true. We found it, however, to be a signally interesting venture to study, for two principal reasons:

1. Despite its size and unpretentiousness, STP seems to us to illuminate well many of the characteristic problems encountered in programs of direct assistance to Negro colleges. It is one expression of the widespread current interest in aiding Negro colleges through the resources of prestige universities; although STP is a student directed operation, it draws on these resources. A measuring of its effectiveness and potential against more costly programs might well be worthwhile.

2. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has recently drawn much attention for its report on The Flight from Teaching. Among its discussed solutions is the "greater use of graduate students in college and university instruction." STP, now and in its later development, should be examined most carefully for ideas it may suggest for alleviating the shortage of fully trained college teachers.

III. Observations of STP of 1964

A. Selection Criteria

The 53 S. I. 's of 1964 included all levels of graduates from June A. B.'s up to and including two Ph.D.'s. What number had had previous classroom teaching experience of any kind cannot be exactly ascertained, but an examination of their applications for STP shows that only a few could have had any. Moreover, a considerable number taught courses outside the field of their specialization.

We think this policy was unwise and should be drastically altered. We state this even before reporting our observations on the quality of work done by the 1964 S. I.'s. Indeed, we emphasize that our opinion here has nothing to do with empirical data.

It has to do, on the contrary, with what we regard as the need which any program of direct assistance, including STP, should serve; viz., the strengthening of higher education. A sore problem in a host of southern schools, perhaps the keenest problem they have, is low professional standards.

Remembering this, it seems to us wrong to encourage the attitude that southern Negro students do not require

teachers as well trained as white students of the North. We would urge that STP offer only those S. I.'s for the unsupervised teaching of college credit courses who have completed enough graduate training to be eligible to teach equivalent courses in the same fields at their own universities; generally, this would imply an M. A. degree or its equivalent in preparation. We do not think this would prove impossible for STP to accomplish.

A lesser standard could suffice for those assigned as assistants to regular faculty or as instructors in non-credit courses, such as pre-freshman or remedial programs. Indeed, something might be said for the superior qualifications of persons not yet too deeply immersed in specialized scholarship. But for these S. I.'s, the assurance of qualified supervision ought to be required by STP of the receiving college, and STP should plan prior programs of instruction in the techniques and problems of remedial education. To do the latter before the Summer of 1965 may or may not be feasible, but it should be incorporated into the planning for later years. Moreover, even for these special programs we believe that S. I.'s -- for their own benefit as well as that of the college -- should work

in fields allied to their major interest; this rule might be set aside for individual cases but should in general be followed.

We are altogether aware that, for many of the 1964 S. I.'s, the pleasure and the excitement were precisely their sudden responsibility; in fact, a number went to pains to explain that what they chiefly derived from the Summer was an experience that had little or nothing to do with civil rights or race relations, but had to do solely with the opportunity to teach. These attitudes delight us, as they would anyone devoted to education. But we are deeply impressed with the evident maturity of most of the S. I.'s, and with their capacity to understand that the first responsibility of STP should be the strengthening of the institutions it serves.

B. Orientation*

*In the discussion which follows, we ignore a weighty technical problem; i.e., the erratic opening dates of Summer sessions, which in 1964 ranged from May 30 to July 13. We ignore the problem because we know of no solution to it, except orientation that begins not later than mid-May for Summer S. I.'s. We are encouraged in discussing the question in somewhat ideal terms because, as will appear later, we advocate that STP not be solely or even mainly a Summer program.

More than one-third of the S. I.'s did not attend the orientation held last June in New Haven. Although many of the opinions noted by the S. I.'s on their questionnaires are not easily classifiable, probably half of those who did attend had a negative reaction.

A principal shortcoming of the 1964 program was the non-existence or inadequacy of orientation at many of the receiving colleges. The 1964 program was, of course, somewhat hurriedly planned and contrived, and the colleges had even less time to plan for it than did STP itself.

A common recommendation of the 1964 S. I.'s was that the 1965 S. I.'s receive orientation from them.

It is hardly surprising that response to the New Haven orientation session was not better; our experience is that some persons tend to be negative about any planned orientation programs. Indeed, this question produced the only substantial disagreement among the authors of this report, a minority of whom would dispense with any orientation of the S. I.'s <u>en masse</u>, on the ground that orientation should be, for the S. I.'s as for any other incoming instructors, the exclusive responsibility of the college.

The majority view is that STP should provide an orientation session of a day or two's duration before the S. I.'s journey to their assigned campuses, and should endeavor to get as nearly perfect attendance as possible. The program should emphasize:

1. The objective of STP:

   a. education (not civil rights)
   b. the strengthening of the institution to the end that <u>it</u> is stronger after you leave

2. The need to adjust to the situation you find*

3. The nature of the Negro college campus

4. The psychology of interacting with Negroes on the faculty, student, and community levels

5. The uniqueness of each campus and community.

Some of the "veteran" S. I.'s should be present, but these should be carefully selected from among those who made a success of the previous summer. The session could be held in any convenient location; in this regard, several of us

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*Dean Wasserstrom of Tuskegee put it well: "They manifested a kind of unwillingness to accept Tuskegee Institute and its programs as a 'given' within which to work . . . I think it extremely important that persons who participate in such a short term affair . . . do so with a conscious willingness to perform as best they can within the confines and foci of the program."

wondered if Atlanta, where nearly all air and train routes of the South criss-cross, might not even for the S. I.'s be the most convenient place.

If some of us were not wholly persuaded of the need for a general orientation, we unitedly believe that the receiving college must discharge its obligation to the S. I.'s, and that STP should require this. This should consist of two things:

1. Clear and precise notification in advance as to the S. I.'s assignment.

2. Several days, desirably as much as a week, on the campus before classes begin, with some responsible person assigned to help the S. I. settle in, learn the ropes of the library and the book store and the labs, and meet his associates and supervisor (if there is one).

Underlying whatever orientation the S. I.'s receive, one theme would be, we hope, repeatedly underscored. Our experience suggests to us that it has meaning and relevance to the use of graduate students as teachers in any schools. The theme is, "you are faculty."

The 1964 S. I.'s tended very strongly to identify with the students, although many of them at the same time noted - some wistfully, some detachedly, some disapprovingly - that

their faculty associates had little to do with them socially. The difficult, delicate thought which should be got over to the S. I.'s would go somewhat like this:

> "From the moment you put foot on your assigned campus, you are faculty. Once you establish and maintain that identification in your own mind, you will likely discover that others will sense it. As faculty, you have and should assert the same privilege all other faculty have; viz., to improve your campus, including its faculty-student relationships or its awareness of community responsibility. Explore, therefore, how far you can go, but always preserving your faculty identity. You may surprise yourself. More importantly, you may surprise and instruct your associates. But if you identify with the students, you may be almost certain that nothing you do will be an example to your faculty and administrative associates."

C. The Summer Sessions of 1964

1. In general terms, STP seemed to be a clear disappointment only at Lane and St. Augustine. At the latter, the failure was probably due entirely to the college's almost total lack of prior planning. At Lane, neither the administration nor some of the S. I.'s seemed geared to make a success in 1964 of the experiment. Lane desires, however, a continuance of the program, to support a planned pre-freshman course and to release faculty for summer study. St. Augustine has also indicated a desire to

participate again.

2. Again in general terms, STP seemed from all accounts to be an enthusiastic success at Le Moyne and Texas Southern. The other nine schools fell somewhere in between.

It is, we believe, highly noteworthy that at Le Moyne and TSU the S. I.'s taught in well established programs of a special nature: at Le Moyne, a Summer Humanities Seminar for selected high school juniors and seniors; at TSU, a Basic Skills Workshop for selected, top quality freshmen.* Both schools looked on STP as a happy resource to draw upon for their programs. The schools themselves took the responsibility for making the best use of the S. I.'s. And even though these programs were outside the regular curriculum, the schools treated the S. I.'s with professional respect and got professionalism from them. Significantly, when TSU assigned one of its S. I.'s to teach regular courses, it immediately and substantially increased his stipend.

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*S. I.'s at both colleges commented on the brightness of their students, which was the opposite, almost, of the situation facing S. I.'s elsewhere.

We think the Le Moyne and TSU approach, which was approximated at a couple other schools, is the feasible way of making STP succeed. For it must be realized that the success of STP depends at least as much on the receiving colleges as on STP itself. At Le Moyne and TSU the college knew what it wanted, made its own appraisal of the value STP could have to its programs, and integrated the S. I.'s into its on-going work.

Success is a product, of course, of mutual effort. There seemed to us to be no objective reasons why the Tuskegee program should not have gone well. Tuskegee furnished a strong argument for sound orientation, for once the S. I.'s learned who they were and why they were there things seemed to go satisfactorily.

Le Moyne and TSU are located in large cities. This factor probably affected every aspect of their attractiveness to the S. I.'s and contributed to the S. I.'s own good performance.

3. At Bishop, S. I.'s were integrated into a previously planned program directed and staffed by Emory University people; some rub resulted. Prior discussion

could probably have eliminated the causes.* STP should be prepared, we believe, to combine its resources with those of others in any of the several cooperative endeavors going on in the South, and with planning this should be feasible.

4. For the most part, the colleges accepted what STP sent. There was the barest minimum of prior exchange of credentials or recommendations. On the other hand, TSU interviewed its S. I.'s in the North beforehand, a practice which all recipient colleges might well adopt.

5. Summer session, is, everywhere, unlike the regular sessions of a college. This fact alone does not necessarily diminish the value of STP as presently conceived. It does need to be known prior to going to work, however, and remembered later. Summer school at a southern Negro college frequently collects into one classroom public school teachers, pupils who had previously failed the course, campus hangers-around, and perhaps one or two bright students trying to accelerate. This produces a

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*We do not here imply a fault to STP. The initiative should have come from the Emory people and did not.

demanding challenge to the skills of any teacher; all of us can testify, either from actual or analogous experience, that it is quite likely to be also a disturbingly unsatisfying experience for the teacher.

6. Only a handful of the 1964 S. I.'s engaged in civil rights activities, and none to the evident detriment of their teaching responsibilities. The following statements culled from questionnaires articulate well what seemed to be widely shared reactions:

a. Most of my relationships with Negroes were perhaps touched by a certain tension or extra consciousness of the other person's needs and hurts, but I doubt that this is a "problem." Would that all human relationships everywhere would know such "extra consciousness."!

b. It was exciting to discover that middle class Negroes really do have the same values as I do, and a relief to decide that I don't have to feel any more of a common bond with a Negro grocery boy than I do with a white elevator man.

c. On the whole, I was not unduly shocked by the lack of intellectual motivation which I found in the pre-freshman student body. In this regard, I was somewhat disturbed by the frustrations of several of my northern and southern white teaching colleagues attending big northern universities who were suffering from what I would call liberal illusions about the nature of man, and the nature of segregation and education in general. I benefited morale-wise from being a political conservative. I had suspected that students who

> had attended third-rate schools and came from families where intellectual values were not always held in high esteem would not be well motivated. Nor did I think that we would be able to remedy this situation overnight. I was, however, surprised by what I came to consider as the influence of the institution of segregation on the intellectual motivation and development of the students. In varying degrees and various ways, most of the students accepted segregation. As the Summer progressed, I came more and more to the conclusion that I could only deal with the problem of the intellectual motivation of each student by confronting him directly or intellectually with or helping him to confront segregation, as it affected him physically and mentally. (Written by one of the handful who, before the Summer was out, got into civil rights activity.)

7. With the inevitable few exceptions, the S. I.'s did a good job, and were accorded the approval of their students and their administrations. One S. I. stayed on at her college on full-time appointment for 1964-65 (Le Moyne) and one took a full-time appointment at a college (Bethune-Cookman) other than where he had taught. The following, taken from one of our field reports, expresses accurately what was generally found:

> Administrative personnel agreed that the S. I.'s were competent in their respective fields (sometimes with a slight edge over the regular teachers); that they brought a kind of interest and dynamism to their teaching which was often

lacking among regular faculty members; that they exhibited an interest in students, both in and out of the classroom, that regular faculty members could emulate; and that they were creative in the utilization of existing resources.

8. At a minority of the schools, the S. I.'s were overworked; at one college in particular, the teaching load was a horror. The S. I.'s at TSU complained of too little work.

9. One S. I. thought that the chief value he and his colleagues had was simply "being there" as "outsiders," opening by their presence new vistas for the young Negro Southerner. In one form or another, this thought came out in the questionnaires of many of the S. I.'s. Typically, it came from those in the less satisfactory teaching situations, not from those able to take pride in a teaching accomplishment.

Some S. I.'s gave a number of extra-curricular services. At Rust, by way of conspicuous example, the S. I.'s started a campus newspaper (which involved, among other things, making a photographer's dark room), processed thousands of books donated for Freedom Schools and selected and catalogued 2,600 of them for the Rust library, staged

a party for 200 students, and one of them assumed the duties of college public relations director. The purpose of STP, however, is academic. For S. I.'s to help out in these ways is good and laudable. For STP to allow this sort of activity to occupy a prominent place in its "advertising" or fund raising or orientation of new S. I.'s would be a gross mistake.

10. One S. I., disillusioned over his classes, wrote that long after his class had forgotten his lectures, students would remember him "lecturing while lying on a desk." This seems an inconvenient way to lecture, but does it suggest any problems? It is tempting to say that S. I.'s should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the S. I.'s should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. S. I.'s should, at least, find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate. In contrast to the reclining lecturer, another S. I. wrote: future S. I.'s "should be chosen for their capacity to transcend their parochial

prejudices against neckties, conformity, and hard-bound books." We would not necessarily agree.

Considering all, we who visited the 12* campuses expected to find more non-conformity and resentment of the same than was apparent. We found, instead, the interactions of mature people. We would recommend that STP select on the basis of academic credentials and teaching potential, and that little stress in either the selection or orientation process be given to conforming habits or their lack.

11. Our observation was that the S. I.'s as a whole made an important academic contribution, though it affected only their students, and little if at all their faculty associates. The disadvantaged colleges of the South - both Negro and white - suffer from many ills, but the most cancerous is their intellectual isolation. The S. I.'s brought heavier and more demanding assignments, more exacting standards on which grades were based, made the students plunge into unabridged books instead of anthologies, used the labs for problem solving and not merely demonstrations. They jolted minds - of a small number

*Miles was not visited; only one S. I. taught there.

of young people.

12. In a very few situations, S. I.'s were over-supervised. In most cases, they were on their own, in some cases even to the point of seemingly having no one's interest.

13. Faculty resentment of the S. I.'s did exist at some colleges. Although other factors were present as well, the chief cause was suspicion that regular faculty were being deprived of jobs by the S. I.'s.

We think it is almost wholly the responsibility of the receiving college to meet these problems. The S. I.'s do, of course, need to comport themselves with tact and courtesy, but no more (and no less) is required of them than of any incoming young instructors. The college administration should interpret and clarify for the regular faculty the role and purpose of STP. We can think of no way that STP can in advance require this, but where problems of this kind are encountered again, STP might properly not return to that school

without first having a frank talk with the administration.*

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*We have omitted from this report any discussion of the interaction of S. I.'s and the local communities, although we gathered data on this matter and some of the S. I.'s reported on it interestingly; those receiving this report who would care to have information on this point may write Dunbar at the Southern Regional Council. We have omitted it because of a decision to focus exclusively on educational questions, to the neglect of interesting sociological matters.

IV. Evaluation and Recommendations

1. We found that STP in 1964 made a wholesome contribution to at least eleven campuses. We believe that participation in STP deepened the training and maturity of the S.I.'s.

2. We are strongly of the opinion, especially after our observation of the 1964 S.I.'s, that graduate students can not only benefit personally but can tremendously help higher education by doing more teaching. They can be good teachers, and they learn a great deal about their subject in the process. The STP idea is sound and we think should be extended.

3. We confine our remarks in this paragraph to the predominantly Negro colleges of the South, though we suspect they may apply generally. We doubt that graduate students as teachers can be of enduring value unless their service is a means for strengthening the regular faculty. Our chief lament about STP in 1964 is that we saw only the scantiest of evidence that the S.I.'s directly or indirectly benefited the regular faculty of the colleges.

4. Consequently, we believe that STP as presently conceived - i.e., as a Summer program - is of limited worth to the predominantly Negro colleges, though it may be of considerable value to the S.I.'s themselves. Such worth to the colleges as it can have is chiefly, we believe, in connection with special pre-freshman enrichment or remedial programs. Because we regard

such programs as highly important, we encourage the further support of them by the resources of STP.

Otherwise, we see value to the colleges from STP as Summer activity only in special and somewhat peripheral cases; e.g., in order to free a regular faculty member for a few weeks of advanced study or research; or to give an experimental honors course, thereby encouraging the college to get someone to do it regularly; or to bring to regular faculty fresh insight into new developments of scholarship.

5. We believe that STP could make a most valuable and valued contribution if arrangements could permit S.I.'s a longer period of contact with the Negro campus, thus enabling STP to have substantially more beneficial effect on the regular faculty. This means, of course, instructors for one or more terms of the regular school year. The direct benefits to the faculty could consist of freeing faculty members for advanced study or research, or assisting them with very large classes.

We believe that the foundations supporting STP should seriously consider providing additional funds to make possible (a) a longer period of instruction by the S.I.'s;* and (b) subsidy to regular faculty members for study while the S.I.'s

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*Of the 40 S.I.'s returning questionnaires, 27 said they would consider teaching for a year or longer at a predominantly Negro college, six said they couldn't or wouldn't and seven either did not answer or were undecided.

are meeting their classes. Although we have not done and cannot do an accurate cost estimate, our belief is that this would be, by comparison with other programs of similar aims, a distinctly cheaper and yet highly effective method of strengthening the Negro colleges of the South. For it would go to the root problem, which is the shortcomings of a faculty isolated from most of the stimulus and progress of scholarly associations.*

6. <u>We are recommending, therefore, that STP be structured along these lines:</u>

a. for the support of special Summer enrichment and remedial programs;

b. for the direct benefit of faculty by enabling them to be released during the regular school year for advanced study, or by assisting them with heavy teaching loads.

Were STP so structured, we suspect its usefulness could be broadened. It is noticeable that some of the leading Negro colleges did not participate in 1964. Some of these do not offer Summer school. Others might not have been persuaded of the propriety for them of accepting STP. In either case, structuring STP as we have recommended here and in paragraphs 4 and 5 would quite possibly expand its area of service.

7. So too, we believe, would official sponsorship by Yale or some other prestige school. We advance this thought with diffidence but nevertheless with conviction. STP was

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*Alternatively, foundations might take care that STP complements other programs which do provide for study or research grants to the regular faculty of Negro colleges.

conceived by students, and we are mindful of their claims. We also agree with Dr. Dominic Soda, who taught in STP at Bishop and is now on the faculty of Washington University, that STP's "simplicity of organization and directness of program were particularly appealing." These qualities should be preserved.

But help extended to any college should be dignified and non-patronizing. We noticed time and time again that administrators referred to STP as "the Yale program," and that is the way they wanted to think of it. We would hope that STP could continue to be run by students, but chartered by Yale or another front-rank school. If that were administratively possible, the present virtues of simplicity and directness could be kept, and a relationship of lasting dignity between STP and the southern college could be established.

8. We hope that STP can successfully recruit S.I.'s not only in the Ivy League but at other schools of the North and West as well. We advocate recruitment on southern campuses such as Virginia, North Carolina, Duke, and Texas. We urge that every reasonable effort be made to recruit more Negro S.I.'s; the 1964 record of only one was not good.

9. For our recommendation on selection criteria see III A above. To the remarks there, we would add that each prospective S.I. should be recommended by his own graduate advisor to STP, and that a copy of the recommendation should be transmitted to the proposed receiving college along with the S.I.'s other

credentials.* We think it important that the colleges have time to pass on the qualifications of proposed S.I.'s and their suitability for the college's curricular needs. This means that STP should plan its operations to permit this period of time, and might also adopt the practice of simultaneously submitting the name of the S.I. to more than one school.

10. During Summer or other times when a significant number of S.I.'s are at work, STP might consider employing a visiting supervisor, someone of scholarly distinction and familiar with Negro campuses. This person could counsel S.I.'s, help them interact with administration and faculty, and perhaps give college or classroom lectures.

11. For our recommendation on orientation see III B above.

12. Because a number of the S.I.'s of 1964 proposed that STP plan and organize its own remedial program and offer that to southern colleges, we comment on this point. We would not approve, falling back again on our premise that STP should serve the institutional development of the receiving colleges. It will not do so by weakening their responsibility to plan and carry forward their own programs.

13. Although this report has stayed within the framework of "Negro colleges," our final recommendation is that STP

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*In 1964, S.I.'s were interviewed by a Yale faculty member, and each submitted two or three letters of recommendation to STP.

thoughtfully consider offering its resources to all disadvantaged colleges of the South. Many of the "white colleges" have academic problems and inadequacies much like those of the predominantly Negro schools. If STP can see its way clear to do this, it should, of course, restrict its offer of services to non-segregated schools willing to accept S.I's without regard to race.

14. We conclude by proposing - to STP, to the supporting foundations, to Yale, and to the receiving colleges - that STP not be seen as in any sense or degree a missionary venture, but in the context of a large conception of the obligation which the national community of scholars has for education, wherever it is offered.

Tilman C. Cothran
Leslie W. Dunbar
G. Franklin Edwards
Lewis M. Killian
T. E. McKinney, Jr.
J. Kenneth Morland
Lionel H. Newsom

APPENDIX

Teaching Assignments, 1964

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED?	VISITED BY
Arkansas AM&N	Ann M. Goodrich (Wesleyan)	Elm. French, 17th & 18th Cent. Fr. Lit., freshman orientation	T,T,A	Yes	Cothran
	Christopher P. Hadley (Yale Law)	Logic, Introd. Calculus, Calculus II	T,T,T	Yes	
	Charles L. Marlow (Yale)	Eng. Lit, Amer. Lit.	T,T	Yes	
	George P. O'Leary (Yale)	Physics	T	No	
Bethune-Cookman	Fontaine Belford (Yale Divinity)	Summer Skills Program for high school seniors, French, Contemporary Lit.	T,T,T	Yes	Killian
	Barbara M. Hurwitz (Bryn Mawr)	Introd. Physics, Teaching Elem. Sci., Summer Skills	T,A,T	Yes	
	Susan Oakman (Wesleyan)	College Math, Trig, Coll. Alg., Summer Skills	T,T,T,T	Letter	
	Peter J. O'Connell (Yale)	Contemp Lit., Summer Skills	T,T	Yes	
Bishop	Robert J. Anderson (Yale)	Freshman Remedial-English	T	Yes	McKinney
	George Herr (Yale Medical)	ditto - math	T	Yes	
	Morris B. Kaplan (Yale)	ditto - English	T	Yes	
	Dominic Soda (Yale)	Modern Alg., Fresh. Remed. - math	T, T	Yes	

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED	VISTED BY
Central State	Alexander M. McBean (Yale)	Introd. Biol., Experimental Embryology	A,A	Yes	Newsom
	Lillian S. Robinson (N.Y.U.)	Amer. Lit., Eng. Composition	T,T	No	
	Jeffrey B. Sidney (Yale)	Remedial Math, Principles of Math	T,T	Yes	
Lane	Leslie Donald Epstein (Yale Drama)	Gen. Anthropology, Soc. Anthro., Psych.	T,T,T	Yes	Newsom
	Frank T. Gardner (Yale)	Biol. Survey, Conservation, Anat. & Physiology, Genetics	T,T,T,T	Yes	
	Joan Gardner (Yale)	Art Hist. & Apprec., Art in Everyday Life, Art Structures, Creative Drawing	T,T,T,T	Yes	
	Susan Gumpert (Columbia)	Amer. Nat'l Gov't, Amer. Hist.	T,T	Yes	
LeMoyne	Phillip A. Bertocci (Yale)	Summer Humanities Seminar for high school juniors and seniors - history	T	Yes	Newsom
	Marilu Sanchez (Yale)	ditto -speech	T	Yes	
	David J. Winter (Yale)	ditto - math	T	Yes	
	Judith Winter (Yale)	ditto - philosophy	T	Yes	

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED?	VISITED BY
Miles	Michel Forget (Yale Divinity)	Elem, Intermed, and Advanced French	T,T,T	Yes	Not Visited
Philander Smith	William W. Everett (Yale Divinity)	U. S. History, U. S. Govt.	T,T	Yes	Cothran
	Susan Hawk (Yale)	Eng. Lit.	T	No	
	Robert P. Myers (Columbia Medical)	Biology	T	Letter	
	Emily W. Stong (Columbia)	Modern Math, Alg., Trig, Analytic Geom.	T,T,T,T	Yes	
	Richard Winslow (Columbia Medical)	Inorganic Chem.	T	Yes	
Rust	Franklin E. Bragg, II (Columbia Medical)	Intro. Biol.	T	Yes	Morland
	James M. Dodson (Yale)	Amer. Govt, St. and Local Govt	T,T	No	
	Loren Ghiglione (Yale Law)	Freshman Eng	T	Yes	
	Bruce C. Johnston (Columbia Medical)	World Lit.	T	Yes	
	James H. Matlack (Yale)	Amer. Lit., Amer. Hist.	T,T	Yes	
	James G. Ricks (Yale)	Western Civilization	T	No	

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED	VISITED BY
St. Augustine	James A. Todd (Yale Divinity)	Alg-Trig, Social Statistics	T,T	Yes	Morland
	William M. Tucker (Yale)	College Grammar, Eng. Composition	T,T	Yes	
Texas Southern	John Peter Basinger (Wesleyan)	Basic Skills Workshop for entering freshman-math	T	Yes	McKinney
	Tom L. Beauchamp (Yale Divinity)	ditto-philosophy	T	Yes	
	Harriett M. Bograd (Yale Law)	ditto-critical thinking	T	Yes	
	Sanford Budick (Yale)	World Lit, Modern Eng. Novel	T,T	Yes	
	N. S. Freud (Yale Law)	Basic Skills etc. - English	T	Yes	
	Orm Overland (Yale)	ditto - English	T	Yes	
	Vincent J. Rinella (Yale Law)	ditto - English	T	Yes	
	Michael Rosen (Michigan)	ditto-critical thinking	T	No	
	Robert Walker (Yale Law)	ditto - math	T	No	

COLLEGE	STUDENT INSTRUCTOR	COURSES	TAUGHT OR ASSISTED	QUESTIONNAIRE RECEIVED	RECEIVED BY
Tuskegee	Robert E. Filner (Yale)	Pre-freshman program - math	A	No	Morland
	Hans H. Hock (Yale)	German	T	No	
	Liza Molodovsky (Columbia)	Pre-freshman-reading	A	Yes	
	James T. B. Tripp (Yale Law)	ditto - math	A	Yes	
	Henrietta Yancy (Yale)	ditto - reading	A	No	
Winston-Salem	Deborah A. Gwatkin (Wesleyan)	Basic Math, Trig	T,T	Yes	Cothran
	Jonah S. Raskin (Columbia)	Amer. Lit, Eng Lit, Freshman Composition	T,T,T	No	

Pull out study design & field report.
Paul Gaston going.
Le Moyne

TSU — TS McKinney's report
Philander Smith — Tillman Cothran

Ask Mildred to send these to Paul Gaston —
History Dept.
Univ of Virginia
Charlottesville

Conference — Pfeiffer Hall
1 p.m. SI Conference

EDUCATIONAL SERVICES INCORPORATED

55 CHAPEL STREET, NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02160

PROGRAM FOR PRE-COLLEGE CENTERS

TELEPHONE 969-7100
CABLE ADDRESS: ESINC

27 July 1966

These have never been OK'd for general distribution as far as I know. jsmith

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Dear Sir:

We should appreciate ordering two copies of the Southern Teaching Program brochure, prepared by Prof. Paul M. Gaston, November 3, 1965.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Lometor B. Pinnick
Lometor B. Pinnick
Administrative Secretary

originals of these requests sent to Fred Schulman July 28, 1966. He filed these requests asking that

(file file file Southern Teaching Prog)

B. J. GLOVER
PRESIDENT

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AFRICAN
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
1870

ALLEN UNIVERSITY

COLUMBIA 4, SOUTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

July 29, 1966

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In reading your evaluation report of the Southern Teaching Program of 1964, I was happy to see that I could obtain a copy of a study design which was drafted by Leslie W. Dunbar and his group of consultants.

I would like a copy of this report for my files as we here at Allen are participating in the STP.

Sincerely yours,

Sylvia P. Swinton

Sylvia P. Swinton
Director of Teacher Education
Chairman, Division of Education
Director of Summer School

SPS:mmf

File
Yale Summer Teaching
Prof.

January 9, 1967

Mr. James H. Tenney
Vanderbilt 537
107 Ave. Louis Pasteur
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Tenney:

I believe the program about which you are inquiring is the Yale Summer Teaching Program, which on several occasions we have issued evaluations of. The address of that program is: Summer Teaching Program, Inc., P. O. Box 401 A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(2)

January 6, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me information concerning your summer teaching programs for volunteers having a B. A. Degree.

Currently I am studying at the Harvard Medical School.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

James H. Tenney

James H. Tenney

Vanderbilt 537
107 Ave. Louis Pasteur
Boston
Massachusetts

File
Yale Summer Hi School

August 4, 1967

Mr. Joel Fleishman
Yale Summer High School
2115 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Joel:

Thanks so much for the card and the thought.

The Fall is miserable in terms of schedules but I do hope you will give me an opportunity to get to New Haven sometime in the next several months, or perhaps our New York schedules might coincide sometime. I am anxious to talk to you about several matters.

I am even more anxious to kick you all the way from New Haven to somewhere south of the North Carolina line! The next time you get a call from the Lord - go!

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Corcoran Department of History
B-20 CABELL HALL
UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE

Dear Sam:

Many thanks for the check.

I'll probably find my letter of August 28, which contained an expense statement and a request for an advance, in one of my coat pockets. I remember making a special trip to the office to write the letter.

I had hoped to finish the report by now, but the Bishop College affair has held me up. I hope to have a first draft done by the end of the month. I'll keep you posted.

Many thanks, apologies, and best regards.

Yrs.,

Paul

Paul Gaston

file

Joseph

SOUTHERN TEACHING PROGRAM

1965

An Evaluation Prepared For
The Southern Regional Council

By

Paul M. Gaston
Associate Professor of History
The University of Virginia

November 3, 1965

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Receiving Institution	#SI's	Program
Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss.	2	Pre-Freshman
Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.	4	Both
Virginia State College, Norfolk	4	Both
Virginia Union University, Richmond	3	Both
Wider Horizons, Orlando, Fla.	10*	Community
Wiley College, Marshall, Tex.	2*	Regular

*The two SI's at Wiley College also taught in the Wider Horizons program.

VI. APPENDIX

Receiving Institution	#SI's	Program
Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro	4	Pre-Freshman
Allen University, Columbia, S. C.	2	Both
Benedict College, Columbia, S. C.	7	Regular
Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	2	Pre-Freshman
Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.	6	Both
Bishop College, Dallas, Tex.	11	Pre-Freshman
Central State College, Wilberforce, Ohio	4	Regular
Charleston Tutorial Center, S. C.	5	Community
Cheyney State College, Cheyney, Pa.	2	Pre-Freshman
Claflin College, Orangeburg, S. C.	2	Regular
Dillard University, New Orleans, La.	6	Pre-Freshman
Friendship Junior College, Rock Hill, S. C.	3	Regular
Lane College, Jackson, Tenn.	2	Both
Langston University, Langston, Okla.	4	Regular
LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tenn.	6	Pre-Freshman
Miles College, Birmingham, Ala.	10	Both
Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.	2	Pre-Freshman
Oakwood College, Huntsville, Ala.	4	Regular
Philander Smith College, Little Rock, Ark.	9	Regular
Prairie View A & M College, Prairie View, Tex.	4	Pre-Freshman
Tennessee A&I State University, Nashville	14	Pre-Freshman
Texas Southern University, Houston	11	Pre-Freshman

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Evaluation

The Southern Teaching Program was created early in 1964 by a group of law and graduate students at Yale University to provide instructors for summer sessions in predominantly Negro colleges, primarily in the South. In the summer of 1964, fifty-three graduate and professional students (called in this report "Student Instructors" or "SI's") taught at thirteen predominantly Negro colleges (twelve in the South and one in Ohio). The 1964 program was evaluated by the Southern Regional Council in a report dated January 29, 1965. That evaluation was prepared under the direction of Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, with the collaboration of six consultants who visited the campuses where the SI's taught.

Since the summer of 1964 the Southern Teaching Program has been incorporated and a full-time executive director, Mr. Fred Schulze, has been appointed. Foundation aid was secured for enlarged operations for the 1965 summer. Mr. Schulze broadened considerably the area of recruitment of instructors, and the requests for them from the colleges increased markedly. In the outcome, 144 SI's taught at 26 colleges (24 in the South) and in two community programs, both in the South.[1]

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[1] In mid-August Mr. Schulze learned that two instructors, engaged at the eleventh hour, taught at Bluefield State College in West Virginia. No information has been received from either the institution or from the instructors. The statistics and generalizations in this report consequently omit this institution. Were it included,

This evaluation of the 1965 program was requested by one of the supporting foundations, as well as by the STP. Dr. Dunbar engaged me to make the evaluation. My conclusions are based largely on four sources: (1) visits to eight of the colleges;[2] (2) interviews at a week-end conference in Atlanta attended by thirty-nine SI's from thirteen campuses; (3) questionnaires completed for me by the presidents or other administrative officers of the receiving colleges; and (4) questionnaires completed by the SI's for the STP which Mr. Schulze made available to me.[3] The special circumstances at Bishop College, discussed in Section IV, required extensive investigation through letters and telephone calls.

B. General Criteria of the Evaluation

The chief purpose of the authors of the 1964 report was to discover "how well STP is adaptable to the basic needs of the predominantly Negro colleges." They wished, moreover, to evaluate the

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the number of institutions receiving STP instructors would be 29, and the number of SI's, 146. A complete list of institutions and the number of instructors who taught at each is reproduced in the appendix.

[2]The eight institutions visited, with the total number of SI's at each indicated in parentheses, were: Benedict College (7); Dillard University (6); LeMoyne College (6); Miles College (10); Philander Smith College (9); Tennessee A&I State University (15); Texas Southern University (11); and Virginia Union University (3).

[3]Replies were received from 25 of the 28 institutions; one of the non-reporting institutions, Dillard University, was visited. The other two were Central State College and Friendship Junior College. Responses came from SI's who taught at all institutions except one, Wiley College. Eighty-three SI's submitted evaluations.

STP in the light of two contemporary concerns: (1) the need to provide direct assistance to Negro colleges; and (2) the feasibility of using graduate students to alleviate the shortage of trained college teachers.

This evaluation is written with these questions uppermost in mind. Granted the discouraging, sometimes appalling, conditions that obtain in ~~most~~ many Negro colleges, we need to know in what ways the STP can help to generate constructive reform. We need to look carefully at ways in which the STP has affected the students who were taught; the regular faculty members who stay on after the SI's leave; the curricula, standards, and administration of the receiving colleges; and the SI's themselves. Beginning with a description of the way in which the STP functioned in 1965, this report discusses each of these questions, highlights some of the principal difficulties that were encountered, and concludes with a summary of recommendations for the future.

II. SCOPE AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STP

A. Recruitment and Orientation

Recruitment of SI's was carried on, with varying degrees of enthusiasm and care, at more than twenty-five university campuses. In some cases both recruitment and interviewing were extremely casual, requiring the Executive Director of the STP to rely almost exclusively on the written applications of the candidates for placement purposes. In other cases interviewing was taken seriously and the recommendations of the local committees proved useful. There is no doubt that a serious

interview, going beyong the question of academic ability, should be an integral part of the selection process, and the STP should persuade responsible administrators of the supplying universities to appoint a faculty committee for the purpose of screening applicants. The announcement of such a policy would, in addition to improving the chances of appointing qualified persons, alleviate some of the concerns of the receiving colleges over the non-academic qualifications of the SI's.

The staff of teachers recruited for 1965 was, both on paper and in practice, well qualified academically. About two-thirds had had previous teaching experience. All but three had had at least one year of graduate work. Ninety-three held master's degrees and five had earned doctorates. The table below shows the academic qualifications of the SI's, breaking them down into three groups: (1) those who came directly from graduate studies; (2) those who came from established teaching positions; and (3) a miscellaneous group of persons who were neither in graduate school nor presently teaching (several of these were wives of men in the first two categories).

ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS OF SI'S

	Total	B.A./B.S.	M.A./M.S.	Ph.D.
From Graduate Schools	118	40	77	1
From Teaching Positions	13	2	7	4
Miscellaneous	13	4	9	0
Totals	144	46	93	5

Of the 118 who came directly from graduate schools, 68 (about 58%) came from three universities: California (26), Yale (25), and Harvard (17). Known last year as the "Yale" Southern Teaching Program, this year's enterprise was frequently called the Yale-Berkeley program (Harvard

does not appear to have stamped its image on the STP). Other universities supplying more than one SI were Columbia (8); Virginia (7); N.Y.U. and Wesleyan (4 each); Brandeis, M.I.T., and Michigan (3 each); and Cornell, Howard, and North Carolina (2 each). Twelve universities supplied one SI each. In all, twenty-five universities supplied SI's from their graduate schools.

The broader recruiting program which these figures reflect was a distinct improvement over the previous year, when nearly all of the SI's came from only one institution. To bring instructors from a variety of universities is to introduce more teaching ideas and practices, considerably increase the number of instructors who may be supplied, and involve more persons and institutions in the cause of the Negro college. Despite the broader appeal, however, relatively few Negroes and white Southerners were recruited. The experience of the few who did participate, and the reactions to them of both students and administrations, suggests the need to recruit more vigorously in these two categories. Potential Negro SI's will come from the universities already in the program, plus ones similar to them. They need to be sought out. White Southerners can most easily be recruited in the Southern universities, such as Duke, Emory, North Carolina, Texas, Vanderbilt, and Virginia. Only Virginia had a satisfactory recruitment program for 1965.

Once recruited the 1965 SI's faced a variety of orientation problems, few of which were satisfactorily met. Knowing little about Negro colleges in general, and even less about the specific institutions to which they would go, the SI typically arrived at his college with only the vaguest notion of what he was expected to do. The orientation

programs at New Haven and Berkeley were judged by the SI's to range in value from extremely helpful to useless. One can safely say that these meetings did help to bridge the gap from innocence to involvement by acquainting the SI's with some of the general problems and conditions which they might encounter. The principal complaint--a rather general one--was that the meetings did not orient the SI toward his specific situation. Although general orientation meetings cannot remove this deficiency, there are some ways of improving the situation. For one thing, the STP might prepare brief sketches of the salient characteristics of each of the receiving institutions, based largely upon reports filed by the 1965 SI's. It could also make available a list of the persons who taught in 1965 so that the 1966 SI's could contact the veteran whose experience should prove most helpful. Finally, the orientation meetings would be more helpful if they included special sessions for each discipline to be taught. Such meetings could be directed by a person who taught successfully in 1965.

A large measure of responsibility for the lack of advance knowledge rests upon the receiving institutions themselves. Most of them failed to supply their new instructors with adequate information on courses to be taught, books to be used, number of students in the classes, living accommodations, and other relevant matters. To remedy this situation the STP should urgently request each receiving institution to state as early and as explicitly as possible exactly what it expects from the SI's. Such requests were made in 1965, but they should be pressed vigorously in the future.

B. The Colleges and the Programs

The twenty-six colleges that employed SI's represent a cross section of the Negro college in America. They included two from the non-South, and Southern institutions both large and small; state supported and church related; urban and rural; aggressive and lethargic. They had in common, whatever their relative academic positions, an awareness of acute problems which cannot easily be resolved. They looked upon the STP as an inexpensive means of bolstering existing programs, adding new programs, infusing new ideas into the institutions, and garnering prestige for themselves.

At only eight of the colleges did the SI's function exclusively in the role of teachers of regular summer school courses. At seven places they taught both regular and pre-freshman courses, and at eleven institutions they were engaged exclusively in pre-freshman work. Almost two-thirds of the SI's taught pre-freshman courses. Typically these were in the fields of mathematics, reading, and English. Most of these programs were aimed at the sub-standard student, not normally admissable without remedial work. Some were designed for the more talented, and some indiscriminately mixed their students with little reference to ability.

At most of the colleges where pre-freshman programs were offered the SI's constituted a substantial portion of the teaching staff; at some places they did virtually all of the teaching. Without the STP the receiving colleges either would not have had pre-freshman programs, or would have had ones significantly inferior to those which were offered.

Every institution reported that the STP was crucial to its program. One dean, for example, reported that the "STP made it possible to fully staff a pre-college program for over 200 high school graduates who will enter college in the Fall." Another declared: "We were able to offer an experimental program for high ability freshmen by having STP instructors." The evidence is overwhelming that, considered in terms of new programs offered and/or old programs strengthened, the STP made a considerable contribution.

As teachers of regular courses, the SI's came generally well prepared by their graduate studies. Those who taught elementary and remedial courses in the pre-freshman programs, however, typically had had no special training and little, if any, relevant experience. Extraordinary enthusiasm and an admirable dedication to teaching, however, generally overcame these deficiencies. Bright people with large capacities for work, the SI's taught effectively in difficult and, to them, novel situations. This is not to imply that specialized training is not to be prized. Time after time, SI's commented that they could have made more progress more rapidly if they had not had to work out techniques for themselves. Precisely how the STP may address itself directly to this problem is not clear, but one possibility would be to engage several experts in remedial instruction, particularly in reading skills, to counsel with the SI's before the summer sessions begin. It might be well, also, to engage an appropriate number of "experts" to travel from college to college, early in the summer, to work for brief periods with the SI's.

C. Two Community Programs

The STP also furnished instructors for two non-collegiate programs, The Charleston County Tutoring Center, in Charleston, South Carolina, and Wider Horizons of Orange County, Daytona Beach, Florida. Both of these community programs were created prior to the 1965 summer in response to demands for remedial and/or enrichment programs for Negroes which the local school boards were unwilling to undertake.

The Charleston program was begun in October, 1964, as an after-school tutoring project to work with "academically able" students of the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades. The summer program, under the sponsorship of a local Baptist Church in cooperation with six church and community groups, enrolled students from the 7th through 12th grades and included as well two college freshmen. A total of forty-five students participated. Five SI's were in the summer teaching staff. Instruction was offered in reading, written communications, mathematics, and the humanities. Both the director and the SI's reported striking achievements in all areas. In reading, for example, standard tests showed that each student gained at least two grade levels in comprehension and increased reading speed by as much as one hundred words per minute. According to the director, the SI's were "highly capable and interested in working with the students."

The Wider Horizons project was a direct outgrowth of the decision of Orange County, Florida, to begin integration of the elementary school grades. It was created in the summer of 1964 to help students make an easy transition from segregated to integrated situations. During

the 1965 summer, some 250 students of elementary grade age were taught by a staff of twenty teachers, ten local, including three Negroes, and ten SI's. Emphasis was on communication skills, spelling, and mathematics. Equally important, according both to the director and the SI's, were a variety of cultural activities, field trips, and informal projects. The program lasted but four weeks, too short, according to the SI's, to make substantial academic progress.

Both the reporting SI's and the director, however, indicated the achievement of significant academic gains, although not as striking as in the Charleston case. With the younger children, many from rural backgrounds, non-academic adjustments often seemed more important than, or at least prerequisite to, academic progress. One SI wrote that "Although the children...had great educational needs, their psychological needs were in some cases more basic." The same instructor felt "strongly that graduate students are badly needed to teach elementary school in the south--even students with no experience teaching. These children need so much more than just teachers--they need someone to emulate, someone who can increase their scope of interests, someone who cares about them." Echoing this sentiment, the director, noting that the program would have been impossible without the STP, praised the SI's as being "warm, sympathetic, creative, and responsive to the needs of the students." They were "completely absorbed by the problems of the children and devoted their time unceasingly to improving the conditions confronting them."

Both community programs appear to have been highly successful. Both improved the academic skills of the students and paved the way

for an easier transition from segregated to integrated school situations. The question facing the STP must be: shall projects of this sort, which are in great need across the South, be assisted on a wider scale? Some of the dangers are obvious. If the STP is to address itself to all educational problems facing southern Negroes, and attempt to lend a hand wherever asked, it invites the danger of dissipating its energies and lessening its effectiveness. To restrict itself to the colleges, however, is to overlook the obvious truth that many problems of the college student are created in the lower grades. A happy compromise, which would maintain the essentially experimental spirit of the STP, would be to retain primary emphasis on the college, meeting first the demands that arise there, and then accommodate other programs on the basis of individual needs and merits and the availability of suitable teachers. What is recommended, in short, is a cautious expansion in 1966 of the non-collegiate programs undertaken in 1965.

III. THE IMPACT OF THE STP

To assess authoritatively the impact of the STP at this early stage in its history is all but impossible. Much depends upon the perspective from which one views its operation. To expect it to make long-lasting and profound changes in Negro higher education in a short period of time will inevitably lead to a sense of frustration and a negative evaluation. Realism rules out viewing the STP with such anticipations. The most sensible way of evaluating it is to ask what contributions it has made and how these contributions may be continued

and augmented. If the impact, however limited, is constructive, and if the cost is not out of proportion to the results, one may safely declare irrelevant to the evaluation the larger question of how Negro colleges may be brought up to desired standards.

A. On The Students

All sources of information underscore, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, the most obvious generalization about the student reaction to the program: appreciation was profound and the quality of the enlightenment was beyond expectations. One student put it this way: "any of us would give his right arm to go to Yale. We can't go to Yale, but they sent Yale to us." Students are not adequate judges of the competence of their teachers or the success of their programs, but the insights they furnish are often unique and can be ignored only to the detriment of an effective evaluation.

While it is no doubt true that the evidence accumulated ignores some students who were oppressed by the academic demands placed upon them and resentful of low grades, it remains clear that those who did speak out--and they were in large numbers--responded affirmatively to their experience. They commonly remarked on the friendliness of the SI's, their patience and dedication to teaching; and, almost without exception, they noted both surprise and pleasure at the extraordinary amount of time, outside the classroom, which the SI's were willing to devote to them. In some institutions, where little or no extra-curricular activities were planned for them, the students found that the SI's--despite their heavy teaching loads--organized social, cultural,

and athletic activities which enriched the summer.

At many institutions, the novelty of the SI--his eagerness to raise fundamental questions in the minds of the students, and his frequently unorthodox means of jolting them--caused the students to question for themselves the institutions in which they were enrolled and the quality of the education they were receiving. Two very different kinds of results were observed. At one institution, for example, several of the brighter and more advanced students tended to resent the implied criticism of their college which they felt in the remarks of the SI's. As one young man put it, "We know we're not Yale; we know, in fact, that we're not a very good college. But we're not worthless!" Proud of their institutions, students like this one testified to the excellence of the SI's teaching but wished for more tact in their assault on the deficiencies which now appeared more clearly than ever before.

At the other extreme were a group of students in another college who found spiritual allies in the SI's. Resentful both of the regulations of the administration and the lack of concern of their regular faculty, this group spent many hours in exciting conversation, exploring ways of bringing about reforms. In between these two examples were the majority of the students interviewed. They questioned both themselves and their institutions without having their pride in either seriously damaged or without being moved to undertake protests and reforms.

The most common--and in one sense the most revealing--student observation described the quality of the education offered by the SI's.

Almost everywhere one encountered the stock phrase: "they have taught us new ways of looking at our subjects; they have brought new techniques of teaching." Those who spoke in this fashion felt the excitement of intellectual achievement and reaped the rewards of hard work, intelligently directed. What they meant by "new" ways of looking at subjects and"new" techniques of teaching almost sums up the educational problem which the STP is facing. A "new" way of studying history meant asking "why" a particular event occurred; a "new" way of studying poetry meant examining "how" a poem was structured; a "new" technique of teaching physics was conducting an experiment to discover "why" one physical phenomenon occured instead of another. The novelty with which these "techniques" appeared to the students, and the inability of good graduate students to teach in any other way, says a great deal both about the deficiencies which are to be met and the qualifications of graduate students to meet them.

The immediate impact of the STP on the students, then, was a positive one. How lasting it will be cannot, of course, be determined. One of the chief regrets of the students, and one of the serious inadequacies of the STP, is that provision is made for summer instruction only. Returning to conventional instructors, most of whom are quite different from the SI's, the students will come better equipped for progress in the future. They may, however, develop frustrations which will sooner or later dissipate the achievements of the summer. Much depends upon the impact which the STP has on the institutions themselves.

B. On The Institutions

Discussion of the impact of the STP on the twenty-six colleges may begin with the observation that the administrations of these institutions were, on the whole, more than satisfied with the SI's and eager to continue the program. Twenty-three of the colleges completed questionnaires prepared for this evaluation. Twelve declared the teaching job done by the SI's to be excellent; eleven rated it good. None found it fair or poor. Asked to describe their general attitude toward the STP as it operated on their campuses as very favorable, favorable, satisfied, unfavorable, or very unfavorable, thirteen responded very favorable; seven, favorable; one, satisfied; and one, Bishop College, very unfavorable; one cannot be classified.[4] All but Bishop College and Claflin College responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you expect to request STP instructors for next summer?"

Asked what they considered to be the chief contributions of the SI's, most colleges rated first their enthusiasm, willingness to work long hours, and ability to inspire the students. Typical were the following statements:

> New ideas together with zest for teaching has made a healthy impact on our regular teaching program.
>
> ...their youthfulness, zest and desire to make a contribution in this particular kind of setting were very effective in motivating our students.

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[4]At Claflin College two SI's were originally assigned. One was dismissed by the President early in the term. The dismissal apparently stemmed from a personality conflict between the President and the SI. The Dean of the College, in preparing his evaluation, stated that the college's attitude toward the SI who remained was "favorable" while it was "unfavorable" toward the dismissed SI. No reason was given for the decision not to request SI's for next summer.

> ...these instructors helped to widen the horizons for many of their students. They also demonstrated in a very practical way a number of worthwhile traits which could help to influence the students favorably.
>
> They have been able to identify with the students and express concern for the total life of the students.
>
> STP instructors brought new vigor and enthusiasm into the classrooms. They demanded and obtained relatively high academic performance from our students. They inspired students to read and study and exhibited a genuine interest in student development. They brought new ideas to the campus.

Half of the institutions also indicated that they had been able to undertake new programs or significantly expand existing ones because of the STP.

An attempt was made to determine the extent to which, if any, the availability of SI's made it possible for regular faculty members to pursue further study of their own. Eleven institutions reported that the STP had made this possible. The phrasing of the question, however, probably led to misleading replies, for it is highly doubtful that the STP did more than make it possible for faculty members to be relieved of teaching duties. Unfortunately, no reliable information was obtained to indicate the way in which further study was financed. It is probable that the instructors involved had to make their own arrangements. There is no indication that their salaries were met by the colleges.

Rumors, not easy to confirm, suggested that some faculty members who desired to teach were replaced by low-cost SI's. One definite example of this was uncovered; there may have been more, for certainly the temptation was there. To some undetermined extent, this aspect of the STP has an unsettling influence, not necessarily constructive, on

the colleges. It certainly does not help faculty morale. Both faculty members and administrative officers expressed the wish that the STP, in addition to supplying instructors, would also make available matching funds to underwrite the cost of summer study for some members of the regular faculty. Such a program would increase appreciably the usefulness of the STP and significantly augment its long-range contribution to improved educational standards. Supporting foundations should consider financing a well-conceived program along these lines, perhaps one which would require some contribution from the receiving college, although not one substantial enough to discourage the addition of new programs and the expansion of existing ones.

The impact of the STP on curricula, standards, and other aspects of the institutional complex was probably very slight, for several obvious reasons. Apart from the fact that institutions do not change easily, it must be remembered that SI's were relatively few in number, seldom integrated into policy-making echelons of the colleges, and often isolated from other members of the faculty. Their brief tenure and the non-typical nature of the summer session itself are further impediments. At some of the colleges the administrations requested, and received, critical evaluations of the curriculum which may serve as stimulants and guides to constructive reform in the future. Probably the most direct, tangible benefit which can be ascribed to the STP is the upgrading of students in the pre-freshman programs. Despite the limitations of these programs, noted earlier, they will supply a better student for the regular session.

The impact on regular faculty members is difficult to assess.

Two science teachers at one college described the ideal result: a happy interchange of ideas and teaching techniques conducted in an atmosphere of mutual respect. SI reports and a few interviews with regular faculty members, however, suggested that there was little contact between the two groups at most places and some apprehension at a few.

An essential development, if the institutions are to be improved substantially and fairly rapidly, is a continuation through the regular academic year of the kind of contributions made by the SI's. This raises the question of the degree to which the STP should restrict itself to summer employment. The advantages of recruitment for summers only are obvious. Relatively few graduate students can be persuaded to sacrifice an entire year of work toward graduate degrees, while many are anxious to accept summer positions. Perhaps the most that the STP can do at the present is to apprise SI's of available opportunities and hope that a significant number will choose to become regular faculty members in one of the Negro colleges. How likely this approach is to bear fruit can better be understood by examiniing the reactions of the SI's themselves to their experiences.

C. On The SI's

The written evaluations supplied by the SI's run to almost three hundred pages and constitute a rich source of information. They make an interesting contrast to the shorter evaluations submitted by the institutions themselves. In general, the SI's were less optimistic about the future and more critical of their own achievements than were

their employers. There is a two-fold explanation for this. First, the SI's were largely unacquainted with ~~the~~ academic backwardness ~~which~~ when they encountered it, while the institutions were all too familiar with it. These dissimilar perspectives inevitably produced differing evaluations. Second, many of the SI's--although certainly not all--exhibited a common expectation of young people in believing it possible to make great changes in a short period of time. They were inevitably frustrated when the record of progress, though often remarkable, was woefully incomplete. The institutions, on the other hand, accustomed to a long history of student mediocrity, noted with sensitivity the slightest signs of breaking out of old patterns.

Most of the frustrations, criticisms, and bitternesses expressed by the SI's will be noted below, in Section IV. Numerous and varied though these disappointments were, virtually none of the SI's came away from the summer with a sense of despair. Even the most critical felt that some progress had been made; frustration arose from realizations of how little it was and how difficult it would be to achieve more. At several places--notably Miles, LeMoyne, Lane, and Texas Southern--the sense of achievement was especially high.

Whatever their evaluations of the programs, most of the SI's felt personally rewarded by their experience. One wrote:

> My summer...was very enriching for me personally and professionally. Lasting friendship grew between me and the members of the student body, the faculty, the administration (!), and the colored community...not immediately related to the university.

Typical of many was the reaction of another SI who wrote that the summer teaching "was one of the most fascinating experiences I have

ever had." Others described their reactions with such adjectives as "unusual," "fresh," "vigorous," and "challenging." One SI, probably reached more deeply by her experience than most, wrote:

> Teaching psychology at Miles College this summer was one of the most worthwhile, exciting, and difficult things I have ever done. I feel very lucky to have been sent to Miles.... I am grateful for being given this first opportunity to teach, and to discover that I love it. I am very glad to have been able to be in the South, where I gained, if not a better understanding of the white point of view toward segregation or of the issues involved,...at least a great love for my students and for the staff and administration of Miles College, a sad realization of the difficulties of educating the Southern Negro, and an appreciation of the great satisfaction to be gained from contributing something to this great need.

Another Miles SI described her work there as "one of the most rewarding experiences of my life and one of the most enjoyable, too." She has accepted a position on the regular faculty as a direct result of her experience.

An SI from Tennessee A & I, after reviewing both the disappointments and pleasures of his work, concluded:

> In sum, this has been a summer of mixed reactions. I've enjoyed teaching and found pleasure in many of my students. The people I've worked with are going to be fondly remembered. Most important of all, I'm sure that after a couple of nights' deep sleep in a less hot and humid climate, I will realize that the assumption which compelled me to seek this job, namely, that only through education will the Negro be able to maintain the equal rights he has won, has been vindicated.

No systematic attempt has been made to determine exactly how many SI's moved directly into Negro colleges, either their own or another, as a result of the summer, or how many now feel inclined to return later to a Negro college. Several have in fact taken perma-

nent jobs this year. Of the sixty or so who were interviewed during the summer visitations, ten indicated a rather strong desire to return later to a southern Negro college. Among these were several who appear to have bright professional careers before them.

To conclude this discussion of the impact of the STP, one may assert confidently that the graduate students recruited by the STP performed with extraordinary effectiveness as teachers and that the experience they had is likely to encourage a significant number of them to enter into full time positions in Negro colleges.

IV. SOURCES OF CONFLICT

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The generally favorable evaluation of the STP, summarized above, was reached despite evidence of a plethora of irritations and conflicts which diminished the effectiveness of the SI's in some places, caused serious crises in others, and a nationally publicized debacle in one. A brief survey of some of the principal sources of difficulty may be helpful in preparing for future summers.

A. Institutional Irritants

Anyone familiar with the *modus operandi* in most (not all) Negro colleges could have predicted a series of frustrations for the SI's and might reasonably have anticipated feuds of varying intensity. Coming from universities that are both wealthy and academically alert, the SI's were not prepared for the situations they would face. Many of the problems sprang directly from poverty. Libraries were generally

poorly stocked and inadequately administered. Book stores commonly offered poor fare and their staffs, either inadequately trained or undermanned (or both), were often slow and inefficient in placing orders. Frustrations arising from these deficiencies caused bitter complaints in a few colleges. Where complaints were tactlessly aired, resentment on the part of the administrations frequently followed. Most of the SI's, however, accepted these and similar irritations with maturity and some worked intelligently and effectively to point the way toward constructive reform.

More serious were the irritations that sprang from the heritage of segregated education itself. In most Negro colleges, for example, the tradition of immense presidential authority--autocracy, according to some critics--resulted in what often seemed to the SI's arbitrary rulings which adversely affected the welfare of the students. Stern social regulations, rigid academic requirements, and an authoritarian faculty-student relationship--all part of an ancient tradition of academic paternalism--frequently seemed to the SI's to stifle self-expression and hinder intellectual development. There were conspicuous exceptions to this generalization, of course, but variations on the pattern occured with uncommon regularity. In their zeal to break their students loose from these "oppressive" patterns, many SI's aroused suspicion and a measure of hostility from their Negro colleagues and superiors. Not unnaturally, many of the Negro faculty members felt defensive and insecure while the administrations, though maintaining a facade of confidence, reacted uneasily to the challenge to their authority. How prevalent this pattern was is not easy to determine.

The safest generalization is that signs of it appeared at all but three or four institutions, but that at all but perhaps seven or eight the SI's muted their criticisms and relationships were generally constructive.

Finally, there were several miscellaneous irritants, present at enough institutions to warrant noting here. Inadequate registration procedures and poor planning meant that some SI's were asked to teach courses other than those for which they had been hired, or that they had significantly more or fewer students than they had been told to expect, or that they had a heavier teaching load than they had agreed to. Directions from department heads or program directors were sometimes inadequate causing the SI's to prepare their courses without knowledge of what was normally expected. Salary payments caused difficulties in some places. The SI's had been led to expect $50 a week, but this did not, in fact, always result in weekly payments. Some were paid monthly, others at the end of their service. These arrangements worked a few serious hardships.

The STP is no doubt already aware of most, probably all, of the institutional irritants and, in fact, Mr. Schulze worked diligently to remedy many of them in advance. Not all of them, however, can be directly approached by the STP, and future SI's should be instructed carefully in the kinds of problems they may encounter.

B. The Instructor as Agitator

Given the institutional irritants, sketched above, the prospects for harmonious and constructive teaching situations depend to a very

considerable extent upon the attitudes of the SI's themselves. To oversimplify complex reactions, one might delineate two polar positions which characterized SI attitudes. One position, which was occupied or approached by a significant majority of the SI's, held that the instructor's job was to teach well and to work within existing frameworks in order most effectively to reach the students, gain the confidence of the faculty and administration and thereby make a positive contribution. Accompanying this attitude was the notion that, after all, the SI was a temporary employee with little experience in a complex institution with a long and involved history. One SI, displeased by the behavior of his colleagues, put it this way:

> Some of the teachers seemed to channel their frustrations into cutting satire about the school and trying to get students to rise in dissatisfaction.... I always thought we were there to reform students through good teaching, not to change the administration through satire and bitter, petty gripes.

The second position, cuttingly suggested by this criticism, was occupied by a minority of SI's. No less committed to "reform" than the others, they grew impatient with their superiors and became convinced that frontal assaults of one kind or another were the most likely approaches to yield dividends. Almost without exception, their first loyalty was to the student and they struck out at impediments to his progress. That so few administrations, in the questionnaires or in the interviews, expressed concern over this behavior suggests that the administrations were often more tolerant than the more militant SI's believed. It also suggests that the militants were a distinct minority and that, even when they did nettle their superiors, the

desire for STP assistance in the future greatly outweighed the impact of the criticism.

In a few of the institutions which were visited, and probably at about a third of those which were not, some SI's appeared as agitators in social as well as academic roles. Here their mode of dress and casual forms of behavior were distinctly out of keeping with the traditions of their host institutions. This pattern of behavior was evaluated in the 1964 report as follows:

> It is tempting to say that S.I.'s should conform to local styles of dress and behavior, but we would not stress it. Repeating our earlier point that the S.I.'s should regard themselves always as faculty, we would add here that he who isn't conforming should know that he isn't. S.I.'s should, at least, find out what is customarily expected of faculty, and non-conformity should be deliberate.

The observations of the 1965 program lead to a slightly revised version of this recommendation. Certainly the SI should find out what is customarily expected of him so that his non-conformity is not accidental. He should also have the right of a faculty member anywhere to be a non-conformist. However, evidence collected this summer would indicate that, in many instances, non-conformity, especially in matters of dress and hygiene, has its price in undermining the confidence of the student in his instructor. The SI who dresses conventionally seldom runs the risk of creating obstacles to his teaching techniques and "new" ideas. The unconventional dresser frequently does create such obstacles.

In conclusion, one must be wary of stressing too heavily the importance of the summer's irritations and conflicts. With the primary emphasis on teaching programs and teaching obligations, the net gains

in the future--as in 1965--are likely to be considerable. Only in one institution this summer did the conflicts result in a real debacle, but even there the evaluation of the academic progress was favorable.

C. The Bishop College Debacle

Two days before the pre-freshman program at Bishop College was scheduled to end, most of the program faculty, including all eleven SI's, was dismissed. "We separated the entire group," the President explained, "for rank insubordination." As the President saw them, the SI's were "rebellious, uncooperative, and set on the idea that the members had no obligations to the institution." He found their personal hygiene wanting, their dress deplorable, and their "extraordinary efforts to incite the students against the college" unpardonable. For their part, the SI's regarded the President as the "adversary," and described their battle with him and Bishop College in language quite as vigorous as his.

The bizarre events of the summer, as interpreted by several participants, make for serious strains on one's credulity. From various SI's came hair raising tales of administration-inspired raids on faculty parties, puritanical administration suppression of normal boy-girl relationships, hoodlumism of various sorts, robberies, intimidation, interference with the mails, and an allegation of SI plotting to bring shame on the college by implicating a Negro student in a rape charge against a white teacher. These "extra-curricular" activities provided the backdrop for a series of intense academic quarrels that ultimately produced an SI-led demonstration, involving over one hundred

students, and the subsequent dismissal of the SI's.

It would require a separate report, quite as long as this one, to deal adequately with the Bishop affair. The following summary merely attempts to highlight some of the principal aspects of the story which are relevant to the future of the STP.[5]

Bishop College is in a stage of transition. The appointment of a distinguished scholar, Professor G. P. Cuttino of Emory University, as Academic Consultant, led to the drafting of a long-range academic plan and the inauguration of a pre-freshman program in 1964. SI's joined Emory graduate students to launch the program that summer. The same combination, with the addition of a few Dallas school teachers, staffed the operation this year. Mr. James W. Anthony of the Denver Country Day School was engaged as program director.

The college is extremely backward academically and is plagued by a variety of outmoded customs and regulations which any of the 1965 SI's would have found oppressive. In this atmosphere, numerous issues arose which divided the SI's from the administration; by mid-summer discontent was extreme and battle lines were drawn. Of the several divisive issues, the bookstore drama became the focal point and symbol of the contest. Hours were capricious, book orders were handled with

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[5]My evaluation is based on the following sources: (1) the President's questionnaire and covering letter; (2) Mr. Schulze's statements on the nature of the negotiations and arrangements with the college; (3) a lengthy evaluation prepared by the Program Director, supplemented by a personal letter from him; (4) extensive accounts prepared by four of the SI's as well as a jointly-prepared document on the "real and alleged reasons for student discontent at Bishop College"; (5) the transcript of a round table discussion of the crisis held in mid-July; and (6) other documents and remarks furnished by Professor G. P. Cuttino, the Academic Consultant to Bishop College.

aggravating disregard of the instructors' needs and wishes, and--most serious of all--students were overcharged on their purchases. Here, as in other conflicts, the SI's rallied to the side of the students. Protracted, inconclusive negotiations with the administration over the excessive charges led to the demonstration--a dramatic challenge to the President's authority.

The SI's who led the protest movement would fall in the category of "agitator," as defined earlier in this report. One can easily imagine another group of 1965 SI's who would have labored within the existing framework, lodging their criticisms tactfully to avoid a violent confrontation. The Bishop SI's, on the other hand, apparently wanted to see reform instituted in their sight and at their insistence, as one of their sympathetic observers put it. It was this insistence which produced the "explosion."

To attribute to the SI's primary responsibility for the debacle, however, is an insufficient comment on the significance of the Bishop affair. One could argue that tactful acquiescence would have left the institution as unreformed after the summer as before. There are those who maintain that a full exposure treatment was the only way to institute reform; that the existing structure was too inflexible to yield to normal ameliorative tactics. It may well be that the "explosion" will, in fact, lead to long-needed reforms. One will observe the future with interest in this respect.

Even should this prove to be true, however, the STP can scarcely point to the Bishop summer with pride or commend the tactics used there to future SI's. Three reasons underlie this conclusion. First, it is

easy to imagine other institutions at which such tactics would have crippling effects. Second, the awesome responsibility of deciding when revolutionary tactics are necessary and pardonable is one which, one would feel, graduate students from our finer universities would need more than a short summer to ponder. Finally, the mission of the STP is to teach; and its program of reform lies in providing outstanding examples of the dedication, values, and achievements of American higher education at its best.

V. SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The conclusions of this evaluation of the Southern Teaching Program, 1965, may be stated briefly. The STP has made a positive impact on the students who were taught, all but a few of the receiving colleges, and the SI's themselves. It has proved itself to be an organization of considerable, though limited, usefulness in the cause of improving education in Negro colleges. Likewise, it has shown that graduate students may be used with great effectiveness in alleviating the shortage of trained teachers. Their very youth, in fact, permits them to make in some respects a more substantial contribution than older scholars. Assuming that the STP will continue to be administered as effectively as it was in 1965, it is the recommendation of this report that it be both continued and expanded.

The specific recommendations presented for the consideration of the STP and supporting foundations have been discussed in the body of this report. The major ones are listed below.

1. Creation of a faculty committee at each recruiting university to interest students in the program and interview candidates for it.

2. More vigorous recruitment of Negroes and southern whites.

3. Revision of orientation meetings to (a) acquaint SI's with their specific college; and (b) provide discussion of teaching problems in specific disciplines.

4. Exhortation of receiving colleges to provide SI's, as early as possible, with detailed information concerning courses to be taught, materials to be used, and accomodations to be provided.

5. Employment of experts in remedial instruction, especially reading, to counsel at the orientation meetings and call on receiving colleges during the summer.

6. Cautious expansion into the area of community programs for pre-college students.

7. Addition of a well-structured program of grants to underwrite summer study for selected regular faculty members of the receiving colleges.

8. Addition of a more systematic program of informing SI's of the availability of full time employment opportunities in Negro colleges.

9. More specific provisions for salary payments.

10. Thorough discussion with the SI's of the issues involved in "non-conformity."